

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01776 5469

GENEALOGY

977.3

IL682J

1931-1932

JOURNAL
OF THE
Illinois
State Historical Society

Volume 24

Nos. 1-4

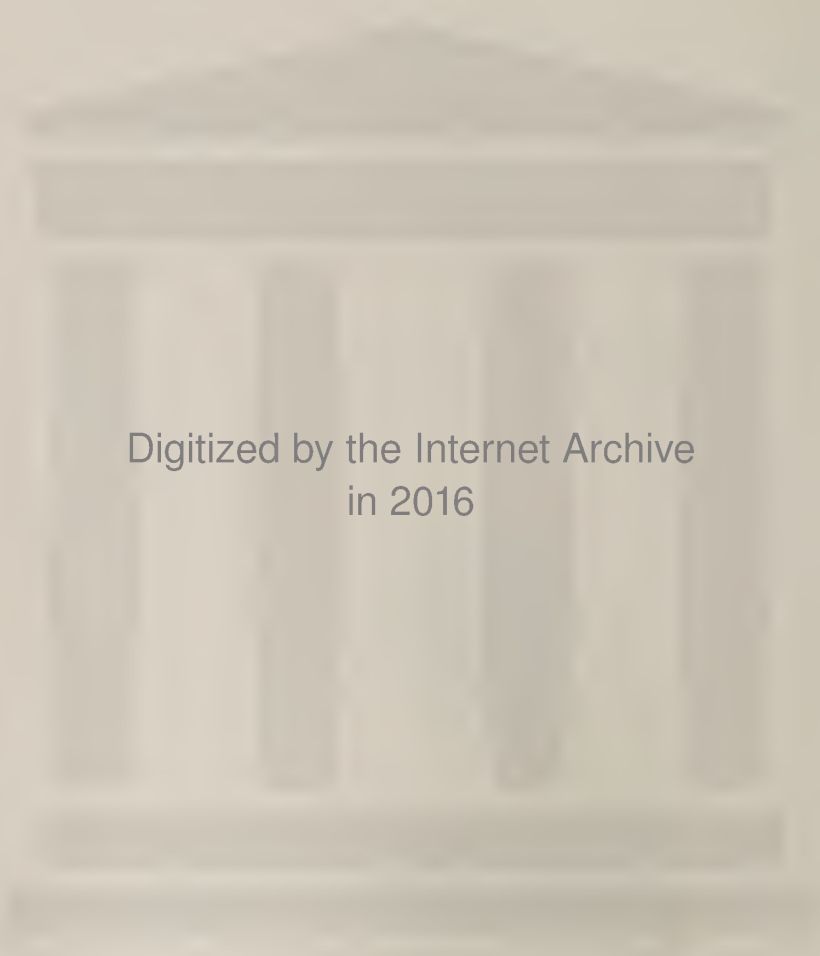
April, 1931, to January, 1932



Entered at Springfield, Illinois, as Second Class Matter under
Act of Congress of July 16, 1894.



Jeffersons Printing & Stationery Co.
Springfield, Illinois
1932
80432-1M



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

<https://archive.org/details/illinoisstatehis24illi>

EDUCATIONAL PATHFINDERS OF ILLINOIS

*Address on Illinois Day, December 3, 1930, Before the Illinois
State Historical Society, in Springfield,*

By DR. EDGAR DEWITT JONES, of Detroit, Michigan.

This is a year of great memories in the annals of Illinois; the centennial of many notable events. One hundred years ago last March the Lincolns emigrated from Indiana to Illinois, settling in Macon County, near Decatur. One hundred years last August fourth, Fort Dearborn, on the shores of Lake Michigan, took a new name, and Chicago was born. One hundred years ago this autumn Senator John McLean died in his thirty-ninth year, a "bright particular star" in the firmament of Illinois history. One hundred years this coming Christmas day the bill was signed establishing a new county, and it was named McLean in honor of the statesman who had so recently passed away. One hundred years ago this month came "the great snow," blanketing the prairie three feet deep on the level, the most devastating snow in the history of this state.

There is an enchanting element in the story of pioneer times, the thrill of adventure, the glamour of exploration;—it is a story that will bear much repetition. Only by looking at the past can we properly assess the present. Monuments, memorials, historical societies, history, biography—how important these are and how impoverished we should be without them. The Hoosier poet might be writing of Illinois when he took for his theme, "A Tale of the Airly Days":

"Tell me a tale of the timber-lands—
Of the old-time pioneers;
Somepin' a pore man understands
With his feelin's 's well as ears.
Tell of the old log house,—about
The loft, and the puncheon flore—
The old fi-er place, with the crane swung out,
And the latch-string through the door."

No tale of the early days would be complete that does not give place and tribute to those personalities and agencies that expand the mind and enlarge the affections. Education is a large word and covers an ample field. Many are the forces and factors that educate youth for life. Undoubtedly the first teacher that the children of the pioneers knew was that of Mother. The groves were God's first temples, and youth's first teachers are his parents, for whom he can find no adequate tribute. Pathfinders indeed were these pioneer mothers of Illinois, who amidst difficulties and dangers instructed their progeny in those things that matter most.

"Then blow the horn at the old back door,
Tel the echoes all halloo,
And the children gathers home onc't more,
Just as they used to do.
Blow fer Pap tel he hears and comes,
With Toms and Elias, too,
A-marchin' home, with the fife and drims
And the old Red, White and Blue!

Blow and blow tel the sound draps low
As the moan of the whipperrwill,
And wake up Mother, and Ruth and Jo,
All sleepin' at Bethel Hill;
Blow and call tel the faces all
Shine out in the back-log's blaze,
And the shadders dance on the old hewed wall
As they did in the airly days."

I.

Illinois owes an unpayable debt to the village schoolmaster of the long ago. The pioneer school teacher deserves a place in the sun. When Illinois became a state, in 1818, one thirty-sixth part was reserved for school purposes, an interesting and inspiring fact. The honor of the first school opened in this state goes to Bellefontaine, St. Clair County, and the date was 1783, one hundred and forty-seven years ago. The same year a school appeared in Monroe County, and in 1804 another was opened in Madison County. These schools were primitive, the buildings abandoned cabins or rudely constructed sheds. The first school house to have a real glass



Mentor Graham

window was in 1824, in Edwards County. These were probably subscription, or private schools. The season was short, not more than three months, but the sessions were long enough—occasionally lasting from daylight to darkness. Such was the humble beginning of one of the finest school systems in the country.

The first Illinois school-teacher of whom we have any record was a man named Seeley, who taught a school in the region now known as Monroe County, in 1783. We wish we knew more about him, but we are not absolutely certain whether his first name was John or Sam. He was succeeded by John Doyle, who had served under George Rogers Clark. Doyle was a picturesque personality and traditions gather about his name. Other teachers of that early period were Francis Clark, John Bradbury, and John Messenger. Messenger flourished in 1804, and his school was near Shiloh, St. Clair County. This man was a surveyor, with a gift for map drawing. One of the early maps of Illinois was the work of this pioneer teacher. Two other schoolmasters of this period were an Irishman named Halfpenny and an old sailor, Davis by name. These men are almost lost in the mist, but we know that they gathered together the children of the pioneers and taught them readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic.

The typical schoolmaster of pioneer Illinois was Mentor Graham, of New Salem. He lived in that vicinity for fifty years and is part of one of the most fascinating pictures in the life of Illinois' greatest son. Mentor Graham taught Abraham Lincoln surveying. Very likely he numbered among his pupils at least for a brief time, the village belle, Ann Rutledge. This is the teacher who, discovering Lincoln's ambition, set about to improve his English. Through Graham young Lincoln obtained a copy of Kirkham's Grammar and set himself to the labor of mastering the book. Mentor Graham was a character in the community. He was a devout churchman, but was expelled from the congregation because he signed the temperance pledge. I count it a happy circumstance that we have

some idea of the personal appearance of this Illinois schoolmaster. Carl Sandburg, in his notable work entitled "Abraham Lincoln—the Prairie Years," dug up a picture of Mentor Graham. This schoolmaster was quite a dresser, evidently. Lo! the fancy satin vest, the voluminous necktie, and his hair, what a roach was his, a kind of permanent wave! There was a man for you, an inspirer of youth, teacher of Lincoln, and one of the leading men in those days when New Salem wore a rainbow about its shoulders.

Teachers, like poets, are born. Almost anyone can cram the youthful mind with facts and figures, but it is a different and more significant achievement to inspire and awaken noble aspirations. The early school teachers of Illinois were, for the most part, men of little learning. They lacked polish in many instances. Some of them were lax in morals. They were not always accurate, but many of them embodied the stuff of the pioneers—heroic men. These rural teachers of that period had their limitations. One of them was asked by a pupil what the word "aisle" meant, and how to pronounce it. The teacher was stumped, but only for a second or two. Then he answered, "That word is pronounced 'eyesil', and it has something to do with a church." This is amusing, but the answer was not so bad after all, and about fifty per cent correct. The vocabularies of the settlers were not extensive, this teacher did the best he could, and the inquirer added a small item to his stock of knowledge.

Stephen A. Douglas came to Illinois in 1833, a penniless youth with brains and plenty of pluck. Shortly after his arrival in Winchester, Scott County, he organized a subscription school. He secured forty pupils, boys and girls, taught them for a term of three months at three dollars a head. Thus some of the names, the immortal names that were not born to die, were numbered among the schoolmasters of Illinois—pathfinders in the realm of knowledge.

II.

Along with the school teachers I would range the newspapers as trail blazers in the dissemination of knowledge and the creation of public opinion. Thomas Jefferson held that, given his choice of a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, he would not hesitate to choose the newspapers, believing that with the freedom of the press the right kind of government would emerge. There is much to be said for this view. A free press and a free country should go together. The first newspapers printed in Illinois were little sheets with scarcely any news in them. There were few facilities for gathering news a hundred years ago in the middle west. These little papers printed little news but a great deal of opinion, political and religious. The editorials were the chief feature, but there were also quotations from the speeches of Webster and Clay, extracts from the sermons of famous preachers of the west or south, and now and then a poem written by Longfellow, Holmes, or Poe. Such were the early weekly papers in the Illinois country, small in size, often poorly printed, but potent and popular.

The first newspaper published in this state was at Kaskaskia, Randolph County, and the year was either 1809 or 1814. There is some dispute, with the best historians favoring the latter date. The name of this paper was "The Illinois Herald," and Matthew Duncan was the editor. Mr. Duncan was a Kentuckian by birth and a graduate of Yale. This is the man who brought out the first edition of the "Illinois Territorial Laws," now an item of rare Americana. Later he abandoned journalism, entered the army, and won distinction. Duncan died in 1844 at Shelbyville. "The Illinois Herald" survived until 1817, when its name was changed to "The Illinois Intelligencer." The original "Herald" consisted of four pages, each of three columns. The second paper to appear in this state was "The Shawnee Chief," which was

later changed to "The Emigrant." Its editor was Henry Eddy, who became a leading lawyer in the southern tier of counties. This paper was published at Shawneetown, September 5, 1815. "The Edwardsville Spectator" appeared in 1819, with Hooper Warren as editor. He gathered about him a competent staff of assistants, among others Governor Cole and the Rev. Thomas Lippincott. At Alton Elijah P. Lovejoy started "The Observer," a flaming opponent of slavery. It stirred the people like the tap of a drum. Dr. John Mason Peck, in 1829, began the publication of Illinois' first religious weekly, "The Rock Springs Pioneer." These were the earliest publications, soon to be followed by weeklies in various sections of the state, papers that appeared mushroomlike almost over night, flourished for a brief time, and flickered out. Yet, as fast as these ephemeral papers passed away others appeared to take their places. The day of the press had dawned in Illinois.

These primitive newspapers were remarkably influential. The people read them with avidity. Nobody started a fire with newspapers in those days. They were read and re-read and passed around from neighbor to neighbor. The great political issues were discussed in these papers. Most of them were strongly partisan. The politicians read these sheets with profit. Senator Douglas continually kept his eye on the little newspapers in Illinois. Mr. Lincoln read these papers constantly and subscribed for so many that Mrs. Lincoln took him to task on that score. Miss Ida Tarbell's "In the Footsteps of the Lincolns," contains this interesting statement: "It is probably fair to state that there was not a paper in the state that Mr. Lincoln did not know." When postmaster at New Salem, back in the early thirties, the bulk of the mail was the weekly papers, and Lincoln read them before they were called for. Unquestionably the press was an educator, a pathfinder, in the early Illinois days.

There is much to be said for these newspapers of pioneer times. They make interesting reading to this day. They were human documents. They reflect the passion and prejudice of the people, but they do more—they register conviction. The editorial page was singularly free; no shadow of the advertising columns fell across the editor's desk. Editing a small town paper is no easy task. The famous preacher, Chas. H. Spurgeon, once said that he had been successful as the minister of a large church, but he feared that he would have been a failure as the pastor of a small congregation. By the same token some of the editors of our metropolitan newspapers would have failed with the small town paper. One of these village editors in the middle west remarked, "When a doctor makes a mistake he buries it. When a lawyer makes a mistake he charges an extra fee for it. When a preacher makes a mistake nobody knows it. But when a smalltown editor makes a mistake everybody knows it and his subscription list diminishes accordingly."

Illinois has recently paid tribute to her great editors. With appropriate ceremonies the famous editors of this state were honored at the University of Illinois. The names of Lawson, Medill, Lovejoy, Clendenin, Barkley, Davis, Scripps, Francis, Stone, Clinton, and Bailey, are in this Hall of Fame. Along with these celebrities of Illinois journalism, but of earlier period, the names of Matthew Duncan, Henry Eddy, John Mason Peck, Hooper Warren, deserve a place on the tablet of fame. Another arresting scrap of history is that when Mr. Lincoln selected his secretaries he chose three Illinois newspapermen—John S. Nicolay of "The Pike County Free Press," John Hay of the same paper, and William O. Stoddard of "The Central Illinois Gazette," of Urbana. In after years all three contributed biographical studies of the Uncommon Commoner.

III.

The cultured ministers of the Gospel, the university graduates who came to Illinois from the east, were also pathfinders in the educational expansion of the state. I am not forgetting the Missionaries of the Cross, the members of the Jesuit and Recollect Orders who were the first representatives of the Christian religion to reach the frontiers. The Footsteps of the Friars are everywhere visible in the beginning of the Illinois country. The names of Marquette, Hennepin, and others, are emblazoned on a deathless scroll. Nor am I overlooking the backwoods preachers. They made their substantial contribution. They were plain men, unacquainted with polite society, but they feared neither God nor man. Peter Cartwright is in some respects the most unique and powerful figure of pioneer days in the middle west. Glowing tributes have been paid to Missionaries of the Cross who brought the Gospel to the Indians, and likewise merited praise has been spoken in behalf of the unlettered and faithful preachers who first brought the Protestant interpretation of Christianity to the early settlers. I am not so sure that anything like adequate praise has been paid to those university trained ministers who gave up comfortable pastorates in the eastern cities and came out to the Illinois country to face hardships and bear unimagined burdens.

As early as 1820 university trained ministers came to Illinois. They were largely Yale men, but other centers of learning were represented. The truth is that higher education in Illinois owes everything to this new type of missionary that invaded the west. These ministers were cultured in the best sense of the term, but they were not elegant gentlemen of leisure. They were brave men and took their full share of hardships. They were obliged to overcome the prejudice that their illiterate though well meaning brethren had fostered against "an educated ministry." In their own way they were just as hard hitting and as persistent as Peter Cartwright.



Rev. John Mason Peck

They were more courteous, more tolerant, but not one whit less strong in their convictions. Because of the men who put a new emphasis upon education, Illinois secured her first colleges and paved the way for the university.

Typical of this type of pathfinder, and in a way the most eminent of that illustrious company, was John Mason Peck. This man is yet to receive the honor due him for his prodigious labor in behalf of higher education. Dr. Peck was born in Connecticut in 1789. He was originally a Congregationalist, later became a Baptist, and was ordained to the ministry in 1812. In 1817 he was sent as a missionary to the region west of the Mississippi, and spent the rest of his immensely active life in Illinois. No story of foreign missionary achievement is more romantic or thrilling than the story of the life of John Mason Peck. He contended with poverty, ignorance, irreligion, and "false brethren," who ought to have helped him instead of hindering him. This man was an educator by nature and trail blazer extraordinary. He carried everywhere the atmosphere of culture; wherever he sat was the head of the table. He organized numerous churches and fifty Sunday Schools. He founded a theological seminary in Rock Springs in 1827, the forerunner of Shurtleff College. He edited and published "The Rock Springs Pioneer" (established in 1829)—the first religious weekly in the state. Lyman Beecher said of John Mason Peck, "He led more families into the west as permanent settlers than any other ten individuals." Pillsbury, author of "Early Education in Illinois," says of this man, "He was perhaps the most indefatigable worker for education the state has ever known." Dr. Peck died in 1856, after a life as busy as that of John Wesley and as full of adventure as Judson or a Livingstone. It is not too much to say that John Mason Peck was preeminent among the educational pathfinders of Illinois.

These cultured preachers of the Gospel—Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and other communions—came into this state sowing the seeds of the higher

education. Edward Beecher, famous brother of the still more famous Henry Ward Beecher, left his comfortable church in Boston and came west to be the president of Illinois College, which, inspired by Rev. John M. Ellis, was established by the Presbyterians in 1829. McKendree College was founded by the Methodists at Lebanon in 1828, and named for the Methodist minister who afterwards became a bishop. Shurtleff was established by the Baptists at Upper Alton in 1830. Knox College at Galesburg was founded by the Congregationalists in 1837. I make no attempt to list all the institutions; I merely call attention to the fact that these pathfinders for higher education, university men of scholarly attainments, left the east and ease and comfort, came to this state as missionaries of higher education, wrought greatly, and that their mighty works do follow them in triumph.

IV.

Deserving mention also are those radiant personalities that peopled the plains in these formative years, men and women whom to be with was a liberal education. Every community is blessed with a few individuals who possess charm; they inspire, impress, enrich those who come into their company. One loves to muse upon the characters in Illinois' history, many of them unknown, others locally famed, a few world known—lawyers, doctors, ministers, merchants, farmers, housewives, striplings of young manhood, and mature men and women—an arresting company who quite unconsciously were pathfinders in this educational process so necessary to the larger life. Colonel Clark E. Carr in his book, "The Illini," has a chapter entitled, "The Nursery of Great Men." He describes a lawsuit tried in the Circuit Court of Pittsfield, involving about fifty dollars; eight lawyers were engaged—Stephen A. Douglas, O. H. Browning, Richard Yates, E. D. Baker, James A. McDougall, W. A. Richardson, D. B. Bush, and Wm. R. Archer. Of this group six became United States Senators, four from Illinois, one from Oregon,

and one from California. This incident is only one of hundreds in the making of this state. Bloomington, Peoria, Jacksonville, Quincy, Springfield, Urbana, and many smaller places felt the impact of characters whom to know was to experience an expanding horizon, a deeper faith in God and man. It was an epochal time in which to live, yet not more so than the present moment.

Much more might be said on this theme; books are yet to be written, and not then will the subject be exhausted. Let me lay now upon the altar of memory this modest memorial dedicated to that small but shining company of pioneer educators who helped to make the wilderness blossom like the rose:

“When thy wondrous story telling
 Illinois, Illinois,
On thy heroes proudly dwelling,
 Illinois, Illinois,
Tell of those who broke mind's fetters
Link't in beauty, life and letters,
Made us all their grateful debtors,
 Illinois, Illinois.”

EARLY SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN MY COUNTY.

By OWENETTA EDWARDS.

My county, McLean County, is geographically a little north of center in the state of Illinois. It is in direct line with Chicago and St. Louis, however, a little nearer the former than the latter. The county contains 741,586 acres and is situated in the heart of the corn belt area.

Although Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, there is no authentic record of settlers coming into the county until 1820-1825. However, the first school was held on May 1, 1825, in the new log house of Mr. John Wells Dawson, one of the first settlers in Blooming Grove. He gave this cabin to be used as the school building while he continued to live in his old house. Near this site was erected in 1922 a tablet in memory of John and Jane Hendrix and John W. and Ann Dawson, "first settlers of Blooming Grove." Mr. Dawson passed around a paper among the fourteen families of the settlement to find how many children could be enrolled in school if a teacher could be secured. The parents were required to pay a rate of \$2.50 per pupil for a term of four months. Miss Delilah Mullins, of Ohio, was secured for the position. She asked each family for books. One had an almanac; another a Webster's Speller; there were one or two Arithmetics; and Lessons in English. It was necessary to send to Springfield, which was the nearest town, for paper. Home-made ink was used and their pens were goose quills. The school was started May 1, 1825, and continued through the summer. The average attendance was about ten. At one time four of Miss Mullins' brothers and sisters were pupils. The school was built on the land of Mr. Dawson, as before mentioned. This site is now on the present farm of David Cox, which is about four miles south of Bloomington. The children of the early settlers did not have an easy time going to and from school. A few of the dangers were storms, rattlesnakes and wolves.



Owenetta Edwards

From 1822 to 1855 our pioneer settlers struggled to educate their children by private means. This meant that each family paid a certain subscription. This made it difficult for the poor families because they could not pay the subscription fee and yet they wanted to have their children educated. These poor families were aided by the kindness of the more well-to-do ones and the teachers themselves greatly helped the children. However, this way was not very satisfactory. The earliest report of public money being used for school purposes was in 1836 to 1837, when Bloomington and Danvers townships were credited with payments of tuition to teachers. This money was taken from the interest on the sale of school lands. The period from 1846, or thereabout, to 1855 may well be called the period of semi-subscription and semi-free schools. These schools were ones in which the teacher was paid partly by the parents or guardians of the children and partly by the interest on school funds. The subscription schools were the public schools of the early days, and, of course, they did not fulfill the needs of the people. These gradually developed into free schools. From 1850 to 1855, when the Free School Act was passed, the teachers were obliged to present to the proper custodians of the public school funds a schedule showing the attendance of pupils, and on this showing a certain proportion of the teacher's salary was paid out of the public money. Almost all the towns' schools, except those of Chenoa, Yates, Cropsey, Belleflower and Blue Mound, which did not develop until after 1855, started with private schools. After 1855, which marks the starting of the popular education, all schools became free public schools.

Dr. Trabue, a Frenchman, taught in Blooming Grove the second school of the county during the winter of 1825-6. He was the first teacher to whom the parents of those days ventured to send their large boys.

Mrs. Virginia Hayden Graves, at the age of sixteen, was teaching in a school two miles southwest of Bloomington. The tuition was \$1.00 per pupil, and the trustees were Dr. Johnson,

Isaac Mitchell and Mr. Kitchell. Mrs. Graves says she got \$10.00.

In 1831 Mr. W. H. Hodge commenced teaching the first school in the new village of Bloomington. He was succeeded by Mr. A. C. Washburn, who stayed from December, 1831, to the spring of 1833. Mr. Washburn was far superior to the average western teacher of the time. Due to this school McLean County could in 1832 boast of a good private school. He started the first Sabbath School of the county on April 25, 1832. Sabbath schools for a number of years were private.

Miss Martha Tompkins in 1842 taught a private school for young children at the southwest corner of Washington and Center Streets in Bloomington. At about the same time Dr. W. C. Hobbs taught a private school for boys, which, according to all accounts, was one of a very high grade for the time.

According to promise the colony which comprised Hudson about 1838 erected in the village a school. This frame building for several years was also used as a church.

The first school in Dry Grove is said to have been taught by James Garten in a big log cabin on Jacob Hinshaw's place. Wilton William later taught a "loud" school, in which the pupils' studiousness was measured by the amount of noise they made.

Archibald Johnson, who taught a subscription school about the winter of 1832-3, was the first teacher in Danvers. He was a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher and a good teacher. His price per scholar for a term of four months was \$2.00. The second teacher was Lyman Porter, and the third was Hosea Stout, who was converted to Mormonism. He went to Nauvoo and afterwards to Salt Lake City, where he became one of the twelve apostles.

In the winter of 1844-5 Walter C. Wilson taught school in Colonel Beeler's cabin on section 3 in Dale township.

A woman by the name of Pierce, one of the Mt. Hope colonists, taught in her own home the first school in this part of the county. Later the Mt. Hope colonists had in their

village a frame structure which was used for school and church. The building was afterwards moved to McLean.

At Funks Grove Church, which is about two miles west of the small village of Funks Grove, is a marble stone with tablet on which is the following inscription:

In Memory of
Isaac Funk
Casander Funk
Robert Stubblefield
Dorothy Stubblefield
Who settled in this Grove
1824
Erected on site of
First Log School House
1924

This spot is a most beautiful one because the little church sits back in the timber and seems to be happy and content in its little home. A little to the front and side of the church is a little cemetery in which lie the bodies of the first settlers. It seems to be the most desirable setting for a school. This natural beauty is enhanced by the painstaking care which is given to the grounds. This care is made possible by a special endowment fund.

The first school of Old Town was taught by Callista Stanton in the summer of 1838 in Lewis Case's new barn. Miss Stanton had eight pupils and received \$1.50 a week.

James H. Lincoln taught the first school of Leroy. The first schoolhouse contained one room, 24x30 feet. In 1844 they built a two-story brick school on Block 42, Conkonis Addition, which served until 1892, when the old building was torn down and the present commodious building of eight rooms was erected at the cost of \$11,000.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church built a neat brick church and connected with it was the Leroy Seminary, an institution for higher education than the common schools afforded.

In 1865 the public school district and the Methodist Church jointly built a two-story building in Saybrook.

In Lexington the first school house was a little log building in the timber just south of the village, a joint affair built by those interested in education.

There was an academy of fifteen or twenty rooms at Pleasant Hill (Selma). This place now is almost deserted, although there are several houses still standing and usable.

Belleflower had the first township high school in 1905. The building cost \$9,000.

In Bloomington there were a few higher institutions, among which was a seminary founded in 1834 by Rev. Lemuel Foster. Rev. G. W. Miner was for many years a successful teacher and won the hearts of his pupils.

Also in Bloomington Dr. Finley of Jacksonville tried to form a Young Ladies' Seminary in 1837, but was unsuccessful. In 1853 Prof. D. W. Wilkins continued the seminary successfully. Miss Mary P. Hoover was principal of the preparatory department.

Another educational institution of great value existed in Bloomington from 1856 to 1872. It was owned and conducted by Rev. R. Conover, who died in March, 1908, at a very advanced age. Both this school and that of Prof. D. Wilkins drew many young women from out of the city.

Illinois Wesleyan University was founded in 1850 through the aid of the Methodist Church, which at that time was the strongest church in Bloomington.

The first public school in the district of Normal was opened in 1856 in a small frame building owned by Jesse Fell, but built by John Reece to be used as a shop for the workmen while erecting Mr. Fell's residence. The school opened for the first time in September, 1856, with Mary Shannon as teacher in charge.

A six months' term ending in March, 1858, closed the public schools of that period for the town of Normal.

In 1859 there was a private school in Mr. Fell's library.

In 1860 all the children of the district entered the model school department of the Normal University. The Illinois State Normal University was, in 1857, established in North Bloomington (now the town of Normal), because of the generosity of Jesse Fell and other citizens, who, with the help of the Court of County Commissioners, gave \$141,000 to obtain the location of the first teachers' training school in the state.

During this period the model school was held in the Normal University building, the University receiving from the district a stated sum annually. The president of the University nominated the teachers and managed the school in the interests of the practice department of the State School. This union was dissolved in 1868.

McLean County ranks as the largest county in area, and it has great educational advantages due to these early school beginnings.

Note: The material for the essay is taken from "The Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and McLean County," by Bateman and Selby; from "The Good Old Times in McLean County," by Dr. Duis; from "The School Records of McLean County," Volume II, and from personal observations of memorial markers.

PRESENTATION OF MEDAL.

By MRS. ELI DIXSON.

The training of the children and youth of our land should be one of the chief concerns of our Government. The primary safeguard for our children is the mother. Her influence is modified by home environment, school surroundings and years of training. However, none of these things carry that affection and devotion of soul which is the great endowment of motherhood. Her influence cannot be overestimated.

Organized society—the school and the church—add to the mental growth of the child, placing him in fields of advancement which exert a larger and broader influence. What we need is to take a personal interest in the young people of our communities. We must know that in our schools and colleges they are taught those principles which will make of them men and women who will protect the institutions of America. The home, the Christian religion, and our Government are all being attached. Let us be sure that we are awake to the fact that each of us as citizens has a responsibility confronting him. We Americans have been more abundantly blessed than any other nation in the world. The Pilgrim Fathers gave thanks to God for material blessings. We are prone today to take the credit for material progress to ourselves.

The imperative need of Americans is a greater appreciation of their opportunities and privileges. They need a greater realization of their responsibilities for the perpetuation of our institutions and a greater willingness to sacrifice for the common good. This country should be proud of its progress and high standards of living. Such benefits contain danger to the masses if the leaders among us are not watching the trend of events. A democratic form of Government does not work automatically. We must build each day for tomorrow. We should pass to posterity more than the inheritance which we received from our forefathers.

The ideals and principles which we find embodied in the Constitution of the United States are a part of our inheritance. Life is a big store-room filled with the aims, desires, visions and hopes of our young people. The price they pay as they develop their lives depends upon the wisdom of their choosing.

It is an opportunity and a privilege as loyal citizens of America for us to guide and direct the lives of the coming generation to those well-tried ideals and principles of the founders and statesmen of our country.

To this end the Daughters of the American Revolution of Illinois have joined with the Illinois State Historical Society to encourage research work. We wish to make history one of the influences which develop our State. In this contest each county has the privilege of having one representative. A medal is given annually as a merit of reward to the successful student who is enrolled in any class in high school and who prepares the most excellent paper upon the topic submitted. The subject this year is "Early Schools and Teachers in My County."

To you, Miss Owenetta Edwards, has been awarded this trophy. As you have assembled your facts concerning this subject you have realized the great influence the school and the teacher had in the community. In those early days it was most potent. May you so live that you will be a force in your community. This will lead you to be a loyal citizen of the United States, ever sponsoring the ideals and principles as set forth in the Constitution. May this day be an epoch in your life; coming to you again and again as a guiding star to higher and greater achievements.

In the name of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution and the Illinois State Historical Society, it is my honor, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you this gold medal.

May it remind you of a task "well done" and inspire you to greater accomplishments.

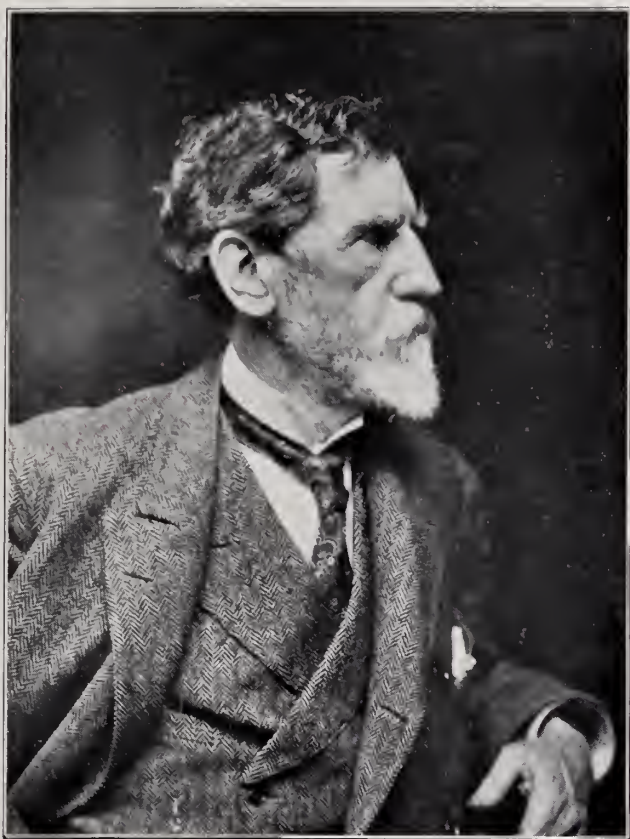
THE STORY OF A STATUE.

By FRANK E. STEVENS.

Standing before the Saint-Gaudens statue in Lincoln Park, Chicago, an indifferent person is interested in it in spite of himself. A more impressionable person absorbs inspiration from the magnificent thing and remains a little longer to enjoy the mental pleasure he finds in his contemplation of the massive head and expressive face every line of which lures with its lustre of kindness, gentleness, goodness and overpowering firmness withal.

The perfect poise and pose of the body are not lost on the visitor to be sure; art of the highest character, ease and grace are reflected, yet one returns to the face to find the grandeur of this perfect work of art; this outstanding exemplification of human greatness without considering the possibility deftly hidden that a story of infinite interest and charm is to be found in that pose. Perhaps moments are too precious to lose them in mental speculations, much less to romance over that pair of broad shoulders; the massive, well-proportioned torso; the strength of arm; the grace of leg and foot, yet clothed in its wardrobe is a borrowed pair of broad shoulders; a massive, well-proportioned torso; strength of arm and grace of leg and foot whose story has never yet seen the printed page. And it is a wondrous story worth any person's while.

The sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, in all human probability never had seen Abraham Lincoln. That circumstance, however, need not and did not offer the slightest obstacle to the sculptor, who had a well-defined conception and plan on which to work out his great statue. He could and did take with him to his studio at Cornish, New Hampshire, many correct likenesses of the Lincoln face and in just as many poses. But with the Lincoln body could a well-defined plan fill the required gap to the point of perfection in so great a work?



Augustus St. Gaudens



G. E. Knowlton

In the treatment of the body could other influences, material or ethereal be brought to his assistance? True the sculptor might use to advantage his sense of proportion or guess at so much of his figure as fell below the head and make an acceptable creation. But this sculptor was a wise old boy who at the very first considered his problem from every last one of its angles, after which he looked around to find a model whose physique corresponded closely with the Lincoln physique as learned by him after careful study. This necessity adapts itself to print with the ease of so many other problems that failure seems improbable. In this instance fortune smiled on Saint-Gaudens, and almost without urge or effort Mr. Langdon Morse, nicknamed "Deacon" Morse, hove in sight at Windsor just over into the state of Vermont. This man attracted the Saint-Gaudens eye the instant he came across the sculptor's path. The man was angular; however, he was well built and he was exactly six feet four inches in height, the exact height of Lincoln. It was a fortunate moment for Saint-Gaudens that threw Morse into view.

Once assured of his model's presence in the village, no time was lost by the sculptor to make himself secure in the presence and unlimited use of that model. Diplomacy in the sculptor and a happy disposition in the model completed the necessary negotiations, and Morse began his visits to the Saint-Gaudens studio. Another important factor was still lacking until Mr. G. E. Knowlton, then of Windsor, now of Sycamore, Illinois, a splendid photographer, was secured to make photographs from time to time as required. Before being permitted to copy any of the photographs of the Lincoln face, however, Mr. Knowlton was compelled to sign an agreement never to print one solitary one of them except for the sculptor, and faithfully did Mr. Knowlton adhere to his agreement. Saint-Gaudens was new to his profession and so was Mr. Knowlton, and both worked together long and earnestly. Both were young and full of ambition, which brought them still closer together in their great work, and

by the time they had finished their mutual labors, it might be said that each had perfected himself into a highly specialized anatomist.

First, Mr. Knowlton would make a full standing picture of Mr. Morse. Then the position another day would be shifted in order to carry out another study for analysis still later in the studio, but always standing, of course. After many months, perhaps running into the years, the accepted pose had been secured in detail and ensemble. We will say that first the shoulders were portrayed; then shifted more or less and rephotographed; the same process was worked with the arms; the hands; the feet; the knees, singly and together; the thighs; the ankles; in other words, every section of the man's anatomy was pictured, and when the parts had been selected from the pictures, placed and replaced, they were moulded and modeled together and after long and toilsome, yet pleasant sittings, the body of Mr. Morse had been transposed into the wonderful statue standing today in its Lincoln park home, where countless thousands have viewed it and left with a better and more glorious appreciation of the physical Lincoln.

In the summer of 1886 the plaster cast was finished and sent to New York to be cast. When done in bronze and exposed to critical view, that moment the fame and the fortune of the sculptor had become assured and the name and for that matter the name and the body of Mr. Morse faded from the picture so far as the great statue and its admirers were concerned. Criticisms never have been heard. Although Morse may have regarded himself famous, measurably, after learning of the acclaims of the multitudes in expressing their approval of the classic shoulders and stalwart form that he had loaned to Abraham Lincoln to make possible that sublime figure of American history and American art, he took on no conceit for the important part he had played.

Outside the family, the helpers and Mr. Knowlton, nobody knows the secret of this resplendent transformation. Look at



Langdon Morse

the picture of Mr. Morse that is made a part of this story; notice the lapel of the coat and its identity with the lapel of the Lincoln statue. Look over the figure of Mr. Morse as it appears in the picture and its striking resemblance to the figure in the statue and then follow it with the story of Mr. Knowlton, who so kindly communicated it to me, and the next time you look at the statue you will have a more pleasurable understanding of its history and of its merited value as a great work of art and a faithful picture of our greatest citizen.

Mr. Morse's was a striking figure; that fact was primarily instrumental in attracting the Saint-Gaudens eye. Whether upon entering the street, the home, the store or the church, it was imposing and earned the attention given it by the great sculptor. The name, too, had its influence at Windsor. Born at Rochester, Vermont, he came from a long line of ancestors who had been prominent in New England councils and New England's growth. As his neighbors all agreed, "he was looked up to."

The Springfield (Massachusetts) Union and Republican of August 7, 1927, carried an interesting story of Saint-Gaudens and his celebrated studio where his Lincoln statue was created. Although the spot has been made a veritable shrine and although a beautiful memorial has been built there and ornamentations in shrubs have been placed there, the studio where he spent twenty-five years of his life remains, and of this almost sacred spot it has this in part to say: "Under a Renaissance canopy of warm-toned Vermont marble, designed by his old friend, William M. Kendall, of McKim, Mead & White, is a Roman sacrificial altar, a reproduction of one modeled by his studio assistant, Henry Hering, for the ceremonial finale of the masque.

"For more than a quarter of a century Saint-Gaudens lived and labored in this spot now sacred to him. The scene in itself is inspiring. One looks away across feathery pine tops over the ravine of Blow-me-down brook across the broad, fertile valley of the Connecticut to the swelling green slopes of

the Vermont hills. Ascutney looms up grandly, its changing moods and shadows 'blue-purple' the color of the bloom on a Concord grape. It was back in the early 80's that Saint-Gaudens came here at the suggestion of his friend Charles C. Beaman a partner and son-in-law of William M. Evarts." (Evarts had his summer home at Windsor—F. E. S.)

"Saint-Gaudens was working on the model of his standing Lincoln. Up in this hill country Beaman told him, 'he would find plenty of Lincoln-shaped men.' " And sure enough he found Morse.

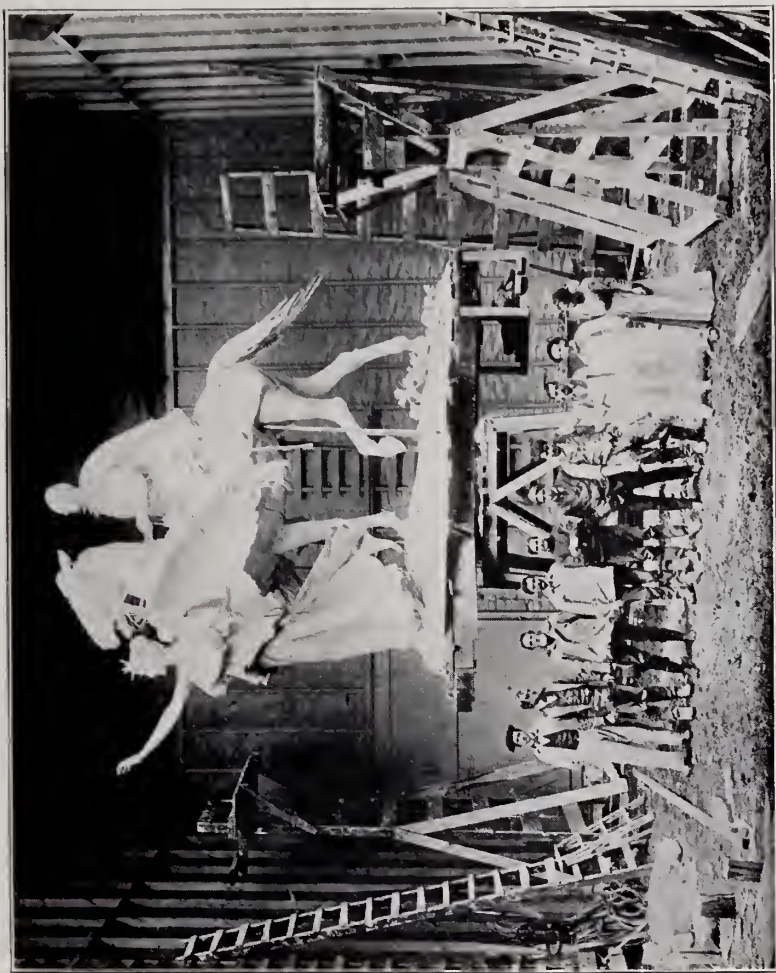
"The century-old brick tavern, which in early days was known as 'Huggins Folly,' was harmoniously remodeled by the architect, George Babb. The old stable became the 'studio of the pergola,' the sculptor's own workroom. As students multiplied, the larger 'new studio' was built and rebuilt."

While talking with Leonard Crunelle, the eminent sculptor, about Saint-Gaudens and his studio, he generously gave me a photograph of it that he had owned for a long while. This picture shows the room in which Saint-Gaudens spent so many years and in which he created so many famous sculptures.

Saint Gaudens and his helpers are shown working on his "Sherman," one of the many famous sculptures that have enriched the domain of art. The photograph is a faithful picture. Substitute the "Standing Lincoln" and you will see how, when, and where it was done, although of course the helpers would not be the same. I consider myself extremely fortunate in securing this picture for this little story, not a very long one, to be sure, but one of absorbing interest to me at least.

Strangely enough the first picture made of Jefferson Davis had an experience almost identical, although, of course, the Davis picture was a miniature and the Lincoln picture a bronze statue.

The Davis miniature was painted by Saunders, of London, England, a noted miniaturist of the times.



Augustus St. Gaudens and his helpers working on the Sherman Statue
in the New Hampshire Studio



Jefferson Davis

In 1849 Col. Davis sat to Saunders and the picture was done. Perhaps the story of what followed may best be told in the words of Mrs. Davis, who in sending me a copy of this first and youngest picture of her husband, said this:

“Col. Jefferson Davis in 1849. The youngest picture of him extant. It was a miniature painted by Saunders, of London, England. Saunders was the person who was sent to Italy to paint Byron and Countess Guicciola and he insisted upon substituting Byron’s figure from the throat down for Mr. Davis’ square-shouldered military figure, and he refused to retouch his painting, saying Mr. Davis had a poet’s head and should not have a military figure. As Saunders left town ill, nothing could be done about his ill-advised assertion of his taste.

“V. Jefferson Davis.”

“October 1st, 1901.”

The Davis miniature represented the very highest qualities demanded by artistic skill and it had it as the judgment by those who know proclaims. It is a perfect likeness showing the subject’s handsome features to the best possible advantage. Mr. Davis regarded it as his best.

It may be urged that the change made from the John C. Calhoun picture to a Lincoln picture should be placed in the same category as the Lincoln-Davis pictures. But by no sort of gymnastics in logic can it be said to have any resemblance to the Lincoln-Davis cases. In the Calhoun-Lincoln instance a picture of Calhoun standing was taken. From it the head was removed and a head of Lincoln was substituted by a person or persons for purposes of trade; for profit by a parvenu in the matter of portraiture. For the moment the story of a discovery of an entirely new Lincoln picture appealed to collectors, but presently when a copy had found its way into the collection of a wise old bird who knew pictures and their origin too well to be fooled, he forthwith labeled it a fake and thereafter when offered for sale it fell flat.

Its only office was to throw suspicion upon the genuineness of pictures generally.

**A STORY OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, THE SOLDIERS'
RESERVATION, INCLUDING THE INDIANS,
FRENCH TRADERS, AND SOME EARLY
AMERICANS.**

By WILLIAM NELSON MOYERS.

I.

THE APPROACH.

It is much to be regretted that early historians have not given us more account of the very early men who lived and moved within this territory. That failure makes it difficult to select a proper starting point for this story. For this reason, perhaps it would be well to give the metes and bounds.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, a great many soldiers were discharged and sent home without their pay. To remedy this, the Continental Congress passed an act granting to every such discharged soldier one hundred acres of land, to be selected by him within a prescribed territory; and on October 22nd, 1787, that congress set off as a reservation for that purpose a portion of land in the Northwest Territory, described and bounded as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Ohio River; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Au Vase; thence up that stream to a line running straight west from the mouth of the Little Wabash; thence east along that west line to the Wabash; thence down the Wabash and the Ohio, to the beginning." Au Vase is a contraction of "a le vase," the French name of Big Muddy; and that was Big Muddy's common name at that date. Some fifty or sixty years ago this territory was popularly called "The Old Soldiers' Reservation." That is the location of this story.

The materials for the story have been gathered from some three or four of the biggest libraries in the state, and from the War Office; also from numerous old traditions, and from sixty years' intimate personal acquaintance with the territory and with many old people who used to tell the old stories.



Map of Soldiers' Reservation including the Indians, French Traders
and some Americans

Many footprints and fingerprints have been personally examined, and an earnest effort made to interpret them correctly. Besides all this, much study has been given to the great number of French names found here when Americans first came. All our streams, prairies and landmarks, with the first old trading-points, were named by the French traders, trappers and hunters who frequented this territory. These Frenchmen also wrote the French interpretation of the names of our Indian tribes and chiefs, and named a few of our forest trees and fruits.

Many of these names retain the French spelling and pronunciation; a few are thinly disguised by being slightly Anglicized; some are translated literally into English, while many are lost to us forever.

A complete story of the Indians cannot be told without mentioning the French traders and early American settlers who came while the Indians were still here.

For convenience the story will be divided into three chapters.

THE INDIANS.

The Indians were misnamed by Columbus; libeled by early writers, who called them savages; and misclassified by the early ethnologists who called them Indians and Mound-builders. They have been spoiled, despoiled, misunderstood, misrepresented and exploited ever since.

If the Indian was cruel and crafty in war, he was no more savage than were the early Israelites in their wars of extermination, and perhaps not so destructive as those who fought in the late world war. His terrible war-whoop corresponded very well to the modern barrage, and was intended for the very same purpose—to destroy the morale of the enemy. But he had no Andersonville prisons, and he shot no spies.

His thoughts, his language and his every activity centered around the three major urges of mankind everywhere—the urge for food, the urge for self-preservation, and the urge for the propagation of the species. Even his wars and his

religion never got out of sight of these. And the best educated and most highly civilized man of today is the one who can best accomplish these three things with the least hurt to society; the best government, that one which renders these three things most certain and secure.

The very earliest men of whom we may ever know in this Reservation left their record by their footprints in sandbars, which hardened into sandstone and imprisoned those footprints. There are at least seven locations where such footprints are known. They are all in sheet sandstone of similar color and apparent age. The best known of all these today are upon the Evans Bluff some three miles east of State Bond Route Number One. To reach that bluff one must turn off that route sharply in an easterly direction a half-mile north of the Johnson-Massac line. A handsome, gray-haired lady, Mrs. Evans, will loan you a broom and show you the path to the Footprint Rock; and if you sweep well, you may count some sixteen to eighteen footprints.

There are three ledges of rock, each about seven and one-half inches higher than the one below, thus forming a sort of stairway of three broad steps. The center step is about four feet wide by several rods long, and all the tracks are upon that step. The inference is compelling that when those tracks were made the step higher was too hard to take a footprint, and the step lower too soft to hold one. There are three very plain sets of tracks, and these attract the most attention. They were made by a man (who might have worn an 8-E shoe), his wife, and their twelve-year-old daughter. They face the southeast, and are in a proper row, and just the proper distance from each other. These three Indians came there from the northwest, and they went away toward the southeast. They stepped off right foot forward on to the lower step. Evans Bluff is six hundred feet above sea level at Biloxi, and is the highest point upon which human footprints have been seen in Illinois.

This little family lived somewhere within walking distance of that sandbar, and they came there for some purpose, and they stopped to look at something. The imagination must picture all that. Then there is the very interesting question as to the date when the tracks were made. According to the late Stuart Weller, the hills behind them were once a thousand feet higher than at present, and the old Chester Sea bathed those shores. On the Albritten hill a short half-mile away, and fifty feet lower down, may be found today shells that are known to grow in salt water only. The footprints were evidently made many centuries later than the date Mr. Weller had in mind.

These track-makers evidently were pre-Mound-builders, and they were vegetarians.

It is noteworthy that three classes of "footprints" are found here. Besides those mentioned, there have been found artificial tracks, Indian faces, and other crude carvings; and there are numerous weathered spots called "giant footprints," "elephant tusks," etc.

It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that the lowest footprints that have been seen are at exactly the same elevation as are the very highest mounds seen—that is, at four hundred feet. Evidently the Indian acquired a taste for flesh, and with a willow ladle, he could wade into a pond or puddle and dip out enough tadpoles, minnows, crawfish, etc., for a full meal, and these he ate raw. To remain close to his puddles, he built his mounds of earth. The last mounds built were at an elevation of three hundred and twenty feet above sea-level. Between these two elevations are all the mounds to be found in this territory.

The four-hundred-foot-elevation mounds were scarcely more than three feet in height. They were in a location where a rise of two to three feet of water could spread out for a hundred miles, rendering great height of mounds unnecessary. The three-hundred-and-twenty-foot mounds are in locations where high waters may pile up to twelve or fifteen feet, making

mounds of great height necessary. Some of these mounds have in them fifty thousand cubic yards of earth, and would cost twenty-five thousand dollars to build at present-day prices. Imagine a lazy Indian, or even an industrious white man, building these mounds by carrying earth in willow baskets, unless driven to it by a major urge! The four-hundred-foot mounds might have accommodated ten people, the mounds being about twelve feet in diameter; while the three-hundred-and-twenty-foot mounds were of so much greater size that they would have accommodated a hundred people as easily. This argues that the population had increased greatly.

The absence of charcoal or of flint tools in any of these mounds is evidence that the Indian of the mound-building age did not know the use of fire. When he did learn its use, he made arrowheads, killed and cooked big game, and moved to higher ground. A fiddle-string fifty miles long, rotated about a flag-pole at the mouth of the Ohio, would inscribe a circle that includes more mounds than are to be found in a similar circle of that size anywhere in Illinois—probably anywhere in America.

After the Mound-builders had built their last mounds, there came a more numerous population who built stone walls upon bluffs. There are four such walls in existence today—one east of Makanda, one east of Stonefort, one on the Draper Bluff, and a fourth northeast of Vienna. The traditions of a past generation called these walled areas forts, and the one east of Stonefort has been named "Old Stone Fort" for a century or more. There has been much speculation as to the purpose for which these stone walls were built, who built them, and when. The answer to any one of these questions will throw light upon the other two. The question of their purpose offers the most promising field of inquiry. A casual examination offers convincing proof that they were not built for defense against an army equipped with firearms or other effective projectiles. An attacking party so armed could

easily gain a vantage ground overlooking the besieged by from ten to forty feet, at short range, and have the people within the walls at a great disadvantage, like rats in a trap. This at once explodes the theory entertained by some writers that these stone walls were built by De Soto, George Rogers Clark, or some other European—Spanish or French.

If the walls were for defense against an enemy armed with war clubs, then in that case the attackers must reach the walls before any combat could take place, and in the combat the attackers would have just as much protection by the walls as would those on the inside. And if it became necessary for those inside to retreat, the only way in which they could escape would be simply to jump over the bluff to certain death. These bluffs are one hundred feet high; and, while near each enclosure there are foot-ways by which escape might be made, the foot-ways are fenced outside the enclosures and not inside. Many other proofs that these stone walls were not built as military defenses could be presented. Much better locations for that purpose could be found in the immediate vicinity of either wall. They were not built as forts at all, but will probably continue to be called stone forts.

It is the idea of some observers that they were walled cities or villages. But the difficulty of getting water to them and the fact that near each of them today are to be seen evidences of Indian campsites upon much better ground are convincing proof that they were not walled villages. There is scant proof that the North American Indian ever had walled cities.

Closer examination of these walls and their peculiar locations afford almost compelling evidence that they were simply buffalo-traps, bull-pens, dead-falls, slaughter-pens, or, as the French called them, "vache enclore." High, vertical bluffs were chosen in every case, and those in Jackson and Johnson Counties are semi-circular with the walls along the chords; the one in Saline is straight, with the wall forming the arc.

Openings were left in the walls; and salt placed inside would draw buffalo, deer, elk, or other salt-loving ruminants. When a small herd was inside the Indians would stalk them toward the bluff, and at the proper moment stampede them, to the sure destruction of those nearer the edges by the crowding of those farther back.

This method of taking large game was still in use by the Indians when the white man came, and such enclosures were then called deer-pounds, although the stockades were at that time made of pickets cut from the woods. After the bow was perfected, this method of trap-making became less used. A modern Nimrod would condemn it as being very unsportsman-like; but it must be remembered that the Indians did not kill for sport, but to meet their urge for food only.

It is just conceivable that these "vache enclore" were built as an early effort to domesticate the cow. The very first cow ever milked was trapped in a pit of some sort. There are just such "forts" in Kentucky and in Tennessee, the home of the Cherokees—and they had domesticated cows. There is no other indication or suggestion that the Cherokees were ever here until about 1756, when they were at Fort Massac as allies of the French in the French and Indian War.

If these "forts" were big game-traps, as the evidence on the ground today strongly indicates, then they were made by the Indians about the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The three-hundred-and-twenty-foot mounds were built not earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century, and these "traps" were built later, by a more populous tribe, or tribes. While the only syllable of evidence points to the Cherokees as their builders, there is no positive evidence of that fact.

When Lewis and Clark were far up the Missouri, they came to a very high, vertical bluff just at the intersection of a tributary, and on the beach at its base were vast numbers of buffalo bones. They learned that the Blackfeet Indians who lived near herded the buffalo on the top of the bluff, and then, upon stampeding the herd, numbers of the buffaloes

would be crowded off by those in the rear. They named the stream "Slaughter River."

A careful reader of the records left by the footprints and fingerprints of our Indians will notice that when those footprints were trapped in the half dozen sandstone bluffs about this old Reservation, the population was very sparse; that when the four-hundred-foot-elevation mounds were built, it was not very great; and that when the three-hundred-and-twenty-foot mounds were made it had increased by ten to twenty fold. Now, when the stone walls were erected the man-power of the tribes had greatly increased, as witness the greater amount of labor required.

When the Indian learned the use of fire in the manufacture of stone implements and in cooking his food, and when he learned to plant and reap and to live in crowded villages on the malarial prairies—as they were malarial in an early day—he invited contagions and paid the penalty. There are records that the half of a tribe died within a single winter. While the Indian had vastly progressed in many ways, he had not learned the needs nor the arts of sanitation. In that respect, however, he was just about on a par with other peoples all over the world at that date. And in that is to be found the reason why the Indian population of southern Illinois was never great—not over six thousand when Europeans came. Man's social and economic conditions determine his choice of location, the style of his house, and largely his habits of life. So with the Indian of southern Illinois.

As history goes, these "enclore" (enclosures) were made within modern times, by a race of men who have just barely gone "round the corner," barely out of sight; and the old Reservation is very fortunate in having such lasting monuments to the cunning and industry of that vanished race of men. These old "forts" deserve much more notice than they receive. The high school pupil who loves the rugged or picturesque in nature, who admires rocky bluffs and caverns, will

feel richly rewarded by a trip to any of these. One can almost see the shadows of the Indians and hear the echo of their war-whoops, and surely see their fingerprints a-plenty.

These stone-wall enclosures were the very last heavy work done here. They were much later than the mounds. Our forefathers imitated that method of trapping big ruminants when they built the deer-pounds. Having axes, they cut oak poles, which they sharpened and drove into the ground. This method was less laborious than the Indian's, but served the same purpose. Men living have seen deer-pounds.

After learning the use of fire, the advance of the Indian was rapid. He fashioned all sorts of implements of husbandry, of the chase, and of war. Soon he raised corn, beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, sweet potatoes, tobacco, gourds, and sunflowers. He made blankets, shawls, robes, and many other useful things. By observing gregarious animals, he learned to congregate into tribes or clans as a more certain means of securing for himself the blessings of the three great urges. If all went on the chase, some would be successful, and all might eat. The same idea has builded great nations. If all plant, some will reap, and all may eat.

This was the degree of civilization to which the Indian had advanced when the white man found him here.

The early French writers called all of our southern Indians the "Illinois." These were the Kaskaskias, the Michigamies, the Mascotins, the Kahokias, the Peorias and the Tau-mar-waus. These were related (being of the Algonquin nation), or were friendly among each other. They had formerly lived along the Peoria River, but had left there on account of repeated attacks by the Pequots. Now they lived along the Au Kas (Okaw), and between that stream and the Au Vase.

The Tacaoganes lived in the Black Bottoms above Brookport; the Nataogami, along the Salines; and the Kickapoos

roamed from far up the Wabash southward along the great divide to New Columbia. The Shawnees had been driven from the Tennessee country a half century before—in 1715—by the Creeks and the Cherokees, and were now living at the mouth of the Wabash in the Illinois country. These latter named tribes appear to have had no love for each other, nor for the Kaskaskia tribes, as those west of the Au Vase were called. So far as our information goes, however, they had very few wars. The Kickapoos appear to have been an outlawed band of Miamis who roamed about stealing from better-behaved tribes and making trouble for all. They were never very numerous, but were described as good runners. There was a small band of Osages near the mouth of Little Muddy at a comparatively recent date.

Besides these modern tribes found here by the French, others had been here a century or so earlier. These left their symbols in the bark of beech trees, their handiwork in their graves, their various methods of burial, and their fingerprints showing their mode of life and the crafts which they followed. The history of these older tribes is buried with them. One tribe made arrow-heads of flint, another made pottery of a high grade, and another boiled salt, all within this Old Soldiers' Reservation. Beyond that, all is conjecture. It is fairly certain, but not proven, that a tribe lived here who practiced human sacrifices.

Subsequent civilization has destroyed all signs of the locations of the villages in the prairies; but a great many of the old camp-grounds in the great forest are well known, and many others may be easily found. There are a dozen of the old camp-sites in Pulaski County plainly marked, and in Alexander County fully as many. No doubt there are many more such to be seen in the higher-lying counties.

These old camp-sites were invariably near a spring, or a water-course with a "swimming-hole" that held water the year around. Each site is marked by a pile of chips of flint,

from the size of a child's thumb-nail to the size of a silver dollar. There are from a bushel to several bushels of these, and if in a cultivated field, they are scattered over several rods. These chip-piles marked about the center of the camp, and were left there by the Indians in repairing their flint arrow-heads, spears, and so on. Contrary to popular tradition, they were not old arrow-makers' shops, but repair shops.

Every such camp-site had also its burial-grounds. These were in the northeast quadrant, provided the ground in that quadrant was suitable for that purpose; otherwise they went around clockwise until they found suitable grounds. To locate the burial-grounds, one must first locate the chip-pile; then decide where the grounds suitable for burial are, and step off a hundred paces, and you will be within the burial-grounds. Several such grounds have been located, and every bone excavated and sold to museums. What a shame! Intelligent search may find them yet.

Within the camp-grounds many relics have been found, and many others remain to be found. One tribe used the same camp-site for many years, and the descendants of that tribe used the same site even for centuries. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Indians camped just any and everywhere.

Our modern Indians were as nearly civilized as any found in North America. They were nomadic in the sense that they lived in our little prairies in summer, and cultivated their crops, and then went south into the great forest in winter to hunt, to be near an abundant supply of food, and to be better sheltered from the northwest winds. These winds also drove many animals into the forest.

It is interesting to note the great variety and vast numbers of wild animals that once roamed our forests. There were buffalo-trails, a few of which remain to be seen; bear-wallows; deer-licks; beaver-dams, of which a few remain; otter-slides; raccoon-dens; opossum-flats; fox-dens; panther-bayous; wild-cat-hills, and the habitat of many lesser animals.

Around the edges of the prairies there were paroquets, wood-pheasants, and prairie-chickens by the thousand. There were turkey-flats; swan-ponds where great trumpeters fed, on their spring and autumn flights; eagles' nests on lofty cliffs; and many well-known wild-pigeon-roosts. It will tax the credulity of the present generation to believe what vast numbers of these pigeons frequented our woods. In November, 1700, the entire horizon at the mouth of the Ohio was black with them, according to Father Gravier. That horizon was ten square miles at the tree-tops; and if we reckon but one pigeon to the square yard—Audubon estimated two—at sixty miles per hour, then there were thirty (sixty) million pigeons in that flight. Persons living have seen pigeon-roosts which covered seven acres, and in which were about five million birds. The last such roost reported anywhere near this territory was seen in 1881, but it contained only a few thousand birds. What became of the wild pigeons is still a question. The last one in captivity died in 1914 at the Cincinnati Zoo.

A thousand migrating grey squirrels have been seen in a single drove. Quails were so numerous as to be a nuisance. All kinds of water-fowls were present in large numbers in their season. Wild bees and bee-trees were to be found literally everywhere.

It was a part of the Indian's religion that this wild game was the gift of the Manitou, and it was not to be killed for sport nor for profit, but for food only. The bones of the wild game were to be respected. Accordingly, the Indian strongly resented its wholesale slaughter by the whites.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were but three places in all this great forest where Indians had their year-round dwellings. One of these was in the northeast corner of Alexander County, a half-mile south of the village of Mill Creek. There an ancient tribe called Oumiamis (Wyamis) plied the trade of arrow-making. All manner of flint implements were fashioned there. Great heaps of flint

chips are still to be seen there, and there are some unfinished pieces, evidently broken and spoiled. It would require one man a thousand years to scale off that great pile of flint chips by the crude hand-methods employed. It is supposed that the arrow-makers heated the flint in a charcoal fire with no better draft than the winds of heaven furnished, and then dipped a stick in water and allowed a drop to strike the heated flint at the right point, and that the contraction would remove just the right chip. It was a slow process at best. A high, dry spot where the winds could reach the fire, a water supply, a flint quarry, and the patience of Job were necessary to the arrow-maker's craft.

The patriarch of the arrow-makers was a kind of medicine-man, in league with all the powerful Manitous. There was an unwritten law that all who came to buy his wares must approach without weapons or war-paint. There was no poaching on his hunting-grounds. There is evidence that this tribe increased greatly in numbers. No other such huge piles of flint-chips are to be seen. Great trails from four directions converged at the arrow-maker's place of business. The quarry which furnished the flint rock of this tribe in time became exhausted or difficult to work; time and erosion have hidden it, and it is hard to find today. The industry here probably ceased before the coming of the French, as no mention of it is made by those voluminous writers, the Jesuits.

This old arrow-maker's shop is at the intersection of Mill Creek and Cooper Creek; and on the hills adjacent to the latter creek are more Indian graves within an area of two or three miles than are to be found in any equal area, perhaps in America. Vast numbers of Indians must have dwelt there first and last—and yet there is neither history, tradition, nor discovered indication, that there was ever a battle there.

At the Saline Springs, near Equality, the Nataogami boiled salt for centuries—until well after the coming of the French. That industry, from all indications, was under the

protection of the good Manitou; and never was there hostile demonstration near here until the French undertook to interfere with the business. The Salt War belongs to a later date.

The third locality in which Indians lived the year around was in the Black Bottoms above Brookport. The Tacaoganes inhabited this area, having burned down enough timber to be able to raise their food crops and thus finding it unnecessary to go to the prairies for that purpose. The hunting-grounds of that tribe included all the territory between the Ohio and the great swamp along the Bay Creek and Cache. There is evidence that at some time there were great numbers of this people; and there is strong proof that they engaged in some fierce warfare, probably being attacked by tribes from south of the Ohio.

The Shawnees, after their migration from Tennessee, lived regularly near the mouth of the Wabash until after 1770, but roved far up that stream occasionally. They were not friendly with the other Illinois tribes, and had frequent skirmishes with the Saline Indians, the Nataogami (Kitchigami).

These southern Illinois Indians had many well-beaten trails which followed somewhat nearly along the water-sheds. The longest and most used of these trails followed the shed which divides the waters that fall into the Ohio from those that fall into the Mississippi. The French called this trail the Grand Trace. It entered the Old Soldiers' Reservation near Frankfort, continuing by Creal Springs, Stone Fort, Moccasin Gap and Reevesville, and thence to Massac. Branching out from this great trail were many shorter trails following lesser water-sheds, with which everybody must be familiar—at least in his own community. Some of these trails are still plainly marked, and a few have become public roads.

The history of the early occupants of this territory was enacted along these old trails. Along the water-shed west of Casey's Fork and Big Muddy came a tribe in very early days,

who were good potters. Their pottery was on the right bank of Big Muddy a mile above the mouth of Little Muddy, and a very high grade of ware was made here; but the name of this tribe of potters is not known. Some cutlery of French make was found here as late as the eighties, which is evidence that the French had had a depot here.

The names of several Indian chiefs have come down to us. Of the DuQuoins, both John and Lewis have been mentioned. Chief Wetaug has given his name to a village and to a great spring; his grave may still be seen in Mrs. Bird's front yard at Wetaug, forty feet east of Bond Route Number Two, and it has been religiously preserved by those who have owned and occupied that mound. Roenza, the Kaskaskian, camped upon the little hill where the Olive Branch High School now stands. He was a zealous convert to Christianity, and rendered the French many good services. On one occasion he helped Father Gravier, who had gone north to the Peorias. A member of this tribe shot five arrows into Father Gravier, and one of these struck his elbow, the flint point breaking off and remaining imbedded there. A lone Fox who was present fearlessly walked out to his rescue; with some converted women, he carried the Father to shelter, and had his wounds treated as best he could. (This lone Fox challenges our admiration, because he was not a Christian convert.) News of this incident reached Father Marest at Kaskaskia, and he called upon Roenza for help. Accordingly, Roenza sent four of his bravest men to Gravier, with instructions to die with him. However, the Father was rescued, and he made the long journey to Mobile to a surgeon skilled enough to remove the offending bit of flint. Roenza's summer village was near Kaskaskia, and it was named St. Xavier. His winter camp was at Olive Branch. In November, 1702, Father Marest visited him there. Cyrille was a well known chief of the Mascotins. He it was with whom Father Mermet had the noted controversy about the Manitou of the cow. Tecumseh, another chief, was said

to have been part Shawnee. Many other noted chiefs might be named, but these were the best known.

The several tribes of the Kaskaskias lived in summer between the Au Vase and the Mississippi, and are well known to most readers of history. Many of them came to the "grand bois"—great forest—for their winter hunts. Those living east of the Au Vase were the Shawnees, who lived about the mouth of the Wabash; the Nataogami, who lived along the Saline and as far west as Frankfort; the Tacaoganes, who lived in the Black Bottoms; the Oumiamis, who lived in the Big Bottoms around East Cape and eastward along Cooper Creek to the arrow-maker's shop; the smaller tribe of whom Wetaug was chief, who lived around Wetaug (they were relatives of the Oumiamis); the Akensea, who lived at or near Olmstead; and the outlaw Kickapoos, who roamed from far up the Wabash as far south as the rivers would allow. Most depredations were attributed to the Kickapoos, and they were probably guilty of most of the crimes committed.

It must be understood that when the Indians came south for the winter hunt, they broke up into small camps. This was in order not to drive the game away, and in order that each camp might act as a stalker for the others.

There were probably not more than six thousand Indians in this old Reservation at any one time. Their mode of life was not conducive to longevity, and contagions were common among them. Father Marest relates that in the winter of 1703, fully half of the Moscoutah tribe, camped near Va Bache, died of contagion. Father Mermet, skilled in medical matters, was there, and offered to treat them; but his good offices were refused, as they preferred to rely upon the pow-wows of their own "medicine-men." This preference was characteristic of the Indians—especially of the unconverted Indians, such as the Moscoutahs, who were zealous cow-worshippers.

If six thousand persons, of whom more than half were women and children, were scattered about this Old Soldiers' Reservation today, one might walk from one end of it to the other without meeting a single man. This might help to explain why many persons moved about it in safety in the early years.

There have been many Indian massacres in this territory. The earliest and most extensive one was that of Juchereau's party of buffalo-hunters in 1704. There were fully one hundred and fifty Frenchmen in this party, of whom by far the greater number were at Va Bache, at the head of the Grand Chain of Rocks, on the Ohio; lesser numbers were at Massac, at Frank (French) Fort, and at Kingkaid Hill (there were probably a few at depots and other points). These were all massacred except Juchereau, whose escape has been accounted for in several ways. But the full account of this massacre belongs to the "French Period," and must be given in that connection. The massacres of Andrew Moore and his son at Macedoin in 1812, of Barbera at Jordan's Fort east of Frankfort, and the one at Mound City in 1813, are all well known.

Of Indian wars among themselves within this territory, we have conflicting accounts. About 1750 some French merchants at Vincennes and at Nataogami (probably called Frank Fort at that date) undertook to boil salt at Egalite (Equality), but met with opposition from the salt-boiling tribes there. These French merchants courted the friendship of the Shawnees, who were unfriendly to the Saline tribes, and built greater salt works. This caused friction, and some blood-shed. The quarrel went on for some ten years, when on a dry November day, the Kaskaskias set fire to the prairie north and west of Frank Fort; there being a strong west wind, everything, including some six or seven huttes, with their contents, were destroyed. An old legend has it that an Indian maiden with long, flowing hair, was seen running

with the speed of the wind, eastward across the hill where Frankfort Heights now stands, and that in just a little while, the Shawnees were in hot pursuit of the offending Kaskaskias. But this legend lacks one important element to make it ring true; that is, that no one has ever told just who it was that saw the maiden running. Possibly the "Wandering Jew" was passing that way and was the observer. If he was there he probably saw some eight to ten Frenchmen fleeing toward Ewing Creek for safety. These fleeing Frenchmen could reach the Shawnees before daylight the next morning, and the warriors of that tribe could be in hot pursuit of the Kaskaskias in short order. A fierce battle was had on the left bank of Little Muddy; and many bleaching bones were lying there when the Humphreys came to that neighborhood about 1811. Tradition has called this the Salt War. Some writers mention a war between these tribes around 1800, but do not tell its cause; one writer says by agreement. The location is variously given; and John, or Louis, DuQuoin has been mentioned in connection with it.

Historians have magnified wars, sieges, battles, and the heroes of blood and thunder, and our newspapers thrive on the recital of vice and crime; while little attention is given the ninety-and-nine that go not astray. In just such a manner has the Indian been given a black record. Writers have portrayed the worst examples; artists have painted the most fiendish looking. The Indian's vices have been magnified and his virtues forgotten. The man who said that the only good Indian was a dead Indian, might just as well have said that the only good Negroes were slaves; or that the only good poor men were bound to a master, or to a hoe handle.

The Indian never went to war except for what he conceived to be a righteous cause. Such righteous cause, in his mind, was the wholesale slaughter of his game by other tribes, or by the white man.

Our "Ozarks" possess all the rugged beauty to be seen anywhere; our old trails are vocal with the traditions of a

past generation; and our Cache River swamp could hide the Limberlost in one corner. Likewise, our Indians were just as numerous per square mile, just as good and just as bad, as were to be found anywhere. And so if the Indian loved these precincts, it is hard to find reason to blame him. If the right of possession has any justification in human ethics, then the Indian could not be much blamed if he fought for the land and its fruits and its animals—the gift of the Manitou to the Indian's fathers. Chief Joseph, of the Nez Perces, after his capture, expressed the Indian attitude with considerable force: "Let me be a free man, free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to talk and free to think and act for myself, and I will obey every law and submit to the penalty."

The Indians had many amusements and games, some of which have been adopted by the white man. Among these are shinny, lacrosse and hop-and-stick. A favorite amusement was the dance, of which there were several kinds: the war dance, the religious, the ceremonial, and the social. They had plays, such as pantomime and drama, usually of a religious character or significance. They also had their games of chance and of dexterity. Of these, archery was probably the most popular, as skill in that lent itself to the chase, and to war. (Like the ancient Greeks, an Indian boy belonged to the tribe or clan when he was ten years old, and his training for war began.) The men and boys had target practice with the arrow, knife, hatchet and tomahawk, practicing in the following way: at a distance of ten paces from a tree or post, the tomahawk was twirled toward the tree or post in such manner as to stick into it; and after that could be accomplished, a mark was made on the tree, and the stunt was to hit that mark. They had such amusements as dice, hunt-the-button, football, deer-foot, toss-and-catch, stilts, slings, tops, and many others. The children had dolls, rattles and playhouses. And the Indians seem to have had a very

good sense of humor. They sent DeSoto in quest of gold, the fountain of youth, and the seven cities; they worked on the fears of the early Fathers who descended the Mississippi, by telling of great water-snakes, which proved to be tree-trunks fastened to the bottom by their heavy roots, while the tops ducked up and down by the current of the waters; and they told of fierce tribes farther down, and of awful, fearful Manitou that might eat them alive. Such practical jokes were common.

The Indian's religion, and his story of creation—a great sky-father (spirit) and a great earth-mother—and of a flood, agree much more closely with the Mosaic theory than with the Chaldean as related by Beroses. And this makes it seem probable that the first-comers to America were men who were acquainted with Moses rather than with Beroses, the Chaldean. In fact, the Indian's religion sounds like Christianity compared with the ancient Baal worship. Accordingly, these first-comers might easily have landed here not over twenty-five hundred years ago. However, speculation is outside the scope of this story.

It is now generally believed that the first men came to America by way of the Behring Straits; the headlands are only forty miles apart—an easy day's journey in small oar-craft.

The various groups of Indians named as belonging to southern Illinois are just those mentioned by the early Jesuit Fathers, and following their custom, they have been designated as "tribes." But later writers wrote many of the names differently, and some have designated the groups as "clans," there often being many clans within a tribe. Clan is the correct name for these southern Illinois groups, instead of tribe, as the Jesuits called them; these early French had evidently not studied the ethnology or the civil government of the Indians. Of these southern Illinois clans, the Shawnees (of the Iroquois nation) were the only ones named by

the English; all others were of the Algonquin nation, named by the French. These names were simply the French adaptation of the Indian names as understood by the French, and were later Anglicized; a good example is "Tau-mar-waus," which became "Tamaroa."

The Indian family was the "Oh-wa-chira" shortened to "Ohwas," and was based upon the Mother. The oldest woman was the head of the Ohwas, and all her descendants in the female line belonged to her Ohwas. One family or Ohwas might have a good many members, since girls married young and women lived to be old. The oldest woman in an Ohwas was absolute monarch. The Ohwas had many rights and duties, of which a few were: to the name of the clan to which it belonged; to a part in the councils; to the charge of the totem; to inherit property; to have its male members elected chiefs; to own land; to purchase the life of anyone condemned to die; and to adopt prisoners. These rights were generally respected. Thus, it is easily understood why Pocahontas could save John Smith, while her brother could not have done so; or how Millie, the daughter of Hillis Hodjo, could save McKrimmon in spite of her angry father.

Two Ohwas constituted a "Gene" as written by Powell, and several Genes a "Clan." The Gene, the Clan and the Tribe each had its distinctive rights and duties; grouped together, these were: to its name; to personal property; to protection by the tribe; to be represented in councils; to impeach unfit chiefs; and many others. Some very definite duties were: to not marry within the clan; to save public expenses and to help bear them; to supply the needs of others; to avenge the wrongs of other clans; and to protect the Ohwas.

As with all other men everywhere, there were many things among the Indians that were taboo. For example, to steal from members of their own clan was a crime, but to steal from others was a virtue.

Hence it easily appears that the Indians were not just roving bands of savages without organization. The clans of southern Illinois were never organized under a chief as a tribe, so far as can be determined; nor is it known to what nation of Algonquins they belonged.

Historians have differed, sometimes widely, about the Indians of America, and about those of southern Illinois. One writer says that there was a tribe of Delawares here; it will probably remain a question as to whether there ever was a separate tribe known as "Delawares," although there certainly were Indians in Delaware. A very recent writer says that the Kickapoos were a tribe living in Wisconsin in 1867, and that later they removed to Illinois; but the Kickapoos were in our territory in 1812. Lindquist says that a section of this tribe went to Mexico in 1852, but returned in 1873, being then called the Mexican Kickapoos; also that a remnant of that tribe, one hundred and ninety-five in number, resided near Shawnee, Oklahoma, as late as 1922. The same author says that the Shawnees were originally from Pennsylvania; that they lived later in Ohio; that after the Wayne treaty of 1795, they trekked westward; and that in 1845 a band of them reached the Indian Territory. He states that a remnant, in two bands (White Turkey and Big Jim), five hundred and forty in number, called Absentee Shawnees, were residing near Shawnee, Oklahoma, in 1922. McGee, a Tennessee historian, says that the Shawnees formerly lived about Nashville, and that they joined the Wabash in Indiana, having been driven out of Tennessee by the Cherokees and Creeks, in 1715. It is certain that they fraternized with the Wabash tribes, and that they frequently had frays with the other tribes of this Reservation.

Besides clans of the Algonquin and Iroquois nations who are known to have lived in the old Reservation, a band of the Leni-Lenapes (the Little Turtle) passed through and probably tarried for a while. The turtle was their totem, and it has been seen on many beech trees in Union County—can be found there to this day.

A clan of Uches, probably related to the Shawnees, dwelt near Nashville, Tennessee, for several years. They were driven into Illinois by the Muskogees, and the remnant lived at the mouth of the America Bayou until about 1820, when they disappeared over night.

A majority of the camp sites in the hill portions of the old Reservation were occupied by the Kaskaskias. In 1764 that tribe, or clan, numbered six hundred; within that decade, the Salt War almost exterminated them. In 1778 there were only two hundred and ten of them, of whom sixty were classed as warriors; by 1800 there were but one hundred and fifty, with forty warriors. This makes it very plain that there was not a war between that clan and the Shawnees around 1800. In 1832, the Kaskaskias ceded away all of their lands, except a small tract which they reserved for Ellen Ducoigne, daughter of their late chief, John DuQuoin. By 1905, there were only one hundred and ninety-five members of this clan left, not one of whom was of pure Kaskaskian blood.

The Kitchigamis (written "Nataogami" by Franquelin) lived around Frankfort and boiled salt. They amalgamated with the Kickapoos and Mosconten (which clans had previously united), and the name "Kitchigami" disappears from the records.

The task of tracking our tribes to their final lair, is a difficult and tedious one; anyone desiring further information along this line is referred to the Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

A writer of note has said that the last of the Indians left in southern Illinois departed in 1831 or 1832, and joined Black Hawk. This may be true as to tribes, but is not correct as to individual Indians.

One of the first chroniclers of Indian character, Father Baird, S. J., tells of a man, nearly one hundred years old, who wore a beard like unto a Frenchman, and who boasted that he never had but one wife at a time. This old man was easily converted by the Jesuits; and by his own request was buried

in the French cemetery—a long departure from Indian customs and Indian traditions. From then onward there were found Indians who had higher moral ideals, and who lived apart from the tribes. There were many such “Isolated Indians” (so called) in this territory. As late as the fifties, a large number of Indians camped for some months between Dongola and Wetaug; a gentleman now ninety-four years of age well remembers having played with the boys of that Indian camp. An Indian, Doc Tyner, lived somewhere along the Crab Orchard as late as the sixties; he dug roots and herbs, and prescribed for all who called upon him. A few men can be found who remember this Indian “doctor”; his descendants are still living here. At about the same time, George Owl and George Turner lived in Union County; George Hawk lived in Jackson County; and Spar Hawk in Alexander County. As late as 1870, Jeff Kirksey was living on Rock Creek, in Massac County, and chopping cord-wood for a living. An Indian named George was living on the creek which became known as George’s Creek, in Johnson County, when white men came, and probably for many years afterward. These are just a few of the well-remembered Indians. What became of them? It is the opinion of one writer that they were absorbed by amalgamation, and that their descendants are still here—some of the descendants being proud of their ancestry, others very sensitive about it, and a majority, indifferent. One charming and highly cultured lady is here whose grandparents five or six generations ago, were French (paternal) and Shawnee (maternal); the best ethnologist would be taxed to detect a trace of that maternal blood, while the least skillful could not mistake the paternal ancestry. At least one nearly full-blooded Indian has lived in this Soldiers’ Reservation for all of forty years; and he would be passed as a well-behaved white man by the casual observer.

Several valuable private collections of Indian relics are to be found here; and these would probably be donated to the various high schools, if the schools made suitable efforts

to have them so donated, if they had suitable receptacles, and if suitable credit were given the donors. Some good collections have gone to waste within the past twenty-five years because there was no one to take care of them.

The Indian had no written language, and his vocabulary was limited to some five or six hundred short words. Some of these short words he often ran into a seemingly long word; being a strict utilitarian, his language of course followed. Many of the words would make good high school "yells," and some have been so used. "Owanix" was the Indian's exclamation for any kind of success, and was frequently heard fifty years ago. The Indian greeted a man "boju"; he spoke of his fire as "ishkote," and water as "gami"; and his word for "great" was "kitchi." He combined the words for "great" and "water" and formed the word "Kitchigami," his name for Lake Michigan. "Tacaogane" was "between two waters." "Illinois" was Iliniwék"—Ilini, man; iw, is; and ek, plural termination. It is not far off the subject to mention here that Illinois has been spelled twenty-six ways—with Isle-aux-noix thrown in for good measure.

The high school pupil who may happen to read this story, and who knows his geography, must understand that before state lines were drawn, southern Illinois, southwestern Indiana, western Kentucky, and southeastern Missouri formed one great, common forest. This forest was bounded on the north by Indians of the Algonquin nation, on the east by Iroquois, on the south by Muskogees, and on the west by the Siouan, or Sioux. None of these big families lived regularly within the forest, but all came there to hunt; and they frequently fought fierce battles there—especially in Kentucky. (Kentucky is said to be the Indian expression for "dark and bloody ground," so frequently had it been fought over.)

Of all these nationalities, the Algonquins were very much in the majority, west of the Big Muddy; but none of them had regular habitations within the Soldiers' Reservation.

The Oumiamis, who lived around East Cape Girardeau when the French Fathers came, were Sioux. They had crossed over from Missouri. When or why they left Illinois, we may never know. At that date, there was a small band of Akansea living near Olmsted; but they soon migrated to Arkansas, and probably gave their name to that state.

The Tacaoganese were not war-like. They lived on such forest products as were edible, and on fish. They were true nomads, and were last heard of in Texas, with the spelling of the name slightly altered.

The Wautauga (Anglicized or corrupted to Wetaug), although very war-like were nevertheless the best Indians morally that ever lived here. It was that band of Indians who, one writer says, "were absorbed by amalgamation."

When Tecumseh came in 1811 by Macedonia, Frankfort, Marion, Buffalo Gap and Cypress, he visited the Wautauga, and then the Uches (who lived at the mouth of the America Bayou). Those Indians (the Uches) set him across the Ohio.

Tecumseh found remarkably few Indians in all southern Illinois, and, so far as is known, none to join his confederacy. However, his propaganda was probably responsible for the murder of Andrew Moore and his son near Macedonia, and for the attack upon Jordan's Fort near West End, and the massacre at Mound City.

During the territorial period, 1809-1818, there were several war scares, apparently started by jingoes who hoped to get into the army in order to get "free land" which was offered for such service. But there is no record of any battle with the Indians in the old Reservation; the few Indians remaining here were much more afraid of the whites than the whites were of the Indians. It is related that Stacey McDonald carried the mail along the old "Goshen" road from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia for two years around 1812, without missing a trip, and that he did not see a single Indian in all that time.

Within the first forty years of statehood, several bands of roving Indians passed through the old Reservation. Some of them passed along the old Clark trail, probably on their way from eastern Tennessee or Kentucky, to Missouri. At least one considerable band camped for several months in Williamson County near Big Muddy, below the mouth of Pond Creek.

In 1853, while the Illinois Central Railroad was under construction, a dozen or so Indian youths who were expert archers and great gamblers, camped for two or three weeks near the Elliot house in Dongola. A gentleman, John Hohl-souser, now ninety-five years old, remembers them, and their game. A hickory stick four feet long and one inch thick, was stuck upright in the ground, with a slit in the top end. The white man who ventured to bank the game, placed a coin in the slit, with the edge toward the archer who stood ten paces away, and the archer placed a similar coin in the hands of a mutual friend, who was a sort of referee, and stake-holder. The archer had from three to seven shots at the coin, depending upon his skill, and the liberality of the banker. If, in the agreed number of shots he knocked the coin out, he had won and the coin was his; otherwise, the banker won his forfeit.

Just as the buffalo left southern Illinois first, and northern Illinois later, so with the Indian. This was certainly due to the earlier settlements of whites in the southern portions of the state. The early sheriffs, who carried the state revenues on horseback to Springfield, used to tell of seeing a few Indians after crossing the Okaw, as late as 1845.

Less than a dozen white men are known to have been massacred by Indians within the Reservation, and but few horses were stolen—mostly by Kickapoos. To the white man's shame, it may be truly said that vastly more men, women and children have been ruthlessly murdered, assassinated, massacred, within this Reservation, by savage white men, with no better excuse than the Indian had; and that a great many more horses have been stolen by the whites, since the Indian departed.

The Old Soldiers' Reservation was a kind of "melting pot" for the several nationalities by which it was bounded. The Indian who lived there, was neither the "noble red man" nor the "benighted savage" usually pictured in story books. He was just a bit of common humanity—less lettered than his white neighbor, but otherwise his peer. He has many descendants here. A drop of Indian blood flows in the veins of some of our lawyers, doctors, bankers, teachers, preachers, and others. In every community, intelligent inquiry will find them. They are of the class of men of whom it has been said, "too proud to care from whence they came."

II.

**FRENCH TRADERS, TRAPPERS AND HUNTERS IN THE
OLD SOLDIERS' RESERVATION.**

Francis Parkman, the historian, tells of the very first Frenchman, so far as known, who passed over the old trails of southern Illinois. That Frenchman passed this way in 1673. He was at or near the mouth of Marys River when LaSalle went down the Mississippi on his very first voyage; that explorer stopped long enough to interview him, and got certain valuable information from him. The name of this lone Frenchman is not mentioned, but as he was a scout, he may, for convenience, be called "Le Espion." Parkman pays not the least tribute to the man himself; but much of the life of Le Espion is revealed by the information which he gave LaSalle. He told LaSalle about the river from that point (Marys River) to the Chicasaw Bluffs, and of the various tribes of Indians along it; he also told of a great tributary entering this river from the east, and of some of its tribes. To possess that knowledge, Le Espion must have been in that territory for several months, probably running into years. In so vast a territory, he was probably not alone—there were other lone scouts. He was there not for pleasure, nor for sight-seeing, but for business.

Reading further in Parkman, the business of Le Espion reveals itself. According to that author, there were at that time many French-Canadians—itinerant merchants, voyageurs, adventurers, etc.—traversing the unexplored west in search of favorable locations for the fur trade. One such voyageur rescued Hennepin at the Falls of St. Anthony. Of course, these adventurers were looking for locations for the illegitimate fur trade, because they did not expect to pay the king a royalty for the privilege of trading under such difficulties. But since the fur companies and such men as LaSalle did pay licenses, and since they had police powers and might arrest and punish poachers, and since it was the duty of the Fathers to apprehend all such poachers, these itinerants followed the inland portages, divides, water-sheds, or old Indian

trails. They avoided the missions and the navigable streams; the Ohio, from the mouth of the Wabash to the mouth of the Tennessee, was taboo because frequented by English-speaking traders, whom the itinerants feared to encounter.

The Itinerant Merchant was a Canadian who had some means of his own, or a line of credit with a Quebec or Montreal fur-buyer. He had allied with him from five to twenty-five Canadian youths, on a sort of profit-sharing basis, who were designated voyageurs (commercial travelers). Each voyageur, in turn, had with him a servant, and a coureur de bois who acted as interpreter. A fully equipped Itinerant might have in his party as many as seventy-five men and boys—a considerable party, with considerable expense. Accordingly, it behooved the Itinerant to select a suitable location for trade. The best location for the purpose was to be found in the midst of Indians, who were in the midst of fur-bearing woods. Le Espion, doubtless, was looking for just such a place; we shall see.

In 1684, Franquelin, a French geographer, made a map of Louisiana, which included the Mississippi and its tributaries to their head-waters. On that map he shows, at the head of the Grand Chain of Rocks, a post named Tacaogane; at the Frankfort Hill, one named Nataogami; at the mouth of the Wabash, on the left bank, one named Taarsile; one at about the location of East St. Louis, named Maroa; and at Cahokia, one named Kaoekia. These are the only posts shown within several hundred miles of this old Reservation on that map, and it is presumed that they were the only ones then existent. These posts were necessarily built before 1684; and posts Tacaogane and Nataogami, the only ones within the Reservation, fairly shout as to the business of Le Espion in 1673. Of these two posts, Nataogami had by far the better location; it was at a great cross-roads—the intersection of the “grand trace,” or Ohio-Mississippi water-shed, and the “salt-trail” from river to river. If the Itinerant who located there had his full complement of seventy-five men, then he needed much shelter; this would require several hutties.

The "trafiqner post" proper was a log hutte fourteen by twenty feet, with a log partition. A door in the south end of the hutte gave ingress to and egress from the store-room for merchandise; and there was a hole in the partition for convenience in storing furs and peltries in the rear room.

Today, a vogageur would be called a pack-peddler. The voyageur with his pack, his servant with a similar pack, and his coureur de bois with a gun and some camping equipment, sallied forth in quest of an Indian camp, and of trade. Le Espion, in all probability, was one such voyageur, looking for a favorable trading place. Having found a desirable location, he built a small, one-roomed hutte, thus establishing a sort of sub-post, which was called a depot. He hired an Indian woman to chop wood, to build fires, to cook, wash and mend. He was then ready to trade brandy or other wares to the Indians for beavers. These cost him from forty cents to one dollar apiece; when they reached Montreal they were worth four times that much, and at Paris or Bordeaux, ten times as much. Although the coureur de bois was his interpreter, the voyageur soon learned the twenty words necessary for him to be able to trade with the Indians; after that, the interpreter and the servant were kept busy carrying beavers to the post, and other merchandise back to the depot.

This sub-post, or depot, was usually given a French name, for the benefit of such persons as might desire to go there in the future. The stream, or prairie, upon which the depot was located, was also given a descriptive phrase name, for better identification. It was in this manner that our many French names came to be here. Some of the streams that have French names are: Au Kas (Okaw), Beaucoup, Au Vase, Cache, Saline (Le eau de salle—salt spring), Grand Pierre, Gros Baie (Big Bay), Robinet, Au Detour, and Le Clair; there were doubtless others whose names are lost to us. Some of the prairies in and near this Reservation are: Le Prairie du Rochier; Le Prairies du Long, du Chien, du Grand Cote, du Paradis, and du Etang (pond—East Six Mile); Le Prairie du ville de mont (Town Mount); du Coline (hill—probably

Knob Prairie); du Mauvais (poor); and du Fredonner (pronounced fredona, and meaning to hum, to buzz—probably Eight Mile).

Our most prominent landmarks were: Cavite-en-rocher (Cave-in-Rock); Le Grand Chainé à la Rocher (the Grand Chain of Rocks); Cavite Deltoid (the delta-like formation at the mouth of the Ohio); Le Cap de St. Croix (Grand Tower); and others not now familiar.

There were numerous little depots with big French names. The best remembered of these were: Macedoin (Macedonia); Francefort (Frankfort); Egalité (Equality); Eau Minérale (Creal Springs); Vienne (vi en, both vowels short; location of this depot uncertain); Moscou (Moscow, probably becoming a post later); Pérou (Peru, location well known); Golconde (near Reevesville); À pas le Moccasin (Moccasin Gap); À pas le Géant (Giant's Pass, identity not certain); and many others that a former generation of men could name.

This large number of French names did not become attached to all these places by chance, but were given by the French traders, trappers and hunters who roamed about this Reservation before Americans came; enough of these Frenchmen remained until the coming of our forefathers to acquaint them with these names. For just the same reasons that the English-speaking peoples who settled around Kaskaskia adopted the French names of rivers, prairies and places, our forefathers adopted the French names which they found here. A smaller and more scattered French population here probably accounts for the loss to us of many other such French names.

The fact that our French left no history is not at all strange. They were braconniers (poachers), and were violating two strict laws of Canada—they were trading with the Indians without license, and were selling them brandy, which had been prohibited. (One such violator had been hanged at Quebec.) They were violating an economic law, also, by wasting their time in the woods with Indians, learning all their vices and teaching them others, instead of staying at

home and producing foodstuffs for the next winter; this was a great economic loss to Canada. And they were violating the moral law by their relations with Indian women; this was quite a scandal in the minds of the Jesuit Fathers, and they wrote many scathing letters about that scandal, to the governor and the intendant.

There were not more than nine thousand people in Canada at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the territory was so immense that to properly police it was not practicable. A stricter edict was therefore declared, but to this edict D'L'Hut and eight hundred young Canadians answered by withdrawing into the woods to become Indians. As salve for these, who were much needed in the wars which were bound to come with the English, the king issued permits which allowed an Itinerant to have as many as twenty-five voyageurs with two men each as helpers. If the two "posts" known to have been in this Reservation each had its Itinerant with his full complement of helpers, then there were here as many as one hundred and fifty Frenchmen. In all, twenty-five such permits were issued. But their issuance only aggravated the brandy-selling and the dissipation, and caused the priests to write stronger letters than ever. In this way, the permits were withdrawn and re-issued several times. And this was the somewhat muddled condition of affairs in Canada at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Louis XIV, who was a great patron of Canada, had his troubles in Europe; and *Sieur Charles Juchereau de St. Denis* was one of Louis' staunch partisans. As a reward for that partisanship, the king gave to Juchereau a royal patent to establish a tannery (tan yard) upon the Ohio in the Illinois country, and to kill and skin all the buffaloes that he could find, and tan their skins. For this purpose, Juchereau organized a company consisting of some thirty men of his own class, as share-partners; each man had at least one servant; they had some tanners with their helpers; some ship-carpenters and sailors; some chefs with their helpers; a surgeon or two; and probably other workmen. Besides these, they had

fifty or more soldiers, who had seen service, but were not then in the king's army. In all, there were one hundred and fifty men in the company. How they got to Kaskaskia, is not related; but in November of 1702 they left that point by boat to go down the Mississippi and up the Ohio, to the destined tan yard, at the head of the Grand Chain of Rocks. They named the tan yard "Va Bache."

When Juchereau's party reached Isle au Detroit, at the head of Island No. Twenty-two, now called Burnham's Island, near Fayville, all of the party except the sailors, and enough soldiers to guard the boats, went ashore to walk overland to Va Bache. Their reason for making the journey overland from the Isle au Detroit onward, was, that Juchereau had been to post Tacaogane, and knew that there were rapids at that point, and supposed that the Ohio was swift from there to its mouth, and therefore that it would be difficult to make way upstream with so large a party. This party of footmen followed exactly along the route of the public road which skirts the hills from Fayville to Olive Branch. Father Marest accompanied them from Kaskaskia to Olive Branch, where he visited Roenza in his winter camp, as was his custom. Father Mermet was along as chaplain for the Juchereau party; Mermet was rather delicate, and was scarcely equal to such journeys, while Father Marest was a strong, robust man, capable of traveling afoot for long distances.

Roenza furnished Juchereau a guide to show him the crossings over Cache River, and the trail to the Ohio. The route from Olive Branch was along the foots of the hills just as runs the present public road to the Hargus store site, on the right bank of Sandy Creek; thence down that creek nearly to its mouth; and thence up-stream on Cache to the Big Drift. This drift was a mile below the Village of Tamms, by land lines; some United States surveyors in 1807 reported that the center of Cache on that land line could not be found; and in 1903, some surveyors working for the state of Illinois, in very dry weather failed to find the main channel. There has been a big drift at that point every time a record of it has

been made, and there was such drift there in November, 1702. Jucherean's party crossed the Cache River at this point; and as they could hear the running water under the drift, but could not see it, one of them (perhaps Father Mermet) exclaimed: "*Ce crique est Cache*" (this creek is hidden). And it has been called Cache from that date to this.

This party of Frenchmen reached an old trail along the right bank of the Ohio at a point near Levings, and followed that trail to Va Bache. They beat the boatmen there by more than two days, easily.

This trail near Levings was an ancient Indian trail which led just along the summit of the great bank ridge, or watershed, dividing the waters of the Ohio from those of the great Cache basin. There was a low gap in that ridge, which was later known as the "Post Creek Gap." This was the site chosen, and named Va Bache, and it was upon, or near, the spot where the "trafiquer post," Tacaogane, had stood, exactly at the head of the Grand Chain of Rocks. No better site could have been chosen. The summit of that gap was twenty-four hundred feet north of the low-water line of the Ohio, and about eighty feet higher than that line. This afforded an easy grade down to the water, and a bayou ran down, making a good foot-way to the river. In later years, there was a good wagon-way down that approach, which made this an excellent landing in the steamboat days. It was later known as the "Coffman Landing." A ditch was cut down that bayou by the Cache River Drainage District in 1912, to drain the great swamp north of there, and was known as the "Post Creek Cut-off." There is now a peculiar bridge across that ditch, being at least twenty feet below the original banks of the ditch. Good approaches lead out to higher levels; and at a full quarter mile the road reaches the summits of the hills on either side. A short half mile west of that bridge there is another low gap in the bank ridge; and a wagon-road leads down in a southerly direction to the "Metcalf Landing," where Cantonment Wilkinsonville was located a century after Va Bache had been abandoned. The proximity of the two

sites has given rise to much confusion in names, and Va Bache has been called Fort Wilkinson by the local people for a century.

Anyone familiar with the methods of tanning, and of killing and skinning buffaloes, a half century ago, will appreciate the difficulties facing Juchereau. Great oak trees must be cut and hewed out into troughs for tan-vats, and much tan-bark must be gathered; and to make the best leather, the skins must stay in the vats for seven years. Therefore it will be easily understood that, before beginning any kind of operations, it was necessary to provide shelter for his men; and as the location selected for the tan yard was in the midst of an Indian country, it was necessary that his soldiers make necessary provision for the protection of those men, and for their own safety from Indian attacks. Great quantities of supplies, except meats, must have been brought along, on the journey from Kaskaskia to Va Bache.

Ten or twelve huttes, or rather, muettes (as hunting lodges were called) were built, and a big, deep cistern was dug. In later years, this cistern fell down at the edges, filling up from the bottom, and became the "Round Pond" from which a school took its present name. That "pond" was destroyed when the big ditch was made. All of this was just at the summit of the "low gap."

The soldiers entrenched at the top of a little hill, which answers very well the French name of "Butte-Petite." That butte is all of one hundred feet higher than the low gap where the civilians had their quarters. It resembles a huge potato hill, or if covered with snow, an enormous ice-cream cone. If a man were standing upon the summit and took three steps in any direction, he would be going down hill; and the grade of the hill is as regular as if made by hand. One may look upstream along the Ohio until the water dips below the horizon—over the rim of the earth; he may look downstream a distance of four miles (to U. S. Dam 53); and he may look across the Kentucky woods to Cairo. Accordingly, the hill was a fine strategic point for the weapons of that date. Look-

ing south, one may see the smoke from Needmore, Kentucky, and the buoy on the Richmond Rock (the very head of the Grand Chain). This would furnish a high school boy a fine observatory if he wished to study the curvature of the earth first hand. Or if one had a twenty or thirty-powered telescope, he could see Jupiter's moons or Saturn's rings with ease, on a clear, dark night. And on such a night, he could see the glare of the lights from a dozen cities, and twice as many villages.

Standing upon the summit of the butte, the French commandant stepped twelve paces toward the upstream approach of the river, and had a rifle-pit dug that would have accommodated six to eight soldiers handling muskets; at four paces more in the same direction, he had another pit made of like dimensions; and at four more paces, a third was made. Then starting from the top again, he had three pits made at corresponding distances toward the downstream; and just between these, he had two pits made that probably connected across from side to side. The number and sizes of the rifle-pits corroborate the statement that there were as many as fifty soldiers along with this expedition. In addition to the rifle-pits, the soldiers made barracks for themselves, which were upon the opposite side of the summit of the butte. Their water supply must come from the river, and this was probably their worst handicap. There is evidence that there were some small cannons among their equipment, but no indication as to how many. They probably anticipated attack from the river side, as their only defensive works faced that side.

The party arrived at Va Bache late in November, 1702, and must have been busy for the rest of that year providing shelter for themselves and the great quantity of supplies which they perforce brought along.

Early in 1703, the hunt for buffalo skins began. They hunted up the Au Vase and the Wabash; up the Tennessee and the Cumberland; up Castor River and Apple Creek; in three states they hunted. It is related that by the close of the hunting season in April, 1704, they had killed and skinned

thirteen thousand buffaloes; that of itself was a great feat for a hundred men spread over so vast a territory. All those skins had to be taken to Va Bache, the tannery. Now, the green skin of a buffalo calf weighs ten pounds, and of a bull, seventy pounds; fair average weight, forty pounds. Thirteen thousand skins at forty pounds each, equal five hundred and twenty thousand pounds. All this must be transported an average distance of fifty miles to Va Bache; twenty-six million pound-miles, or thirteen thousand ton-miles. If all those hides could have been shipped by rail at present rail rates, it would cost more than five hundred dollars to pay the freight, and twice that to pay the express. And it would take one hundred men two hundred days to carry it on their backs that distance. The party had nine months of 1703 (not hunting in June, July or August), and the first five months of 1704 (in all, fourteen months), in which to slay thirteen thousand buffaloes over a territory within a hundred-mile radius, and get the skins to the vats. The buffaloes had to be skinned just where they fell—and it will take one man forty-five minutes to skin one buffalo. Estimates of this character have caused several gentlemen who are familiar with this story to doubt its accuracy; but those doubts have taken very different directions.

One such doubter, remembering that the Jesuit Fathers, like many other writers, were likely to magnify the leaders in any enterprise, and to minimize, or wholly neglect, the little fellows, and that therefore they have omitted to tell of all the servants and artisans who accompanied this *Sieur Juchereau* and his compeers, thinks that there were very likely twice a hundred men of these classes along. Another doubter, who is well posted in many lines, doubts the whole story, believing that *Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites* manufactured it out of whole cloth; but *Thwaites* did not claim the authorship, but simply to be the translator of the story as he found it. That story of *Va Bache* had been in print in French libraries for one hundred eighty years when *Thwaites*' translation was undertaken. All this goes to show how important it is for those

who write to be very full and accurate about stories that someone a hundred or so years hence is likely to question.

The getting of all these buffalo skins to the vats was in fact a very serious matter. It was quite evident that they could not be carried in on the hunters' backs, one or two at a time. Accordingly, there were several depots established, upon, or in proximity to, water-courses; here the skins were cached temporarily, under guard of a few soldiers, until the boatmen could come for them. Nothing is known of any such depots in Kentucky or in Missouri; but in Illinois, several of them are, and have long been, well known. There was one at Belle Garde, just upon the right bank of Massac Creek, and near its mouth; one at Francefort, later Frank Fort (French Fort), a mile and a half west of the trafiquer post, Nataogami (now Frankfort Heights); and another at or near the Kingkaid Hill, in Jackson County. There is strong probability, but not sufficient proof, that there was such a depot at Stone Fort, in Saline County. Some sort of defensive works were erected at these depots, and some four or five soldiers sent to each as guards. It is quite plain how the boatmen could reach these depots: they went up the Mississippi and the Au Vase to pull tight (*secousse serre*) by boat; thence to Francefort by skiff; thence up the Ohio and Saline to the salt springs; and thence to their depot by skiff.

On one of those trips up the Saline, the sailors brought a supply of salt purchased from the salt-boilers; neither the name of the tribe nor of its chief was mentioned by them. This trip up the Saline by the sailors for peltries is the best, and almost the only, evidence that there was a depot in that neighborhood; but the location of that depot is not known.

The sites of these depots were selected for their accessibility by water to the tannery, and for their nearness to the great buffalo fields. Francefort depot, with its little rifle-pits, was near, or upon, one of the largest buffalo trails of southern Illinois. That trail was still well known as late as the eighties, and may be seen today a mile west of West Frankfort and in a northeasterly direction from those old pits, near

the Middle Fork bottoms and toward Macedonia. The buffaloes roamed the great forest southward, frequented the salt springs, and wandered northward far up the Grand Trace. The depot on the Kingkaid was in another buffalo field, whose herds roamed southward, frequented the Au Vase saline, and ranged northward along the Au Kas-Au Vase divide. The depot at Belle Garde (Massac) served the Tennessee River, and the great west Tennessee buffalo field. There was another depot upon the bank of the Ohio, at its mouth, according to Lansden; but that bank, at that date, according to good authority, was then fully five miles north (at Goose Pond), and two miles east (at Grassy Slough, in Kentucky), of its present location. And the statements of those authorities (Marquette, Gravier and Franquelin) are corroborated by casual inspection of the territory today. The depot here might have served very well the great southeast Missouri range.

This is the first recorded instance of the wholesale slaughter of buffalo, or other game, by the French. That slaughter was highly resented by the Indians, because it spelt starvation for them. And it was equally resented by the Itinerant Merchants and their voyageurs and coureurs de bois; it meant the ruin of their trade.

The Indians, from their hiding places, watched the French marksmen bring down many buffaloes at long range, and watched their dexterous skinnings; and they saw great numbers of carcasses left as food for the scavengers of earth and air. And so they began to plan the extermination of those despoilers, the buffalo hunters. They dreaded the deadly rifles, and they feared the soldiers with their cannons; consequently, they began laying plans for concerted surprise and massacre of the French. While that storm is gathering, it may be interesting to follow Father Mermet, S. J.

Father Marest, S. J., in his writings, states that Juchereau was prolific of promises, but all for himself; also, that Father Mermet was very dissatisfied with his position—that of a missionary without an Indian, and a chaplain without a

stipend or a man to help him. It is said by some writers that Father Mermet built a mission and named it Accuncione; if so, that was the only such mission-house recorded as being built within this Old Soldiers' Reservation, and, to be near Indians, it must have been located well east of Massac, near the Black Bottoms.

During that first winter (1702-1703), there was a band of Moscoutah Indians which had its camp a short quarter of a mile east of Va Bache. The band consisted of one hundred fifty people, with Cyrille as chief; and they were staunch "Cow Worshipers." Father Mermet, contrary to Jesuit custom, entered into a controversy with Cyrille, on matters of religious faith. He undertook to convince Cyrille, whom he called a sycophant, that it was not a live cow, but the spirit of a cow somewhere under the earth, that the Indian worshiped as his Manitou, and that that was true of any other animal worshiped by other tribes. Cyrille pronounced this to be wise reasoning. Mermet felt then that he had him, for, following up the advantage, he argued that since man was the king of all animals on earth, the Manitou of a man was king of Manitous under the earth; and that Cyrille, as a sensible man, ought to worship that Manitou of a man. Cyrille replied that the cow had always fed the Indian, and that man had tried to starve him. The good Manitou whom the Indian worshiped was the one who bestowed favors upon him; while the bad one whom he dreaded, was the one whom he regarded as the author of his discomforts. It is a question for a D. D. or LL.D. to decide as to which, Mermet or Cyrille, was nearer right, which the sycophant.

An epidemic carried off fully half of that tribe of Moscou-tahs, during that same winter. Refusing help from Mermet, or the company doctor, they resorted to all manner of Indian pow-wows, and finally sacrificed forty dogs without avail. At last, in despair, they marched three times around the fort, crying to the white man's Manitou to spare them.

A lacune (gap) is always an inconvenient thing along any line of march. The authors have left a gap in the story

of Mermet at this inconvenient point; they do not tell when, why or how he left this vicinity. But that he did leave is certain, because in 1705, he was acting as missionary at Kaskaskia while Father Gabriel Marest visited his brother Joseph at Michilamacinac. In 1707, Mermet was Vicar General of Louisiana, greatly to the chagrin of the other schools of the church; in 1716 he died, and was buried under the old mission house, and in 1727 his remains were re-interred under the new parish house at Kaskaskia. Therefore, Father Mermet was not massacred at Massac, as local tradition has it, because that massacre took place during the dark moon of June, 1704.

The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and probably the Chickasaws, had gathered along the Tennessee with their canoes, and with their Spanish leaders; these Spaniards had furnished them muskets and ammunition. The Miamis, Shawnees, Kickapoos and other Illinois tribes gathered along the Wabash, with their bows and arrows and such French arms as they possessed. The Missouri tribes were gathered along the Le Clair (Clear Creek); while the tribe of Roenza, who was a zealous convert to Christianity, was the only one with a clear alibi. The coureurs de bois and the voyageurs, whose business had been ruined, kept the leaders of this uprising well posted as to the movements of the buffalo hunters; they knew that most of those leaders were at the tannery in June, and that they were short of ammunition, especially of balls.

They also knew that at the depots, Belle Garde (Belle Grade), Francefort, and at Kingkaid, there would be less vigilance, because there were no skins there to be guarded—the boats would be tied up, and most of the sailors ashore. A large number of men at the tannery would lend a feeling of security, and make everyone less vigilant.

Early one morning, the soldiers in the trenches at Francefort heard a turkey gobbling in the Middle Fork bottoms just north, and two of them went out to look for that turkey. They never came back; others started in search, but were slain a hundred paces from their trenches; and the remainder were tomahawked in bed. Their bones were found there a century

later; and their story was confidently related as late as the sixties and seventies by the old Murphys, Averys and Denings who lived there.

On the same morning, a band of Indians made some kind of diversion on the Kentucky shore near Massac; tradition says that they were dressed in bear skins. The soldiers were scattered and slain without the sound of a firearm that might possibly be heard at the tannery, eighteen miles away. A similar tragedy was enacted at the Kingkaid, but there is not a breath of history or tradition to tell of it; a pile of human bones and several pieces of French money found there many years later constitute the whole record.

The deep shadows of a moonless night, and guides who were familiar with every tree, afforded the bow-and-arrow Indians easy access to vantage grounds near the doomed Va Bache; and the deep shadows of the Kentucky shore effectually concealed the canoe-men while they floated to choice positions opposite the fort on the little butte. A volley of musketry from the river at dawn announced that the fray was on. War-whoops from a thousand throats ashore announced that the bowmen were ready for that fray. There was no Mrs. Helm there to relate the circumstances of that massacre, as that woman did of the Chicago massacre a century later; but evidently the contest was short, sharp and decisive. By sun-up, the massacre, probably the greatest in Illinois, had been completed. Not a Frenchman escaped save *Sieur Juchereau* only.

The manner of *Juchereau's* escape is not related by the historian. However, there are three traditions current, any one of which was thought to account for that escape. The first tradition was as follows: *Mother Juchereau*, a patroness of the *Hotel Dieu* at Montreal, had a dream, or vision, that morning, that her relative in the far-off Illinois country was in dire straits, and she prayed the good miracle-working *St. Francis Xavier* to interpose for his safety; at once a fog, so dense that neither arrow nor eye could penetrate it, surrounded him, and thus he easily escaped. No Canadian, at

that date, doubted the ability of that good Saint to do such wonders, for he was known to do many others more difficult. The second tradition is, that Juchereau had spent several years in Canada, and spoke several Indian tongues; he had an Indian robe and a box of paint in his sleeping quarters, and guessing the truth at the first volley of musketry, donned his Indian dress and paint, and thus escaped. According to the third tradition, Charles and a companion had been hunting the day before in the big swamp to the north, and, being overtaken by darkness, camped out, as was quite common then and since; the next morning they heard the din of battle, and remained concealed until the Indians had dispersed. Then they went to the camp and buried the dead, burying five of the soldiers in one grave at the summit of the butte, and the others at the east slope thereof. After that, they dug up a cedar box (some writers say a copper kettle), in which all the money of the entire party had been concealed, and with this started eastward, over the Wild Cat hill, to ascertain the fate of those at the depots. A mile away, they were espied by two Indians, who fired upon them, killing the companion; Juchereau killed one of the Indians and wounded the other. He then made his way to Sharp's Bayou, and up that a half mile, and buried the cedar box (or copper kettle). He got safely to Nataogami, and here he told the story of the massacre, and where he had hidden the money. A young Canadian voyageur, Jean Coopre (who heard Juchereau's story), and a companion escorted Juchereau, in disguise, to Kaskaskia. It is related that he died there in 1705, and was buried by Father Mermet.

Jean Coopre married a beautiful Shawnee maiden, and the Coopre family became numerous and well known about France Fort, Egalite and Shawneetown. They were still there, and along the Bay Creek, at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and their descendants, with their name Anglicized to Cooper, are still numerous and well known, in the old Reservation. Norrod Coopre, who was the grandson of Jean Coopre and his Shawnee wife, came sometime between

1830 and 1840 to the home of John Copeland, a few miles from the old tannery, and told this third version of the escape of Juchereau and of the buried French money. John Copeland's son, Joshua, then just grown, who had a bump of curiosity for such tales, went along to help find the old fort and its trenches, which at that time was an easy task. Joshua became "Uncle Josh," and served as judge of the county court of Massac County, and he lived to be very old. It was one of Uncle Josh's delights to tell the story he had heard; several men are living who heard him tell it, and some of them heard it many times. He never did mention the name of Juchereau, if he had heard it; nor did he tell whether or not he helped to hunt for the buried treasure. Certain it is that his listeners were more interested in the cedar box, than in any historical matter revealed by the story. As late as 1905, at least one man, dressed like a stock-buyer, was looking for that cedar box; whether it was ever uncovered is a profound secret.

Traditions are not to be trusted unless they can be verified. This tradition can be back-tracked to 1704 or 1705, the date at which the records leave off; and it reaches up to the date at which a dozen, or twenty, or many scores of people still living, can speak from personal observation.

About 1835, a family named Piatt owned all the land adjacent to "Butte Petite," where the soldiers had been entrenched at Va Bache. Bill Piatt, who had a wood-yard where Coffman's Landing was later located, built a double log house just upon the summit of the butte, and made a cellar under it. In the excavations, he dug up five skeletons in one grave; these he re-interred at the base of the butte adjacent to the bayou, and in making those new graves, he struck still other buried bones. Later, John D. Richeson, of Shawneetown, bought some nine hundred acres of adjacent lands including Piatt holdings; and late in the nineteenth century, he sold his land to a Mr. Coffman, of Areola, who proceeded to saw the timbers into boards.

Coffman's sawmill sat just within the "low gap" where Juchereau's tan yard had been; and the water which ran the engine, came from the cistern, now become the "Round Pond." A man who lives at Mound City, and who is active mentally and physically at the age of seventy-five, had the contract to cut the saw-stock for that mill. When the logs were being sawed from the Butte Petite, it was discovered that they were full of musket balls upon the south sides, which faced the river; several men still living will certify to that fact. "Uncle Josh" is reported to have made a special trip to see those musket balls, and to get verifications of the story told by Norrod Coopre of a massacre there; it is a pity that Uncle Josh did not write the matter up at that time. No one connected with the sawmill appreciated the find; and even those who heard about the find, seem not to have had any better appreciation of it. Those who might have had such appreciation did not hear about it at that time.

The man who cut that saw-stock had no knowledge, and little care, of what he was finding. He later cleared the Coffman land, and cultivated it for some ten or twelve years. In this time, he picked up several pounds of musket balls, and a quart or so of brass buttons; each button had a stout eye brazed upon one side, and a crown—probably that of Louis XIV—etched upon the other side. This man also plowed up great quantities of flint arrow-heads. He had to plow around the old trenches (the rifle-pits). He is ready to make affidavit to these statements.

A man now fifty-five years old, who helped with the sawing at the mill, recalls that a saw was broken on a scrap of bomb-shell. In the eighties, a whole shell was found there, and carried to the door-yard of a Mr. Renard, living near by. One autumn, when the yard was being cleaned up, that shell was raked into the rubbish pile; and when the rubbish was fired, the shell exploded, injuring several of Renard's children to the extent that it was necessary to call a physician (Dr. Courtney, of Grand Chain). These two circumstances

indicate that this was the sort of artillery that the French soldiers had at Va Bache. A few of those Louis XIV army-buttons, Spanish musket balls, and Indian arrow-heads, are still to be found at Butte Petite.

The present owner of that land, Henry Blasdel, took possession of it in 1902. He states that he has found many army-buttons, balls of lead, and flint arrow-heads there; and that he plowed around the rifle-pits until he had stumped the field, and then he placed the stumps in the pits to fill them up. The locations of the pits can still be found by slight depressions, and one remains intact.

Many men yet living (one of them eighty-four years old) will certify that they were well acquainted with those rifle-pits. One of the pits is in good condition today; but as they are off the public road a quarter of a mile, and on a steep bank of the river, they have not attracted general attention—in a jungle of underbrush, they are inaccessible except to an occasional squirrel-hunter.

A French tourist and writer, Victor Collet, came by there in 1825, and wrote the best description that has been printed of Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville, a half mile down stream. Had this man seen Butte Petite, and those Louis XIV buttons, he might have gone to the old Jesuit College at Paris, and read the same matter which Thwaites translated so long afterward; then we might have had a much better account of Va Bache than is possible now. Charles Dickens came by, about 1842, but did not stop. Captain John F. McCartney, who was familiar with the community, taught school and married near there; evidently the old fort did not come to his attention. Captain James Bartleson lived for many years within a very few miles of the old fort, and he built the dike that is two thousand feet down stream; his engineer was Capt. Golet, of French extraction from Louisiana; but neither of these men wrote about the fort.

When news of the disaster to Juchereau reached Quebec, there was a great stir-up, and the people talked strongly of sending an expedition against the Miamis, whom they blamed.

When Mobile, then the capital of the Louisiana territory, heard of it, they were much incensed against the Tennessee tribes, whom they blamed. But investigation showed them that many tribes were involved; that the Spaniards had encouraged the massacre, and probably assisted at it; that the American colonists had probably aided in some manner; and that the Itinerant Merchants, voyageurs and coureurs de bois were accessory before the fact, if not actually assisting. No counter blow was struck, however, because Queen Ann's War was on.

It is a matter of history that soon afterward, the last buffalo left southern Illinois. And not many years later, the last herd crossed the Mississippi north of Quincy, never to return.

After 1704, Va Bache, the old tannery, falls out of the history of the French in the old Reservation. Belle Garde loses its identity, and becomes Massac, whose history has been well written. And *A pas le mocassin* became Mocassin Gap; it is a mile or so north of Simpson, on the left bank of Cedar Creek, near the Gum Spring.

Mocassin Gap was formed from a perpendicular stone ledge, which was originally some sixty or seventy feet high, by one hundred and fifty feet long. There came a fracture about twenty-five feet above the base of the ledge which took an angle of about forty-five degrees downward into the ledge, and the boulder thus formed turned outward just one quarter over. That huge boulder of two thousand tons finally rolled over another quarter turn, and today lies there in the bottom of Cedar Creek; and this caused the creek to make itself a new channel along the west side of the boulder. The loosening of this boulder made a pas, or gap, twenty-five feet deep by twenty-five feet high, at the outer edge, and six feet high at the new base of the gap. Nine hundred men might have stood under the resulting overhanging rock, and kept dry in a hard rain.

A few hundred feet north of that pas, on the face of another perpendicular ledge, is the famous picture of a buffalo. Looking at the ledge from a few steps back, it seems to be smooth; but close up, it is seen to be pitted like rough concrete, or smooth stucco. Yellow ochre, mixed with water, was rubbed into the pitted surface, and followed the crude outlines of an animal; the only paint showing now is that within the pits. This is said to be the picture of a buffalo; but the only evidence that it is a buffalo, is the very high withers. It is a sort of silhouette, with neither mouth, ears, eyes, horns nor mane; the legs are more like bench legs; there are no hoofs; the tail is too short, and has no tuft; and there is no suggestion of sex. This picture faces just the opposite way from the buffalo on the nickel. It is said to have been painted by Indians; but a better guess is that some Canadian lad with a painter's instinct but without his training, did it while standing watch at the old depot. There was no hut there; none was needed, because the overhanging rock gave sufficient shelter.

Francefort was spelled Frank Fort in 1773; and the Itinerant Merchant who was there signed his name M. Boulandra. He had but one hutte, with a shed on the east side, the hutte facing the old trail to the south. No mention of that post has been found since that date; it is highly probable that the post was moved to Egalite (Equality) soon after. The history of Egalite is very well known, and needs no repetition here.

Moscou was a well-known depot. There is probability that it was once a post, because some fifteen to twenty rough sandstone slabs, set in a regular row, and still showing dimly the rude crosses, were found there, some twenty years ago, by Frank Hughes, the present owner and tenant of the land; so many Frenchmen had hardly died at a depot. These grave-stones were taken off of the land, to make way for the plow. It is evident that the Merchant who was at Tacaogane in 1684, removed his post to Moscou at the coming of Juchereau, or possibly before that date.

Perou was a depot of some importance, being located in the midst of several extensive tribes. A Mr. Flannery was trading there as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. This depot was an early post station, with stables and a tavern for the mail carriers. It was at the juncture of the Massac to Jonesboro and the Vienna to Cape mail routes. Mose Goodman had a store there as late as 1853; and the site is still well known, even to children, although there is not a house now within a quarter of a mile of that site. So tenaciously do names stick.

Of all the old huttes and muettes which once dotted this old Reservation, probably not a sifter-full of mould could be found today. But "way back yonder" there were a few such to be seen. Nimrod Perrine, an old-time surveyor, used to tell of one at Creal Springs, the oldest house in Williamson County, which was occupied by a French trapper when Americans came, and which is reported to have been still standing as an outhouse when Creal Springs went on a boom as a watering place.

At the old Indian pottery on the right bank of Big Muddy, there stood one as late as the seventies. It was built with but three sides, the ends of the logs being held up by hewed slabs pinned to the ends. A knife of French make, which had not rusted materially, was found under the earth floor.

Elder Hosea Vise used to point out the location of the hutte in which Andrew Moore and his son had taken shelter the night they were murdered by the Indians, near Macedonia.

Wm. Martin, an old-time surveyor, told of seeing the old hutte at the mouth of Robinet Creek where two or three French trappers were living when Americans came. It would be interesting to know of other huttes that were here at that date; and probably there are elderly men living who could tell of others.

Those old huttes and their occupants form the link that connects the French traders, hunters and trappers, and the streams, prairies and trading places they named, with our

first American settlers. How otherwise should these first settlers have known the French names of all those things? They would have been like the fellow who granted that it was easy enough for astronomers to find out the distances, sizes, shapes, movements, etc., of the stars and planets, but dashed if he could see how they found out their names.

Contrary to the statements of some who write books to sell, the French did not leave Illinois after the close of the French and Indian War. That applied to a few merchants at Kaskaskia, but did not apply to the rank and file, and especially to our French.

Probably there were not so many French here after the French and Indian War, because the Paris hatters had ruined the fur trade by mixing rabbit fur with beaver, and by reducing the sizes and changing the shapes of the hats. Consequently, Montreal and Quebec merchants had great warehouses full of beaver furs which they piled out and burned. Another thing that ruined their trade was a royal edict compelling them to buy all the beavers that were offered, especially by Indians, and requiring them to pay to the crown a ten per cent royalty.

Like the remnant of the Indians, the remnant of the French were absorbed by amalgamation, and their descendants are still here. Some still have their original French names, while the names of others are thinly disguised, and still others Anglicized. They have fought in our wars, volunteering from our own counties, in our companies and regiments; and some have died in that service. Few, if any, have been criminals; they are farmers, merchants and artisans.

The French were in full and undisputed possession of this Old Soldiers' Reservation, so far as white men were concerned, for a full century (from 1673 to 1773); and then for twenty-five more years, they had few English-speaking neighbors. We are indebted to those French for many of our geographical names, and it is much to be regretted that many others are lost to us.

III

SOME EARLY AMERICANS—CANTONMENT WILKINSON-VILLE—FORT WILKINSON.

It may seem strange to begin this chapter with the Indians, but since they furnished the reason for the establishment of this post, it is desirable to get a "close-up" of them.

In an Introductory to a History of Jackson County, Dr. Robert Allyn, discussing the Aborigines, said: "They left us nothing. Why remember them?" Dr. Lindquist, discussing the same subject, says: "They left us a rich heritage." A sharp difference of opinion between two contemporaneous learned men.

The Indian left us his winding trails along the best grades, which became our footways, bridle-paths, cart-roads, highways, then mail-routes, State Bond and Federal Aid Routes. He left us a knowledge of medical roots and herbs, showed our fathers how to plant Indian corn in hills so far apart with a little fish in each hill, how to make sugar from the sap of certain hard maples, how to cultivate, care for and use tobacco, and many other arts of agriculture. He taught them how to trap the beaver and care for the pelts; how to call up a turkey and to stalk the deer. He left us his (our) streams unobstructed and unpolluted, and his forests teeming with wild life—the finest bird sanctuaries and wild-life preserves in the world. He left us his "foot-prints on the sands of time," his old stone forts, his mounds, his village sites, and has filled the choicest rooms in our museums with his artefacts.

The Indian has left us many fine examples of oratory, patriotism, bravery and disinterested friendships. His superstitions, treacheries and butcheries have their counterparts in the history of the white man. Volumes could be filled with the "Heritage of the Red Man."

In this Old Soldiers' Reservation there are recorded many Indian massacres, and many instances of his loyalty to his white brother.

The Indian believed that his hunting-grounds and store of food-animals were the gifts of his good Manitou from the days of his fathers, and was ever ready to fight for their continued possession.

When Juchereau came slaughtering the buffalo, and when Boone and Robinson came over the Cumberland Gap slaughtering his food supply, the Indian felt bound to fight those ruthless marauders. An effort to glimpse the Indian's viewpoint need not shake our patriotism.

When Washington became President, the Indian troubles in the Northwest Territory were numerous and grave. Gen. Wayne was sent to the Wabash where many forts were built, and some battles fought and won.

Upon the death of Wayne, James Wilkinson became Commander of the American Armies. He was well acquainted with the Spanish claim to everything west of the Tennessee up to the Ohio. He knew that some years before, Spain had started an expedition up the Mississippi to attack several forts, among them Massac. This Spanish menace, and the Indian menace to southern Illinois and western Kentucky decided Gen. Wilkinson to establish a military outpost at Massac and at the Grand Chain of Rocks. This was at the southwest extremity of the Northwest Territory, and was at first referred to as the "South West Post." Massac was manned by a battalion of the Regular Artillery, and the camp at Grand Chain was for the training of militia.

The Grand Chain of Rocks—known to the French as early as 1684 as "*Le Grand Chainé a la Rocher*"—is just at the top of a magnificent bend, reaching from the mouth of the Tennessee to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance of fifty-two miles. It is the longest bend in the Ohio, and approaches the shape of a cycloidal arc. It is a beautiful stretch of river, and may well have been the very portion upon which Ballard McDonald was "drifting" when he wrote "*Beautiful Ohio*."

The "Chain" is five miles long and has a fall of five feet in that distance, therefore, at certain stages of water, the breakers could be heard long distances.

Those rocks were a constant menace to boating, and many steamers found their graves there, and consequently the "Chain" has sometimes been called the "Grave of Steamers." From 1847 to 1860, the Suanee, the Northerner, the Probasco, the Richmond, and many smaller craft, sank there. In 1900 the Granite States sank near by, and in 1902, the City of Pittsburgh was burned, with a loss of some hundred lives, just without the Chain.

Early in the nineteenth century, the government began trying to improve conditions by making a loose stone dike just at the site of U. S. Dam 53. On a Sunday, some twenty men were drowned while joy-riding in a yawl with a drunken pilot; and those men were buried on the bluff within the grounds of the Dam. Those were the first burials in the Napoleon grave-yard.

In the seventies the worst rocks were blasted out with black powder, and in the eighties three long stone dikes were built to divert the current from the rocks. Now that Dam 53 is completed, those jagged rocks are buried forever in their own grave.

Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville—Fort Wilkinson—stood upon a beautiful savanna, best described by Victor Collet, a French traveler and writer. It is sixty or seventy feet above low water, has a gentle slope toward the river, surrounded by low hills in the form of a half-ellipse, and contains one hundred acres nearly four times as long as wide. From the river bank north it is two thousand feet to a low gap in the bank-ridge which divides the waters of the Cache basin from those of the Ohio, and to State Aid Route 2, which was the very old trail along which Juchereau marched to his tan-yard at Va Bache a hundred years before Fort Wilkinson, and just a half mile beyond.

Those who have written our histories and encyclopedias have not given space to these old military posts. There were Forts Washington, Hamilton, Greeneville, Laramies, Defiance, Miamis, Wayne, Detroit, Massac and Wilkinson, besides two named Jefferson. In the absence of historical data, it has been necessary to resort to the War Office for facts relating to Fort Wilkinson.

By the assistance of Mr. Denison, the services of Miss Florence P. Spofford, daughter of the late librarian, A. R. Spofford, were secured at \$1.25 per hour. Those records which she searched are marked "bad order," having gone through the War of 1812; and they were securely wrapped about with red tape. Some generalship was required to unwrap that tape. By the ability and diligence of Miss Spofford, some forty-eight entries, covering forty-six different dates, were found and copied. In addition to the data so secured, several facts have been secured from James Wilkinson's Memoirs.

This post included Fort Massac and Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville. It was designated by several names: "The South West Post," "The Post near the Mouth of the Ohio," "The Post near Massac," "The Camp Northwest of the Ohio," "The Cantonment at the Grand Chain," and "Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville." This last was the official name. Since 1805, it has been known locally as "Fort Wilkinson."

It is related that in 1760, Captain Macarty, the noted French-Irishman in command at Fort Chartres, ordered a fort built upon the Ohio, below the mouth of the Tennessee, and that the Chevalier Massac, a French military engineer, stationed at Vincennes, was put in command of that construction. It was probably a mere co-incidence that the site chosen should be within a few hundred feet of the old "dug-out" where a half dozen of the Juchereau party were massacred in 1704. It was at a strategic point. The purpose of this fort is not certainly known. There was not a British or American army west of Cumberland Gap, nor a Spanish army within four hundred miles. It was probably a gesture to the

Cherokee and other Indians to collect there, and be wined and dined by the rich merchants and farmers of Kaskaskia, and trained as soldiers for the then hard-pressed French army. Certain it is that many Cherokees did assemble there, and that one clan, the Wautauga, remained here, and had their camp near Wetaug, in Pulaski County. Wetaug became their Anglicized name. Marshall, in his history of Kentucky, says that this was called the "Cherokee Fort." No incident of importance occurred there during the French occupancy.

During the British occupancy, Massac was a small trading-point, with John Duff the only merchant. The site of his old store and dwelling is still pointed out, though of course with some uncertainty.

In 1778 George Rogers Clark came by here on his way to Kaskaskia, and the route which he followed thither is very much mooted today.

In 1794, William Kenney, later Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, and the author of a Pamphlet Against Charles Dickens, came by here with his father, and drove the first wagon and team that ever went along the new wagon road from Massac to Kaskaskia. That old first wagon road in Illinois passed the Indian Point, the Peeler grave-yard, Fern Cliff, Giant City Park, and Brownville, thus avoiding all the stream-crossings possible. This old wagon road can still be followed at several places. It has not been marked.

According to the Year Book of 1902, Ohio Society of Colonial Wars, Major Doyle rebuilt Fort Massac in 1794. This rebuilding of course destroyed all evidences as to the type of fort made by the Chevalier Massac.

On December 5, 1797, the notorious Spanish spy, Tom Powers, wrote to Governor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, at New Orleans, stating that "Col. Gathers is strengthening and repairing Fort Massac." That letter was intercepted, and Powers was arrested and sent out of the country under military escort. Being at peace with Spain, our Government could not punish Powers more severely. To prevent him from learning more of the preparations being made along the lower

Ohio, Powers was sent on horseback down an old trail through the Kentucky and Tennessee woods to New Madrid. A portion of that old trail is now a great highway.

Had Powers descended the Ohio that day, he could have seen Lt.-Col. David Strong preparing a military camp at the Chain of Rocks, for on November 3rd of that same year, Gen. Wilkinson issued an order for the provisioning of that camp. On July 21, 1798, Gen. Wilkinson was at the "foot of the rapids of the Ohio" on his way to Massac and the camp near there. And on August 12th he arrived at the "Camp 15 miles from the mouth of the Ohio" on board the famed river-craft, Kitty, and remained there until the next day. This is the first reference to his presence at Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville. These dispatches, and the general's presence here, indicate to us that military preparations at the "South West Point" were rather active just then.

From other sources we learn something of the preparations made by Lt.-Col. Strong. There was cleared a body of land containing approximately four hundred acres. There were erected a dozen to twenty barracks-houses of hewn logs, each large enough for a mess-sergeant and his squad of twenty. These had brick chimneys made of bricks burned here. A commodious magazine was made, and a tile-line laid for its complete drainage. A lookout mound was built; and a good approach-road was constructed at the mouth of a little bayou by which to reach the low-water line, and which has served that purpose continually ever since that date.

On November 11, 1800, Gen. Wilkinson wrote a letter from Pittsburgh or Fort Washington, and sent it by "Mr. Orr's Brother, Re contract and supply of troops at the mouth of the Ohio, west side of the river."

And on December 1st, same year, he wrote a letter which he directed to: "Cantonment N. W. of the Ohio." Now that was the very first dispatch calling this post a "cantonment." But on the very next day, December 2, 1800, Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, wrote Gen. Wilkinson as follows:

"I consent to the arrangement proposed in your communication of yesterday. You will therefore, as soon as convenient, proceed to the points therein designated and report to me your progress from time to time. Having been induced by many reasons to prefer a site on the North West side of the Ohio for the contemplated Cantonment, I have concluded a contract with Mr. Thompson, contractor for all the North West posts, to supply the troops of which it shall be composed. You will please to govern yourself accordingly. Wishing you health and a pleasant tour, I am, Sir, yours, &c."

This dispatch ought to forever settle the age-old question as to Wilkinson's motives in establishing this post. It has been charged by muck-rakers that Wilkinson, Powers, Burr, Blennerhassett, Innis and others met here, at quarters arranged for that purpose, to plan treason. As a matter of fact, Powers was last here in 1797, before the post was well established; Burr was first here in June, 1805, after it was completely abandoned; and Blennerhassett never was here in his life. The fiction writer can easily associate men and places, which the unwary reader may not dissociate. And the next writer quotes the fiction for truth.

The activities at the cantonment for the next few months are told in a few short dispatches. On January 9, 1801, the general reported progress of Col. Strong's detachment at the Cantonment; and on February 6th, he stated that "troops reached their destination, and taken up fine ground and are well provisioned." On the same date, he ordered Capt. Gray to repair to the cantonment below Massac and receive orders from Col. Strong.

On February 13th Wilkinson reported the state of troops "on the Ohio," and mentioned want of clothing and medical assistance—particularly the latter.

The Universal Gazetteer, Washington, Thursday, May 7, 1801, carried the following news item, which had been addressed to Gen. Wilkinson:

"INDIANA TERRITORY, Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville, March 14, 1801. Sir:—It is my duty (although but too well known to you) to report that yesterday evening between the hours of 4 and 5 o'clock, a dreadful tornado visited our camp; it came a S. W. direction accompanied with a torrent of rain taking along a skirt of the quartermaster's camp, and in an oblique on N. E. over our encampment, tearing trees up by the roots, and carrying all before it, destroying a great quantity of our equipage and clothing, which is not yet accurately ascertained, and though painful to relate, by the falling of trees, has maimed and killed some of our soldiers, of which the following is a statement. Total killed—One Sergeant. Total wounded—One Captain, four Lieutenants, two Quarter-Master Sergeants, two Sergeants, one Corporal, one musician, and twenty-nine privates. One woman killed and several wounded. Names of officers wounded: Captain Lukens, badly, Lieutenants Webster, Laybourn, and Shires. Lieutenant Hooker's leg broken, and others badly wounded.

"I have the honor to be respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

FERDINAND L. CLAIBORNE.

"N. B.—Several of the boats are destroyed, particularly the Quarter-Master General's."

This is the first destructive wind-storm recorded as affecting the portion of Illinois south of the Ozark Range. It was remembered by an older generation as the "Grand Chain Tornado." Signs of its ravages long remained. In 1830, there was a cyclone which paralleled this some eight miles farther north, which is remembered in tradition for the freak of blowing all the water out of a cistern on the Devil's Back Bone, or Bradley's Defeat. And in 1866, a hurricane passed just between these two which is remembered for the freak of carrying Aunt Eliza State in her feather bed from near Boaz over into Pope County, a distance of some twenty-five miles. A school-house long stood northeast of Boaz known as the "Hurricane School." In 1889 a wind-storm of cyclonic

proportions damaged shipping in the Cairo harbor, and damaged Joppa and Metropolis, which followed nearly in the path of the Grand Chain tornado. In 1917 a cyclone, following nearly the path of the 1866 hurricane, damaged the sugar-shed at Mounds, and blew Henry Hendrix out of his bed in the upper story of his house, landing him in the basement without serious injury, although the residence was completely demolished. These five hardest recorded wind-storms followed a belt not to exceed ten miles in width, at periods of about thirty years. And yet some scientists claim that cyclones do not follow "belts."

The press-report quoted informs us that there were several women at the camp at Grand Chain. One was killed and several wounded. If they were the wives of soldiers or of civilians, we may not know. But one woman, Chloe Richmond, wife of Lt.-Col. Strong, was there, and Anne Craigie, wife of Gen. Wilkinson, and mother of James B., was sometimes there. Information like this, trickling through, helps to visualize conditions in this then unsettled southwestern frontier of the Northwest Territory.

In April, 1801, the general recommended "Thomas Freeman as a valuable man to be added to the cantonment."

On May 8, 1801, there was ordered shipped to Wilkin-son-Ville a large consignment of military stores, as follows: 30 espontoons, 64 sergeants' swords, 200 gun-worms, 400 screw-drivers, 770 brushes and picks, 770 cartridge-boxes, 770 bayonet-scabbards, 770 gun-slugs, and 770 knapsacks, to be delivered to the Assistant Quarter-Master.

This order tells us very plainly the number of men assembled, or to be assembled here, and the line of service to which they belonged. The espontoon is a half-pike, and was the side-arm—insignia—of the commissioned officers of the U. S. Militia of that date. The captain and the first and second lieutenants were the only commissioned officers, hence thirty espontoons would provide for ten companies. Seven hundred seventy cartridge-boxes, etc., indicate that there were seventy-seven men and three commissioned officers to

each of the ten companies. And eighty men to a company was the regular establishment of the date. There were five sergeants to each company, and fourteen quarter-master sergeants. The men were counted into squads of four for some purposes; each squad had a gun-worm, which was a kind of cork-screw, that, when attached to the ramrod, could be used to pull out fibre or cloth used for cleaning the insides of the muskets. Of screw-drivers, there was one for each two men, and they were very essential in changing flints which were frequently broken. Flint-lock muskets were used. Merchants sold rifle-flints at five cents each, or three for ten cents. There were no so-called dimes, nickels or pennies.

When Fort Charlotte, near Mobile, was surrendered by the Spaniards, the commissioners invoiced 43,000 musket-flints, and that was a small fort, with few men. And there were listed many worms and white muslin flags.

In April, 1801, Col. Strong reported the troops sickly, and in need of medical and hospital supplies. In June, the general wrote the War Office requesting such supplies to be sent, and that Maj. Williams be retained at the cantonment. This Maj. Williams had been suggested as a proper man to open the new military school at West Point.

In April the colonel requested medical supplies, and in June the general got that request over to the War Office—two months. That illustrates how slowly dispatches traveled then.

In June, some Indian trouble appears to have threatened along the Tennessee, for on the 19th, an order was issued directing that tents be sent to the cantonment—and tents meant field service.

June 20th, same year, Wilkinson wrote two letters; one said: "Two Gallies near Massac, maintaining the post there, etc." And the other directed that "troops be ready to march upon short notice" and apparently toward the Tennessee. Indians were not mentioned.

Had there developed an Indian campaign, and been some hard battles, or perhaps defeats, like unto that of Harmar or of St. Clair—then in that case, historians had told us about it, and we would know more about Fort Wilkinson. Strange how historians regard wars and battles as the only things worthy their pens.

Late in that same June, Gen. Wilkinson was appointed Commissioner to the Creeks, and some others, who were infesting Kentucky and Tennessee. Late that year and early the next, he made a treaty with the Creeks at Fort Wilkinson, Georgia. This did not interfere with his duties as General of the Armies.

On his way to treat with the Creeks, Wilkinson stopped at the cantonment at the Grand Chain, on July 28, 1801, and remained there for two weeks. During that period, all dispatches were headed: "Headquarters Wilkinson-Ville."

The general carried his headquarters with him, and seldom remained for two weeks at one place. His presence here indicates the importance of this post at that time. Lt.-Col. David Strong and his wife, Chloe Richmond, entertained the general and his wife, Anne Craigie, and their young son, who later became Lt. James B. Wilkinson, during that two weeks; and it is not difficult to visualize the social color which this visit lent to that isolated out-post. There were walks about the beautiful, commodious and well-drained drill-grounds; excursions along the Grand Chain of Rocks; and five o'clock dinners.

A letter written here by Wilkinson said that the health of the troops was good, and that Capt. Vance had paid off the troops at that post, and at Massac. Several orders were issued, as follows:

"Lt.-Col. Strong continued in command of the cantonment subject to such orders and regulations as the General may think proper to utter during his short stay with the troops." "Major Williams, and after him the Senior Officer of Artillery, who at present commands the Detachment of that Corps and has charge of the Ordnance Department."

"All orders relating to either are to pass through him and the issue of arms and Military Stores are to be made by the Conductor."

This is contained in one order, and was "uttered" July 29, 1801. It is of record in the War Office, therefore it must have been "uttered" in writing. It informs us that there was an artillery corps at the cantonment, and it mentions the office of conductor. This order also shows how completely the presence of the general in camp superseded every subaltern therein. By this order, the several officers mentioned were re-assigned to the very duties which they had been performing all along. In other words, it "handed back" to them the very powers and duties of which the presence of the general had deprived them. But this deprived him of no prerogative.

On the next day, July 30th, an order was uttered directing that: "The band shall practice on the grand parade morning and evening before the roll-call and will play alternately with the drums and fifes while the guards are marching off. This Detachment and their pupils are subject to the special charge of the Brigade Instructor whose strictest attention, the General flatters himself, will be given to an establishment which has cost so much time, trouble and expense." This is the only mention of a band at the Grand Chain, and it would be interesting to know what airs they played. The Star Spangled Banner, and most of the patriotic airs with which we are familiar, were not then in existence. Yankee Doodle was familiar, and probably it was frequently wafted out over the Ohio and the surrounding unpopulated hills. On the same date, an order said: "Troop at six o'clock during warm weather." To troop is to march on. Six o'clock A. M. was meant. Troop to the drill-grounds. The order continued: "Troops are to be obliged to bathe frequently before 5 in the morning or after 7 in the evening, but are not to go into the water at any other period of the day." Gen. Wilkinson was educated as a physician and was "practicing physic" at his native village when the Siege of Boston began. He evidently

had some ideas as to the importance of bathing, and the proper hours therefor.

On the next day, plans for a "Grand Review" were made, and a brief order said: "The General will present himself before the centre, and at 50 paces distance, will receive a General's Salute." Lt.-Col. Strong knew how to give the General's Salute, and he knew that his chief loved to be the centre of the "pomp and glory of martial array." The soldiers were drawn up in perfect array on the drill-grounds. The ladies, Mrs. Strong and Mrs. Wilkinson, with their boys, were back a short distance, while the general stepped off the 50 paces, and then faced the troops. The flag was "dipped" three times, the soldiers raised their right hands to just the proper angle, the band played "Hail to the Chief," the soldiers fired their muskets into the air, and the cannons boomed over the great empty spaces. The Salute was over. This appealed to Wilkinson's ego. Chloe Richmond Strong was there, and while he hated her puritanical ideas, he respected and feared her more than any woman he knew. It tickled his fancy to show her what a great general he could be, what adoration he could command.

July 31, 1931, will be the one hundred thirtieth anniversary of that event. Go, upon that day, and standing at shore-light 17, look up the long corn-rows and try to visualize those martial events. Listen to the strains of music and the booming of those cannons! History being enacted.

On that same day, reference was made to the fact that Dr. McCrosky was regimental surgeon; and instructions were given that: "Vagabonds, men of dubious character, and those who cannot give satisfactory account of themselves, are not to be suffered to continue an hour in or near the cantonment." Hunters, trappers, gamblers, boot-leggers—many men of many minds—were coming down the Ohio; many were coming to Massac enroute to "Egypt"—the wonderful American bottoms near Kaskaskia. Arrived at Massac, the immigrant had the choice of several overland routes to Kaskaskia, and

one of these passed within a half mile of the fort. The arrival of civilians was of almost daily occurrence.

August 1st, Lt.-Col. Strong was directed to send an officer up to the mouth of the Tennessee "to examine for water and ground for an encampment in that vicinity, and in the meantime, he will encamp the convalescent and such sick as the doctor may recommend, as near the spring as the nature of the ground may permit." From this it appears that there was thought to be a mineral spring at or near the mouth of the Tennessee; but diligent enquiry fails to discover that there ever was such spring.

The artificers (ship carpenters) were directed to "build Batteaus to transport the men to the Tennessee"; and all except the battery were ordered to be held "ready to move on short notice." On August 2nd it was directed "that 22 men who had been found un-fit, were to be discharged." And "public property and commissary stores were to be lodged within the cantonment, that the guards may be dismissed"; and "borders are to be erected and kept in constant repair to defend the sentries against the Meridian sun, and the dews of the night."

These several orders indicate that there was much sickness in camp. A special order was issued directing that such articles as are needed by the sick "be bought on the Doctor's recommendation."

On that same August 1st, there was "uttered" the most unique order to be found in the War Office, as follows: "Lt.-Col. Commandant Butler, at his particular request, and in consideration of his infirm health, has permission to wear his hair. On the subject of this measure, the General will briefly observe that this has been sanctioned in America by the first military characters of the British and American armies. That it has been recorded by the ablest Generals who have lived; has been adopted by the best troops in the world; and that the cut of the hair is as essential a part of the military uniform as the cut of the coat or the color of the facings."

This is of record in one of Gen. Wilkinson's Military Order Books, but it sounds very unmilitary. An explanation might help to understand it. At the period of the Revolution, the British army had the fashion of wearing their hair long—down to their coat collars, and cut straight around. To be different, the earliest American Legion adopted short hair, not to exceed an inch in length. Lt.-Col. Butler was an old-timer who objected to this, believing that long hair was more healthful. The General humored the whim of the colonel, and appears to have spun some kind of joke at his expense. Military men doubtless enjoyed it.

The very last "utterance" was on August 3rd, and simply mentioned that "Captains Johnston and Claiborne were sick." However, he wrote a letter that day to the Secretary of War discussing his own movements and the general health of the troops.

Lt.-Col. Strong had been in poor health for several years, and his wife, Chloe Richmond, had stayed by his side to nurse him. On August 19, 1801, he died. He was buried in a home-made wooden coffin trimmed with some sort of black cloth. His grave is just outside the fort. He was slowly lowered while the band played a solemn air, probably "Roslin Castle." If there was a chaplain or not we do not know. A volley was fired over his grave and taps sounded, amid universal sorrowing. Strong was admired and loved by his men. He had commanded here since the first stake was driven.

Wilkinson was not at the cantonment when Col. Strong died; but from some other point he wrote a letter to the War Office apprising it of the colonel's death. That letter was dated September 8th; and on September 28th he wrote from Cumberland stating that: "Troops at this place and at the Cantonment are convalescent." Next we read: "Cantonment on the Ohio, October 13, 1801. Removed troops to the Cantonment for the winter." The "Cumberland" here mentioned was either the Cumberland River, or a temporary camp near it called by that name.

This is the last mention of the cantonment for the year 1801, which was the most active and most stirring of its brief history.

The whereabouts of the general from October 13, 1801, to March 12, 1802, does not appear in these records; but on the last named date, he wrote an order dated from "Wilkinson-Ville," directing that: "Captain Greaton discharge all men on this ground who were mustered unfit for service." "Captain Meminger and the two companies of artillery will take post at the 'Grand Chain' as soon as possible, and are without delay to complete the proper defense of the Station." "Captain Greaton with the troops of the 2nd Regiment will hold himself in readiness to execute his former orders with promptness and punctuality, should no countermand arise from superior authority." "The Ordnance, Ammunition, Public Store, and property of every species, not necessary to Captain Greaton's Detachment, to be invoiced and delivered to Captain Meminger and receipted for. Captain M. to pay due attention to the safekeeping of the articles intrusted to his charge."

This was a reorganization of the post after the death of Lt.-Col. Strong. It affords us the interesting information that there were two companies of artillery, and that some sort of defensive works were to be made; also, that the 2nd Regiment, to which Lt.-Col. Strong had been assigned November 1, 1796, was there. And we infer that Captain Greaton had some sort of secret orders, which were liable to be countermanded by the Secretary of War.

June 12, 1801, Dearborn, Secretary of War, ordered established a "regimental paymaster at the cantonment to pay troops at that point and at Massac." Then, in Military Book, Volume 1, Secretaries' Correspondence, March 29, 1802, appears this: "To T. H. Cushing: *Re* reorganization of troops and discharge of supernumeraries. Those at Fort Washington, Vincennes and Wilkinson-Ville, on or before April 30 next."

This is the last reference to this post for nearly two years. And it may well be taken as the very order which led to the vacating of Wilkinson-Ville as a military post. Supernumeraries included all but a mere garrison. Within that two years many events transpired, some of them of tremendous importance. Harrison made a treaty with the Illinois Indians, and Wilkinson with the Creeks. Therefore the Indian scare was allayed. Gen. Wilkinson, with a small body of troops, accompanied by Gov. Claiborne, went to New Orleans, and on December 20, 1803, they stood at the centre of the hall within the Place d'Armes (capitol) while Laussant, the French praefect, handed to Wilkinson the Bill of Sale which transferred the title and the possession of Louisiana to the United States, and to Gov. Claiborne, the keys to the Place d'Armes. The tri-color was slowly lowered, and the stars and stripes as slowly run up. There was no speech-making, no cheering. The creoles, and the descendants of the Acadians, looked on and silently wept. Three times recently they had been transferred from one sovereignty to another without their consent—without even being consulted in the matter. On that very day, Vice-President Burr was presiding over the eighth congress of the United States with great dignity. Morbid romancers picture him as right then planning treason! The expense of that little army of occupation was \$13,926.74, and for that "Waste of Public Funds," Wilkinson was called upon to answer later.

This moved our Ohio frontier several hundreds of miles southward, and left the garrison at Wilkinson-Ville without occupation.

Wilkinson's Letter Book, February 3, 1804, shows "Clothing to be sent to Massac (near the mouth of the Ohio), one company." And July 15th, same year: "The warmth of the season, and the lowness of the waters of the Ohio, render it proper, in my judgment, to suspend march for a few weeks."

The obvious inference is that Wilkinson-Ville was being evacuated, and that the troops were "marching" out by water to some other point to be discharged, or for other service.

And this "letter" will inform the "weather-man" that July, 1804, was very hot, and that the Ohio was very low, because the troops were using batteaus, which were very small river-craft.

November 28, 1804, there were at "Kaskaskia, Massac and New Madrid 73 men." But on October 25, 1804, the general had written, "epidemic of the season, prostrating whole companies." The voice of Gen. James Wilkinson is silent after this as regards the cantonment at the "Grand Chain."

In Military Book, Volume 2, War Department, appears the following, dated February 18, 1805: "To the Commanding Officer at Massac—Sir: If any person wishes to occupy any of the public buildings at Wilkinson-Ville, you may grant him the permission for the occupancy of one or more on condition of his keeping them in repair, and on condition of not selling any spirituous liquors to the Indians. I am, Sir, Respectfully, &c. HENRY DEARBORN, Sec. of War."

This short message implies vastly more than it expresses. He is a dull reader who cannot invision the conditions surrounding the "savanna" at the head of the Grand Chain of Rocks at that date.

March 25, 1805, the same officer wrote: "Directing the Commanding Officer at Massac to sell sails and cordage at Wilkinson-Ville or Massac to Col. Mathew Lyon."

And this closes the record in the War Office, so far as Miss Spofford could find.

Col. Mathew Lyon, a Government Receiver, was an Irish-American "whirlwind," quite as well known at that date as was Col. Theodore Roosevelt in 1898. He was related to the Gen. Lyon of Civil War fame.

The reader who is inclined to accept fictitious bunk as history, is hereby reminded that the last vestige, even to the sails and cordage, had been ordered removed from this post, by the Secretary of War, twenty-one days after Burr ceased to be Vice-President of the United States, and more than seven years after Tom Powers, the Spanish spy, was last seen in America.

April 11, 1807, John Rector, a U. S. surveyor, ran the land-line which exactly divided the old drill-grounds, and mentioned a "field, overgrown with briars," but mentions nothing else that might throw light upon Wilkinson-Ville.

In 1805 the *Nonpareil*, an excursion boat, propelled by both oar and sail, ran an excursion from Marietta to New Orleans, the first such excursion of record. Robert and Parker Devoll were passengers, and the boat stopped at "Fort Wilkinson, at the Grand Chain" long enough for them to visit the graves of Lt.-Col. David Strong and his son, Joseph, whom they had known at Marietta. Their notes state that the graves were just outside the walls of the fort, and that the site was then occupied by Wilkinson-Ville. That was the same year in which the "sails and cordage" were sold to Col. Lyon, and two years before John Rector was there. The proximity of these two dates, and the fact that Rector, who was a very competent man, did not mention buildings in that "field grown over with briars," lends color to an old tradition that some Indians came over from Kentucky demanding liquor, but being refused, burned the place. This tradition has left no record, and very faint echoes. Very soon after the last vestige of military was withdrawn, a few people were massacred . . . some young girls carried into captivity . . . that is all.

Early within that same century, Victor Collet, a French traveler, came by, and in his notes says, after describing the savanna, that "Wilkinson-Ville has fallen into decay, since the garrison was withdrawn."

Beck's *Gazetteer*, 1823, says: "Wilkinson-Ville was at the 'Cedar Bluffs' half way from Massac to the mouth of the Ohio." There is a very low "bluff" there, and a few old cedars that might be that venerable. This is the only record to be found calling the place by that name—"Cedar Bluffs."

Ex-Governor John Reynolds wrote a *History of Illinois* in which is the statement, "General Wilkinson, who was a British Governor of the Northwest Territory, appointed in 1769, built cantonment 'Wilkinson.'" This is an example of

historical indifference, or inaccuracy. James Wilkinson was twelve years old in 1769; and, with seven years interim at the close of the Revolution, he served in the United States armies from the Siege of Boston to the close of the War of 1812-14.

H. C. Bradsby, in a sketch published in 1883, says: "Wilkinsonville, or Fort Wilkinson, as the present traditions concerning it designate its name, was brought into existence about the time of the close of the War of 1812. Gen. Wilkinson ascended the river with a large body of troops, and landed at the head of the Grand Chain. He erected extensive barracks, with large brick chimneys, the remains of which can be found. Quite a settlement grew up about the place, and a number of improvements were put up by citizens within the camp-grounds, and it took the name, finally, of Wilkinsonville. When the army moved away, it fell into decay, and now there is nothing to indicate the spot, save the three or four hundred graves of soldiers and citizens who were buried there, and the other little mounds spoken of above as the remains of chimneys and buildings."

While this statement is somewhat faulty as to dates, etc., it furnishes us the earliest information (recorded) as to soldiers' graves besides those of Lt.-Col. David Strong and his son Joseph. Local tradition says that there were two burial-grounds—soldiers' and citizens'. In 1883 those grounds were uncleared, and the mounds showed plainly. Now that they have been plowed over, the graves are not so easily distinguished. Many elderly inhabitants remember seeing them, and some are ready to certify as to their location. Upon that location, the following is offered:

"Village of Grand Chain, State of Illinois—ss.

This is to certify that I, Mrs. Sarah A. Short, of said Village and State, was born April 3, 1837, and that in 1859 I resided at Wilkinson-Ville, on the Ohio River, near the Grand Chain of Rocks, in Pulaski County, Illinois, which was located at what is now known as the Metcalf Landing. And I further certify that at that time there was a burial place known as 'The Soldiers' Grave Yard,' or Cemetery, about one-eighth

mile down stream from said Metcalf Landing, and that the graves at that time showed plainly, and that there were as many as seventy such graves. And that there was another burial-grounds known as the 'Citizens' Cemetery.'

Signed, Sarah (her mark) A. Short.

Witnessed: Anna Lischer, her daughter, and W. A. McIntire.
State of Illinois, Pulaski County—ss.

I, W. A. McIntire, a justice of the peace, in and for said county and state, certify that Mrs. Sarah A. Short, well known to me to be the same person whose name appears above, personally appeared before me this 30th day of March, 1929, and acknowledged that she signed the above written instrument.

W. A. McIntire,

Justice of the Peace."

Before the same justice of the peace, and on the same day, came James R. Evers, who was born August 5, 1846, and who served in the Civil War, and certified to a similar certificate designating the location. Many similar certificates could be procured.

It is known that Lt.-Col. David Strong and his son Joseph, and the sergeant killed by the tornado, are buried there; and if there were eight hundred to one thousand men there for some three to five years, and there was much sickness among them as the dispatches indicate, then seventy to seventy-five deaths would not have shown an unusually high mortality. And all such would necessarily be buried there.

Lt.-Col. David Strong was in the Revolutionary War, and later, in the "First Army of the Republic" or "Legion of the United States." His record is:

"Revolutionary: Born July 6, 1744, at Shaven, Connecticut; Sergeant Burrell's Connecticut, 1776; Taken prisoner at the Cedars, 1776; First Lt. 5th Conn., Jan. 1, 1777; Capt.-Lt., July 20, 1780; Transferred to 2nd Conn., Jan. 1, 1781; Capt., May 2, 1781; Retired Jan. 1, 1783.

"Legion of the United States: Capt. U. S. Infantry, July 15, 1785; Capt. 1st Infantry U. S. Army, Sept. 29, 1789; Maj. 2nd Inf., Nov. 4, 1791; Assigned to 2nd Sub-Legion, Sept. 4,

1792; Lt.-Col., Feb. 19, 1793; Assigned to 2nd Inf., Nov. 1, 1796; Died August 19, 1801."

Chloe Richmond Strong, wife of David and mother of Joseph, was there to minister to their last wants. She was a very capable woman, and could have given her dead Christian burial, if no chaplain had been there. She held religious services every Sunday. It is recorded that "Mad Anthony" Wayne was never heard to utter an oath in her presence; and that she once called down the "Stormy Petrel," James Wilkinson, for indecorous language at her table. She was born at Shaven, Connecticut, in 1746; was married in 1762; and died in 1820. Her husband was a teetotaler.

It is to be deplored that the grave of Lt.-Col. David Strong, a Revolutionary soldier, should never have been marked; or that the spot where so many soldiers lie should be forgotten. As late as 1923, a lady who lived at Philadelphia, came here searching for the grave of her relative, David Strong, but failed to locate it, or even to locate Fort Wilkinson. She proposed to donate a considerable sum toward the erection of a suitable monument, if the grave could be located. By proper representation to their congressmen, the local people might yet induce the government to place such a suitable marker. There are two National Cemeteries in the United States, with keepers, in each of which are buried fewer than fifty American soldiers. Here is a cemetery in which are seventy or more, one of whom was a Lieutenant-Colonel of Revolutionary fame.

A brief sketch of the life of the man who conceived, built and nurtured this old cantonment, and after whom it was named, is proper here.

James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757, and was practicing medicine in his native village when the Siege of Boston began. Before he was nineteen years old, he was a Captain of Militia. He was one of the first two men who entered that city after the British evacuated it. Wilkinson was with Arnold in Canada; and he was also at White's Tavern on Basket Ridge when General Lee was captured.

Himself escaping, he mounted the first horse available and rode to carry that news to the next in command. At the Battle of Trenton, he saw the fallen Hessian hand over his sword. At the Burgoyne Disaster, Wilkinson was one of the American Commissioners appointed by Gates to arrange the terms of the surrender. Being the best scribe, it was Wilkinson who wrote out the paper, and to somewhat ameliorate the haughty Lord, he headed it "A Convention," believing that to be synonymous to "A Treaty."

Gates appointed Wilkinson messenger to carry that "Convention" to the Continental Congress. The failure to send the original or a copy to Gen. Washington very properly offended the Commander-in-Chief, and may be called the "opening-wedge" in the Conway Cabal—for quite soon after this, Conway wrote a letter to Gen. Gates in which he said: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak General" (referring to Washington) "and bad counselors would have ruined it." That letter fell into Wilkinson's hands, and he showed it to Lord Sterling, who in turn acquainted Washington with the matter. History readers know the rest of the story. Gates and Wilkinson had been great friends, but this unfortunate letter affair led Gates to denounce Wilkinson as "Alexander, not the Great but the Small." For that insult, Wilkinson challenged Gates to a duel. Gates cried, but accepted the challenge. However, wiser heads prevented the meeting.

During this time, Wilkinson visited at the home of Dr. Craigie, at whose home he met the "object of his life's dearest affections."

He held various brevet positions besides the captaincy. Resigning all of them, he was made General Clothier, and filled that position to the satisfaction of all until the close of the war.

He settled in Kentucky, near Louisville, in 1784, and at once became a staunch "separatist," and served as delegate to two of the many conventions of "Kentucky County," Vir-

ginia. As such delegate, he wrote the famous "Declaration of Rights," which was simply a paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence.

Like everybody else who lived west of the Alleghany Mountains, he believed that the free navigation of the Mississippi was necessary to the prosperity and progress of the West; and to force that issue, he loaded a barge with tobacco and sent it to New Orleans, fully expecting that it would be confiscated. But his factor, Daniel Clark, sold it to the King of Spain for several times its cost in Kentucky. Clark secured for Wilkinson the privilege of shipping other cargoes to New Orleans, or elsewhere in Spanish territory, under his "vise." This constituted a kind of monopoly, and led the enemies of Wilkinson to denounce him as "Spanish Spy No. 13," and to say that he received Spanish gold by the "mule load." And he did make much money.

In 1790, he led a squad of Kentucky militia to the Wabash, and defeated a band of marauding Indians; and on this expedition he retrieved considerable military equipment lost by Harmar or St. Clair. In 1791 he was appointed Colonel in the "American Legion." Military regulations required that he surrender all trade, or other relations with Spain, a foreign power, and abandon his commercial activities. This meant considerable financial loss to him. He was with Gen. Wayne in all his Indian campaigns, and upon the death of Wayne, Wilkinson was made "General of the Armies." He held that position until the close of the "Second War for Independence." As such commander he was second in command under Washington, during the "Near-War" with France.

Wilkinson had inside information as to the territorial claims and intentions of the Spanish government, and intimate knowledge of the Indian troubles, and of the intrigues of the British around the Great Lakes. It was doubtless this combination of circumstances that led him to establish a military post at the Grand Chain of Rocks, which was our farthest southwestern frontier at that time.

In 1805, Wilkinson was appointed Governor of Upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis. He made the trip there by water. On his way, he stopped at Fort Massac on June 4th, and a few days later, Aaron Burr also arrived there in a new flat-boat which had been built for him by Andrew Jackson at his ship-yard at Nashville. Later, Capt. Daniel Hughes swore on his oath that Burr remained there for thirty-six hours on board his own boat, and then left with Capt. Bissel in his new barge, who was taking supplies down-river to other points. Capt. George Peter swore that Burr was at Massac not to exceed three days. In a letter to Hon. M. Lyon, of date "Massac, June 14, 1805," Wilkinson said "Col. Burr left here the 10th with D. Bissel on his way to New Orleans."

This is the only authentic record that Wilkinson and Burr were ever that near each other before the Burr trial; yet an early "romancer," in a wonderful "Story of Blennerhassett"—a best seller—made much capital of this circumstance. Later writers have gloated over that "romance," to the neglect of historical facts.

The Sabine River was claimed by our government as the western boundary of Louisiana. The Spaniards were occupying a strip east of that river. Wilkinson was ordered to go down there with an army and dislodge them. The territory was low, swampy, sickly, and the scouts sent out failed to find suitable camping grounds nearer than a hundred miles or so. Wilkinson therefore agreed with the Spanish commander that if he would vacate the disputed territory, he, Wilkinson, would not occupy it, but would let the civil authorities settle the dispute. For that "compromise" Wilkinson was much abused by the "jingoës."

American Notes and Queries, Volume 1, January-April, 1857, page 59, prints the following letter:

"New Orleans, January 21, 1807. To Cowls Mead, Esq., Acting Governor of Mississippi Territory . . ." The letter was brief; it advised Mead to seize A. Burr, and to exercise caution against the Spaniards, and was signed,

"Wm. C. C. Claiborne,
James Wilkinson."

The first was Governor of Orleans and the other of Upper Louisiana. The letter has no treasonable sound. It was discovered and printed long after the death of all concerned.

This same year, 1807, Burr was being tried for treason at Richmond. Gen. James Wilkinson was there as a witness. His evidence was brief and unimportant.

James Madison and John Randolph, of Roanoke, had some great grievance against Wilkinson, and conspired to bring him to a court martial. The indictments were numerous and damaging. To each and all Wilkinson pleaded "Not guilty." The trial was held at Fredericktown in 1811. Wilkinson managed his own case, and was acquitted of every charge. President Madison then had the disagreeable duty to perform of handing him back his sword, and of signing his voucher for pay withheld. Apparently every public man of that day had his "raft of enemies."

Foreseeing war with England, and believing that New Orleans would be the first objective, in order to cripple the "West," Wilkinson closed all the possible ways to that city except the one which proved disastrous to Pakenham. And he was compelled to do this closing-up without the co-operation of the president. Early in 1814, he was ordered to the Northern Army, and fell sick. Jackson went to New Orleans and reaped the benefits of Wilkinson's planning.

At the close of that war, he was tried by a military tribunal upon some charge, but was acquitted. Soon after that, he was dismissed from the army.

He then went to Mexico, and in 1821 was serving in some advisory capacity to the Mexican rebels, who that year threw off the Spanish yoke. In 1825 he died, and was buried in the Baptist Cemetery near the City of Mexico.

Wilkinson has been blamed for the misfortunes of George Rogers Clark. France and England were at war; President Washington was making all efforts to maintain neutrality; and the pro-French party—the Jacobins—were numerous. "Citizen Genet" was here, and Clark, like many others, fell under his influence. A filibustering expedition started down

the Carolinas with the avowed purpose of taking Louisiana away from the Spaniards, and handing it back to their friends, the French. George Rogers Clark was the reputed leader, and Gen. Wilkinson, as was his duty, arrested him. Clark was delivered to the Attorney General, but was never tried. He felt disgraced, and his admirers blame Gen. Wilkinson to this day.

Few American generals saw more years of service, or fought fewer bloody battles. Wilkinson was somewhat "chicken-hearted" when the lives of his men were at stake. He was a strategist, and had several strategic victories to his credit.

His maligners are legion. Wandell and Minnigerode, in their effort to "white-wash" Aaron Burr, have pictured Wilkinson as a double-dyed, double-distilled scoundrel. His was the gigantic, over-weening intellect that led the poor, ignorant Burr to his undoing.

In a recent, very readable article, "Opening the Santa Fe Trail," Prof. Isaac Joslin Cox, of Northwestern University, after crediting Gen. James Wilkinson as the instigator of that opening, proceeds to denounce him by as many as twenty-one uncomplimentary descriptives.

Several writers have given him a better reputation; and "A Defense of Wilkinson by a Kentuckian," published nearly a century ago, is thought to have been written by Henry Clay.

The salary of a Major-General at that date was \$225 per month, without allowance for expenses, except extra meals to visitors. Wilkinson's expense accounts frequently showed "so many dollars for wine."

In common with public men of that day, Gen. Wilkinson drank hard liquors, sometimes to excess. He was frequently referred to as the "Little Giant" and as the "Stormy Petrel." Humphrey Marshall, the Kentucky historian, wrote the following word-picture of him:

"A person, not quite tall enough to be perfectly elegant, was compensated by its symmetry and appearance of health. A countenance, open, mild, capacious, and beaming with intelligence. A gait, manly, and facile; manner, bland, accommo-

dating and popular; an address, easy, polite and gracious; invited approach, gave access, insured attention, cordiality, and ease. By these fair forms, he conciliated; by these he captivated."

A painting of Gen. Wilkinson would need to show a clean-shaven, ruddy face, with a rather large head, adorned with short hair, and topped by a three-cornered cocked hat, with a plume; with three-button knee breeches and riding-boots, with a spur on the left; and a sword that missed the ground by a bare three inches.

By whatever appraisalment he may be known to the future, Gen. James Wilkinson deserves more space in our school histories and encyclopedias than is at present accorded him. And this is doubly true of this eastern half of southern Illinois—especially along the lower Ohio.

THE REPROACH.

No one in particular can be found to blame for the great scarcity of historical knowledge as touching this Old Soldiers' Reservation, lying east of the Au Vase and south of Frankfort Heights. Many musty tomes searched through, yielded scant information, especially in relation to the Indians and French traders who early trod these trails and traces. References to those volumes would have multiplied the pages, and served possible readers no useful purpose. Bibliography is the screen behind which writers frequently hide, especially those who offer their opinions as a substitute for facts. A great deal of contradictory matter was encountered, and some of it rejected altogether.

Acknowledgment is made to Miss Osborne, of the Illinois State Historical Library; to Miss Lansden, of the Cairo Library; to Mrs. P. T. Chapman of Vienna; to Mrs. Ira Hastings of Cairo; to Miss Florence P. Spofford, Washington; to Mrs. Ethel B. Hartman, Supt. of Schools, Mound City; to Guy Beauman, Tunnel Hill; to I. A. Kelley, Stone Fort; to John G. Mulcaster, Makanda; and to many other local people, for their assistance in gathering data, and for its arrangement.



James Nelson Stearns

THE FIRST AIRSHIP.

By EUGENE C. ELLIOTT.

We are proud of our pioneers, those who came first and paved the way. The first attempt to fly a heavier than air machine was made in Vermilion County, Illinois. The man who made the first attempt was Hugh Newell. Associated with him was Jesse Liggate and Benjamin Coddington. Like the Wright Brothers, who made the first successful flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on December 17, 1903, like Professor Langley, who failed, like Captain Le Bris, the Frenchman in 1870, with his glider, Otto and Gustav Lilienthal, the Germans with their gliders from 1867 to 1896, Percy Pilcher, the Englishman in 1880 and John J. Montgomery in this country in 1883, Newell studied the flight of birds and patterned his machine after them.

The attempted flight of Newell took place about six miles west of the city of Danville in May of the year 1841. An exhaustive and lengthy search has failed to reveal any prior attempts by man to conquer the air. Hugh Newell is without doubt the pioneer of Aviation. One other attempt was made in Illinois in 1880 by Burr Fitzwater, a blacksmith of Windsor in Shelby County. Burr's experiments were made with a glider with which he experimented for several years.

James N. Stearns, of Danville, who died April 27, 1931, was probably the last of those who saw Newell's Airship. Mr. Stearns who spent his declining years in the National Soldiers' Home in Danville, was a veteran of the 35th Ill. Vol. Infantry in the Civil War and at the time of his death was nearly 93 years of age. He was born in 1838 on a farm about sixteen miles west of Danville. He saw the ship in the yard at the Newell home several years after the attempted flight and gives a very good description of it. The wings of the ship, which closely resembled today's monoplane, were patterned as closely as possible like those of a bird. The operator of the ship sat in a seat between the wings and turned a

crank which moved the wings up and down. The tail of the ship was likened to a wagon tongue with fins on the end not unlike those of a bird or fish.

Much excitement prevailed in the vicinity on the day that Newell was to make his first trial flight. According to some accounts the ship was hauled to the top of a hay stack on a hill near the Newell home, where after the wings had been started by Newell in the cockpit or seat, the machine, or carr as it was called by some, was pushed off. A great crowd was present. It was the climax of Newell's life and would show whether his untiring efforts and years of experimenting and study had been in vain. But the machine failed to fly. It was too heavy and when it hit the ground Mr. Newell's arm was broken.

A brief history of Hugh Newell's life is given by Judge Lawrence T. Allen, of Danville, who is a great-great-nephew of Newell. Judge Allen says that Newell was a farmer near the Village of Newtown, six miles west of Danville. He was generally known as "Crazy" Hugh Newell, and his reputation as a dreamer was widespread. That his enthusiasm attracted others is shown by the assistance given him by Jesse Liggate, who financed the undertaking, and by Benjamin Coddington, the village blacksmith, who with Newell built the machine. After the failure Mr. Newell evidently forgot flying and moved to Watseka in Iroquois County, where he later was elected to the office of County Clerk.

The enthusiasm of the three men interested in the venture and their own certainty of success is very well measured by the terms and conditions of the contract between them. This contract is now part of a historical exhibit in a special room in the Danville Public Library and is cared for by the Daughters of the American Revolution. They bound themselves together in the penal sum of one million dollars, a staggering sum in those days. Little is now known of Benjamin Coddington, who helped Newell build the machine, other than

the fact that he was the village blacksmith in Newtown near the Newell home. Today Newtown is not much more than a memory, but then it was a thriving village of several hundred inhabitants. None of the older residents of the vicinity seem to know what became of Coddington.

Jesse Ligate, who furnished all the materials and financed the venture, was the grandfather of two prominent Vermilion County men of today. One of these is William Lewman, at present postmaster and four times Mayor of the City of Danville. The other is Lieutenant Colonel John H. Lewman, former Mayor of Danville and who held the office of State's Attorney of Vermilion County for four terms. Jesse Ligate, their maternal grandfather, came to Illinois from Ohio in 1835 when thirty years of age and purchased lands northwest of Danville from the government. He built one of the first grist mills in the county and was an enterprising, thrifty and hard-working pioneer. He had a reputation for being shrewd and was probably laughed at following Newell's failure, although less than seventy years afterwards their dream was to be brought to a reality by other men working for the same goal.

Witnesses to the "Million Dollar Contract" were Regan W. Burton and James Harvey. Both were neighbors of Newell, Burton living next door. Squire C. R. Burton, for many years the Justice of Peace in Newtown and a son of Regan W. Burton, is still living at the old homestead. Mr. Burton is a veteran of the 35th Ill. Vol. Infantry in the Civil War, in which he enlisted at the age of sixteen years. He remembers his father telling of the flying car many times but does not recall ever seeing the ruins as they lay near the Newell home following the ill-fated attempt to fly. The contract was given to Mr. Burton's father and passed down to him on his father's death. It was then placed in the hands of Judge Allen for safekeeping and was framed and put on exhibition in the Historical Collection. The contract exactly as it was made and signed is as follows:

Know All Men By These Presents that we, Hugh Newell, Seignior, Jesse Ligate and Benjamin Coddington, all of the County of Vermilion and State of Illinois are held and firmly bound unto each other in the penal sum of One million of dollars which we bind ourselves or Executors Administrators and Heirs at Law Firmly by these presents. Sealed with our seals and dated this 14th day of October, 1840.

Presents

The nature and condition of these are such

Whereas the above named Hugh Newell, Jesse Ligate and Benjamin Coddington have mutually agreed and covenanted with each other to construct a Flying Carr or Machien to soar through the air propelled upon the principal which the Fowls of the air propell themselves.

Be It Known That the said Hugh Newell on his part Furnishes the principal or Theory which is the product of years of phillosophical Investigation after the truth of this principal for the completion of said carr. And the said Jesse Ligate on his part is to furnish all the Materials and said Benjamin Coddington For and on his part is to do the wood work and all Other such work as he is capable of through and by the mechanism of his profession or occupation And no delay is to be made or suffered untill a completion of said carr made ready for service or opperation, nor no person or persons to be let into said principal through negligence or miscarraig during the time of constructing said carr. And Furthermore if anyone of said parties shall directly or indirectly devulge to male or female without the consent of all parties mutually he shall forfeit his right and clame herein and further be bound to well and truly pay to the others the above penal sum, As by several acts of the Congress of the United States of America It Hath Been Stipulated and provided to compensate all persons for any new Invention.

Be It Known that the said Hugh Newell is to have for his interest in Behalf of this Invention one Equal half of all

Benefits and Emmoluments ariseing from Patent Right and Jesse Liggate and Benjamin Coddington to have and share the other half to be divided equally between them.

And the said Hugh Newell absolves all right or claim to any interest, benefit or Emmolument that might arrise or be gifted or donated by any Prince, Queen, King or President or Potentate of any nation or Kingdom except North America he is as stated herein to have the one equal half. And all parties is to bear their proportionable part of Expenses for said and Intended Patent Rights.

Then and in these cases these obligations to be null and void otherwise to remain in full force and virtue in Law and Equity. Given under our hands and seals this 14th day of October, A. D. 1840.

Hugh Newell	Seal
his	
Jesse X Ligget	Seal
mark	
Benjnm Coddington	Seal

Attest

Regan W. Burton
James Harvey

We wish to take advantage of this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to several persons who assisted in making this story accurate. Among them is Mr. Clint C. Tilton, of Danville, who has made a study of and is better versed on historical matters pertaining to Eastern Illinois than any other individual; Judge Lawrence T. Allen of Danville, John H. and Wm. Lewman of Danville, C. R. Burton of Newtown, and Richard Yates, Congressman-at-Large and former Governor of Illinois. Also to James N. Stearns, who as a boy knew and conversed with Abraham Lincoln on several occasions and who at the time of his death in April of this year was the only man living who saw Newell's Airship.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

By J. M. HOFER.

I. Introduction.

From the very beginning of the Civil War until victory was certain, President Lincoln wrestled with a group within the Union, known as the peace party. They favored the Union, advocated a cessation of hostilities and recommended an armistice and a peace convention to adjust the differences between the two sections. This group gained considerable proportion during the second and third years of the war, so that the President remarked to Sumner, that he began "to fear the fire in the rear," meaning the Democratic opposition in the Northwest, "more than our military chances." Newspapers by the hundreds agitated for peace, pronounced the administration a failure and called Lincoln a tyrant and a usurper. In the state of Illinois alone, it was necessary for Lincoln to cause the arrest of no less than 2000 citizens in order to suppress propaganda and opposition. Governor Yates reported to Secretary of War Stanton of battles being fought between Unionists and Copperheads and called for military assistance to quell the uprising.¹

The South, too, had great hopes in what may possibly be accomplished by the aid of this rising counter-revolution in the North. General Beauregard, writing to a friend in Mobile, suggested that Lee act on the defensive in the East, send Bragg a part of his own army and that the latter should then drive a wedge into the Northwest. "The whole Northwest would join the movement, form a Confederacy of their own and join us by a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive."² Jefferson Davis, in the spring of 1864 said that "the aspect of the peace party was quite encouraging."³ Alexander H. Stephens made similar remarks.⁴ The Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret

anti-Union society, was said to number at least 300,000 in the three states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois alone.⁶ General Grant, in a letter to E. B. Washburne in August, 1864, says: "The enemies are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter-revolution."⁶

This peace movement was largely the reaction of the Democratic party toward the aggressive war policy of the Republicans and the diversion from their first avowed object of the war, i. e., the restoration of the Union, to one of subjugation and the abolition of slavery.

It would, of course, take a super-amount of grace for any political party to see its opponents usurp power as the Lincoln administration did during the Civil War, without showing some resentment and disapproval. James Bryce says, "Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any Englishman has done since Cromwell." This usurpation of power as exemplified in the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus, etc., became valuable political capital for the Democrats, and as the fortunes of war during the first two and one-half years of the struggle turned more and more against the Union, the cry of the Democrats became more and more popular.

It is true, that there were thousands of Democratic soldiers in the ranks fighting to uphold the Union,⁷ yet the Democratic party at home remained quite solidly in opposition to the Lincoln administration.⁸ Accordingly, as the thermometer of success and failure on the battlefield rose and fell, so also acted the opposition to the government and the war.

The peace movement in Illinois began with the Constitutional Convention, reached its zenith during the session of the 23rd General Assembly and subsided during the final year of the war, when Union victory became a certainty.

II. Sectionalism in Illinois.

The peace movement in Illinois can hardly be detached from the Democratic party. In order to clarify this statement, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the early political history of the state. Illinois has always been known as up-state and down-state, the former quite solidly Republican and the latter equally solid Democratic. The dividing line of these two nearly equal political divisions is approximately the 40th parallel.

There are a few scattered counties in this Democratic territory that are Republican, such as Edwards and St. Clair, but a study of the early history of these counties will reveal that they were settled primarily by New Englanders, Germans and Englishmen.⁹

This sectionalism in Illinois, which manifested itself during the Civil War in the General Assembly,¹⁰ in Congress,¹¹ in the army and in the conduct of private citizens, had its roots in the early settlement of the state. In the first place, the lower part of the state extends farther into southern territory than any other slave-holding state, with Kentucky and Missouri, all more or less slave territory bordering the state on the east, south and west. The Ohio with its tributaries afforded easy access into the southern part of Illinois and it was here that the people of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia found new homes. Few of these pioneers were slave holders as they belonged mostly to the "poor white" and small farmer class. While not opposed to slavery as an institution, they objected to it on economic principles. Small wonder then, that southern Illinois was southern in sympathy and Democratic. As the Ohio river was the great natural highway by means of which the lower part of the state secured its settlers from the southern states, so up-state Illinois also had its highway in the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal to bring its settlers from Europe, New England and New York.¹² The rapid building of railroads in the fifties also contributed to the large "Yankee" immigration into northern

Illinois. The northerner, as well as the southerner, each brought to his respective section of the state his sectional views regarding constitutional questions. This, together with the great extent of the state north and south encouraged the fostering of a northern and southern political philosophy and divided them into an up-state Republican and a down-state Democratic group.

What further divided the state were the different commercial connections. The northern part exported its surplus via the Great Lakes route, while the southern part exported its surplus via the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The people of the Ohio valley did not decide to fight the people of the South so much because they had concluded that they could get along economically without them as they did because they believed that they could not get along without them.¹³

In the early part of the war, Senator Douglas was a great factor in swinging southern Illinois to the support of the Lincoln government.¹⁴ Prior to 1861, Douglas had devoted his time and energy to compromise and had plead with the South to lay aside all prejudices and bitterness and unite "in a common effort to save the country from the disasters which threatened it."¹⁵ But when the opening guns of the war had been fired at Sumter he changed front and showed himself an unselfish patriot. His devotion to the Union was too great. In an interview with Lincoln, his old opponent, he solemnly pledged himself to sustain the President in defending and preserving the Union against the secessionists. He himself offered to join the army and suggested to Lincoln to call for 200,000 volunteers in place of 75,000.¹⁶

Immediately after this incident, Douglas left for the West. Reports were already current that a large section of southern Illinois was sympathizing with the secessionists and it was now largely Douglas' purpose to swing this group to the Union side.

He arrived at Springfield April 25th. The state legislature was just then in session and it was arranged that Douglas

should speak in the House of Representatives on the evening of that day. Here, in one of the greatest and most effective speeches that he ever delivered, he aroused his great audience to a frenzy of patriotic enthusiasm, when at the height of his eloquent appeal for the Union, he said,¹⁷

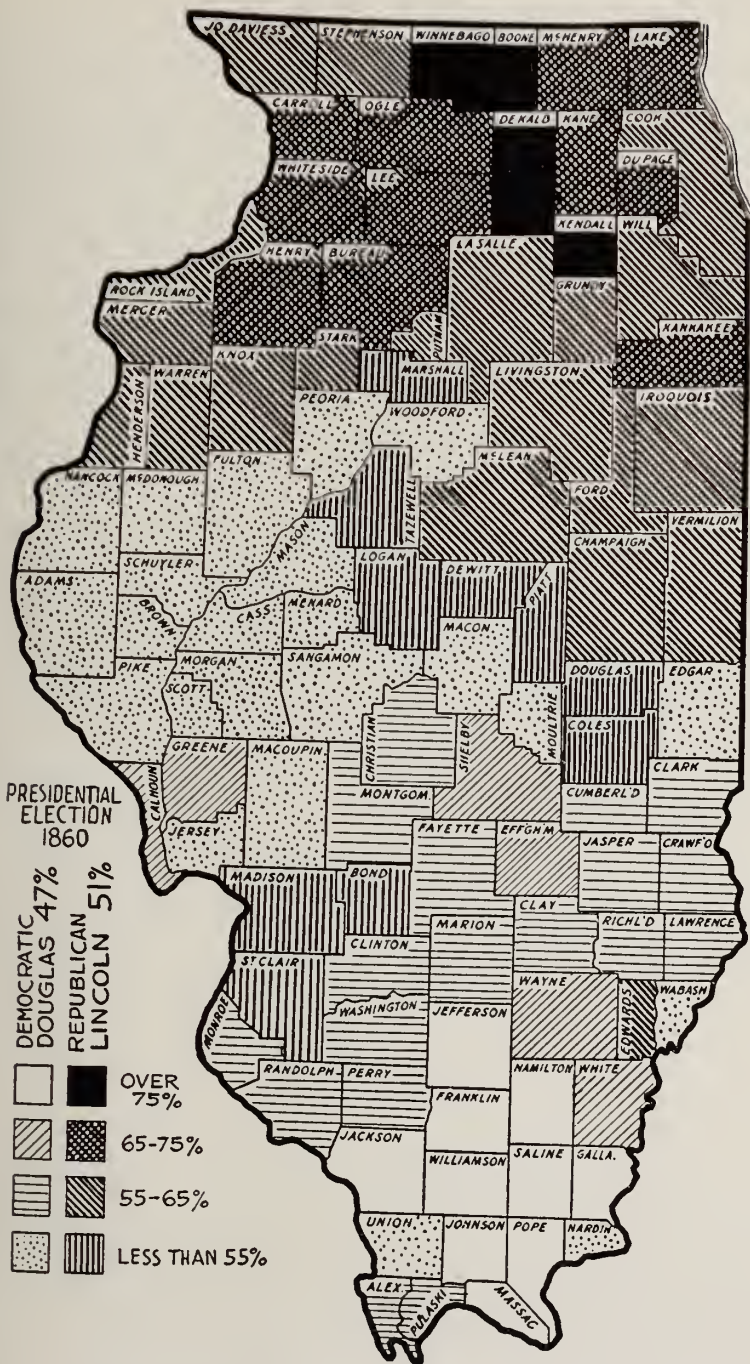
“It is your duty to lay aside party creeds and party platforms. I appeal to you, my Democratic friends, do not let mortification, growing out of defeat in a partisan struggle convert you from patriots to traitors to your native land. Whenever our government is assailed, when hostile armies are marching under rude and odious banners, the shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war.”

Several weeks later, at Chicago in the last great effort of his life he said, “there are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots and traitors.”¹⁸ These speeches for a time hushed all anti-war sentiment, swept away party lines and unified the state for the support of the administration. Dr. William Jayne, the friend of Lincoln, said, “I have heard this speech at Springfield. There would have been war in Illinois, but for Douglas.”¹⁹

III. The Peace Movement.

After the election of 1860, the state of the Union changed rapidly. Southern states were one after another leaving the Union and organizing the Southern Confederacy.

The newly-elected President being from Illinois, the question was, what attitude will his native state take. The first definite intimation and reflections of Lincoln's policy were the remarks of Governor Yates, January 14, 1861, in his inaugural address as governor of Illinois. Lincoln, who had taken up his headquarters in the State House since his election and who was in intimate touch with the governor, no doubt shared in the preparation of the document. In a lengthy address Yates declared that “the whole material of government, moral, political and physical, if need be—must be employed



Map of Illinois showing Presidential election of 1860

to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."^{19a} Democrats and Republicans could not help but feel that these remarks were forecasting the future policy of the incoming administration.

The victorious Republicans in Illinois, it was not doubted, would support the policy of its standard bearers, Lincoln and Yates. But would the defeated Democrats support the administration of their opponents? Would the State Legislature of Illinois sustain President Lincoln as it had sustained President Jackson in the nullification crisis in 1832, when that body instructed its Senators and Representatives in Congress²⁰

"to unite in the most speedy and vigorous measure on the part of the government for the preservation of the peace, integrity, and honor of the Union; and we do most solemnly pledge the faith of our State in support of the administration of the laws and constitution of our beloved country—Disunion by armed force is treason and should be treated as such by the constituted authorities of the nation."

Or would the Democratic faction support the lead of the Joliet Signal when it remarked in its issue of January 15, 1861,²¹

"As Democrats, we claim exemption from service in this Black Republican war. Let the Black Republicans of Illinois do the training and fighting if necessary, for it was their party that brought the calamity upon the country. We trust that the Democratic members of our Legislature will vote against arming and drilling our people to prepare for murdering and butchering their brethren."

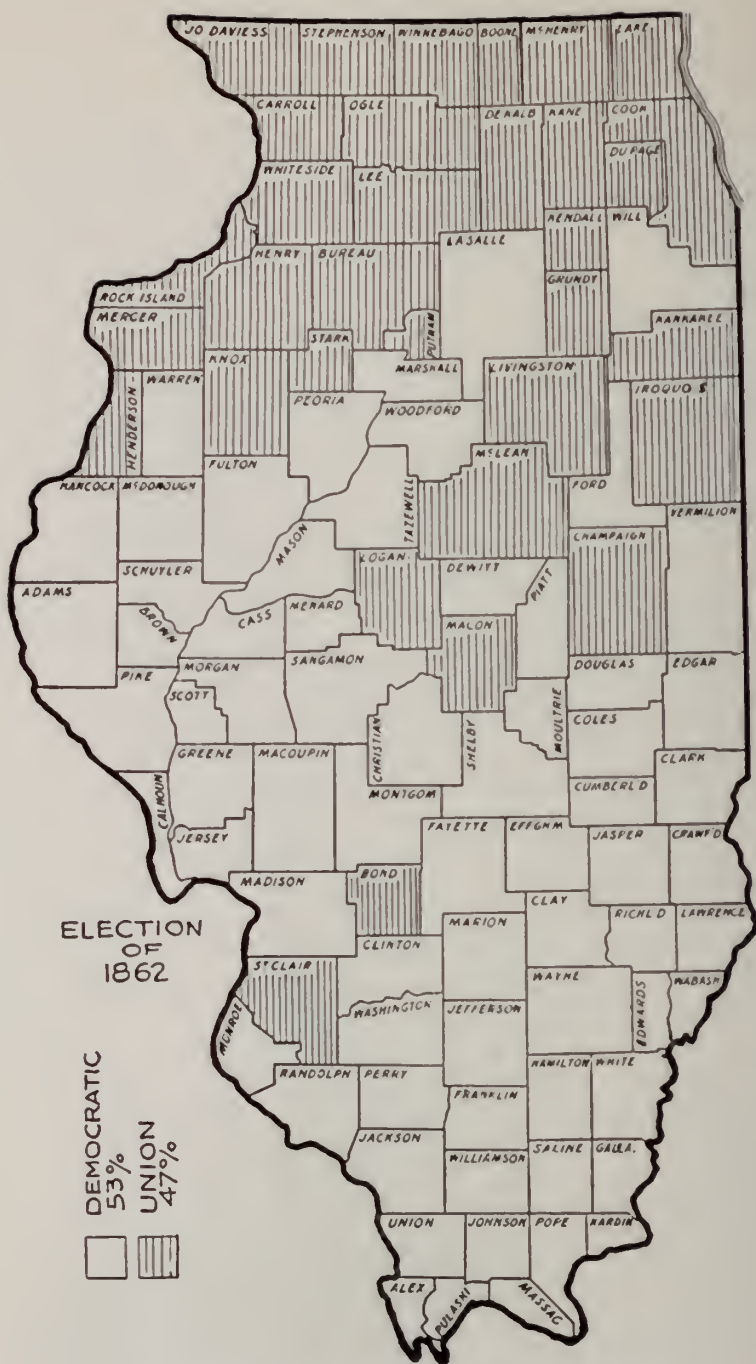
Two days after the inaugural services at Springfield, the Democrats met in a state convention in the same city to give expression to their sentiments upon the state of the Union. The leaders at this convention were divided. Congressman John A. McClernand, Isaac N. Morris and others favored the preservation and protection of the Union while Gen. Jas.

A. Singleton was a secession sympathizer.²² A preamble and resolutions were finally drawn up advocating any plan of conciliation and compromise, by which harmony may again be restored; denied the right of secession, declared that the national government is limited in the enforcement of its laws in any state; and commended the proposed Louisville Convention.²³

This was the beginning of the peace movement in Illinois after the administration had first indicated its possible course of action. It is evident, that the movement was largely the work of a defeated party, which was unwilling to support the policy of its opponents plus sympathy for the South due to ties of blood relations and kinship.

The Special session of the State Legislature that was called by Governor Yates to meet April 15, 1861, shows little that deals with the peace movement. One measure dealing with the prevention of sending aid to the rebels was approved by the representation from the Southern counties. In general both political parties supported the administration in voting for men, money, and credit for the defense of the nation. One incident that brought the first serious split between the parties was the appointment of a successor to Senator Douglas, who had died on June 3, 1861. Democrats thought that because he was a Democrat, the successor should be selected from that party, while Republicans believed that the spoils of victory belonged to their own party. Gates appointed O. H. Browning of Quincy, a Republican, an act which no doubt greatly alienated the Democrats from Union support.

The Constitutional Convention of 1862 indicated the growing dissatisfaction of the people toward the administration. Of the seventy-five delegates elected to the convention only twenty-one were Republicans. In September of the same year were held the state conventions of both the Democrats and Republicans. For congressman, the Democratic convention nominated Mr. Allen, a peace Democrat, over Mr. Lyle, who with his sons had enlisted in the war. Allen was elected. Resolutions favoring a vigorous prosecution of the war were



Map of Illinois showing election of 1862

tabled by a large majority of the convention.²⁴ They protested against the actions of Congress regarding arrests, interference with the freedom of speech and the press, pledging the nation to pay for emancipated slaves, etc.

The Republican state convention strongly supported the administration at Washington. In the election which followed, the Democrats were victorious by a fair majority, which was attributed to the change in sentiment as a result of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862), the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus and the waning hope for immediate success on the battlefield.

This feeling of dissatisfaction toward the administration manifested itself strongly in the 23rd General Assembly of Illinois which had a Democratic majority in both Houses. Mr. Buckmaster of Madison County, a Democrat, was elected speaker of the House. The remarks in his opening speech on January 5, 1863, sounded the keynote of the future reactionary Legislature. "I trust," he said, "that you feel it your duty to enter the solemn protest of the people of Illinois against the impolicy and imbecility which, after such heroic and long-continued sacrifice on the part of the people, still leaves this unholy rebellion not only not subdued, but without any immediate prospect of termination, and I trust that your voice and your action may have a potent influence in restoring to our distracted country the peace and union of bygone days."²⁵ At a meeting in the evening of the first day's session the President and the administration were accused of usurping power. They were criticized for the conduct of the war. The Emancipation Proclamation was declared "unwarrantable in military as in civil law." It was further declared at this meeting that they remained equally hostile to the South, and recommended the cessation of hostilities in order to make arrangements for peace to maintain once more "the Union as it was and the constitution as it is" through a national convention to meet at Louisville, Kentucky, and to which the Legislature was to send commissioners in behalf of Illinois.²⁶

Governor Yates delivered his message to the General Assembly January 5, 1864. The tone of his able and very patriotic speech was decidedly opposite to the general sentiment of the legislators. Among others things he said,²⁷

“The accumulated horrors of this dreadful war have led the minds of the people to think of peace and every true patriot and philanthropist ardently desires peace. But it has its difficulties. The rebels will submit to no compromise short of a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. On the other hand, the people of the loyal states will submit to no adjustment short of submission of the rebels to the rightful authority of the Government and the unconditional union of the States. . . . A division of this country into several different nationalities means nothing more nor less than perpetual destructive war; an unceasing conflict for supremacy; a never ending struggle for the empire of the continent.”

This message had little effect in changing the peace sentiment among the people. The legislators felt quite free in expressing their anti-war attitude and their desire for the immediate restoration of peace. In the *Chicago Tribune* of January 7, 1863, we find, “Copperheads are threatening measures in the Legislature to force Governor Yates to recall our State troops from the field.” In another column of the same issue it says, “Democrats have been opposed to the war from the start and they think the present is the best opportunity for arresting it.”

In the House, Mr. Wenger introduced a resolution to the effect that after an unsuccessful war of two years' duration to crush the rebellion, hostilities ought to be immediately suspended and a national convention appointed to settle the difficulties.²⁸ In the Senate Mr. Vandever offered a preamble and set of resolutions to the effect that since the Union was brought about by concession and compromise, they should memorialize Congress to obtain an armistice and cessation of

hostilities for a national convention to assemble at Louisville to adjust the difficulties.²⁹ Similar resolutions were introduced by other members.

After the session of the 23rd General Assembly the peace movement in Illinois gained strength rapidly. The Chicago Tribune of January 13, 1863, warned the people that "Illinois is on the brink of revolution." General McClelland reported to President Lincoln that on a drive through southern Illinois, he³⁰

"met a number of wagons filled with men, women and children returning from an opposition meeting. . . . Among those thus met, a number hurrahed for John Morgan, . . . others for Jeff Davis and the ashes of Stonewall Jackson. . . . Since, I have learned that the Knights of the Golden Circle are organized militarily." Colonel Oakes of the Fourth United States Cavalry writes that³¹

"at least 1000 young and able-bodied men intend to leave this district for California, Idaho and other places in view of escaping the draft. . . . The Copperheads are the ones who intend to leave."

Senator Browning says "many people are opposed to war because they believe that the South can never be conquered."³² In the diary of Edward W. Crippen, a private in the army, we read under dates of February 9, 1863,³³ "Northern traitors are thrice more to be abhorred than those of the South now bearing arms against us." Dr. James R. Zearing in a letter to his wife from the army stationed at Corinth, Mississippi, February 14, 1863, writes,³⁴

"The Union army is having more trouble with northern peacemakers than its southern rebels. It is strange that the people would favor an armistice at this juncture of affairs and throw away all the lives that have been lost and treasure expended and the Union with it."

It is also highly significant that on January 26, 1863, a preamble and set of eight resolutions were introduced into

the Confederate Congress by Senator H. S. Foote of Tennessee, the fifth of which reads,³⁵

“The government of the Confederate States in consideration of the change in the public sentiment which has occurred in several Northern States, wherein political elections have recently been held, sympathizing most kindly with those by whose manly exertions that change has been brought about—would be willing to conclude a just and honorable peace with anyone or more of said States, who renouncing all their political connection with New England may be found willing to stipulate for desisting at once from the further prosecution of the war against the South, and in such case the government of the Confederate States would be willing to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States thus desisting, of a permanent and enduring character.”

In the fourth resolution, the Confederates declared their unalterable opposition in the event of peace, to form any commercial treaty with the New England States, “with whose people, and whose squabble love for gold and beautifying fanaticism, this disgraceful war has mainly originated.”

The Chicago Tribune of February 14, 1863, reports that the Richmond Whig of February 5th, Richmond Dispatch of February 5th, Charlotte, North Carolina, Democrat of February 2nd, Lynchburg Republican of February 4th, Augusta Constitutionalist and Charleston Courier, all refer to the growing and increasing peace party and the ascending Democratic party in the North.

In the story of the peace movement in Illinois we must not forget about the suppression of the Chicago Times.³⁶ That paper had been taking an extremely anti-war attitude and some railroads like the Chicago & Galena had prohibited its sale on their trains. It became so obnoxious in its “repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary sentiment, that Gen. A. E. Burnside on June 1, 1863, in command of the department of the Northwest, issued Order No. 84,³⁷ “to

suppress the publication of the newspaper known as the *Chicago Times*." This action brought universal criticism among the citizens of Illinois. The State Legislature, then in session at Springfield, passed joint resolutions condemning the action of the military authorities in suppressing the *Times*. Judge Davis³⁸ "spoke in terms of condemnation of the order for the suppression of the *Times* and of the military arrests of civilians and thought them unwarrantable, arbitrary, and of evil tendency."

Senator Browning said,³⁹ "we all agreed that it was a despotic and unwarrantable thing, and most inexpedient even if lawful, and calculated to produce civil war in the State." At a meeting, citizens of Chicago wired President Lincoln demanding that he "rescind this order, in order to promote the general welfare of the city, state and community."⁴⁰ There was fear in the city of an outbreak of mob violence and the *Tribune* was also in danger of attack. By this order the government was laying a hand on the public press and this, of course, brought universal criticism. Even the *Tribune*, the arch-enemy of the *Times*, said in one of her columns, "The order of revocation was, and is universally felt, to be a most unfortunate blunder."⁴¹ On the following day President Lincoln responded to the pressure of public opinion in Chicago and ordered General Burnside to revoke the order suppressing the *Times*.⁴²

Another chief complaint of the opposition toward the administration was the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus and the excessive number of military arrests of private citizens and their incarceration. This was deemed necessary in order to quell the propaganda of the opponents of the administration, but in general it was doubtless bad politics on the part of the administration by which little good was accomplished.

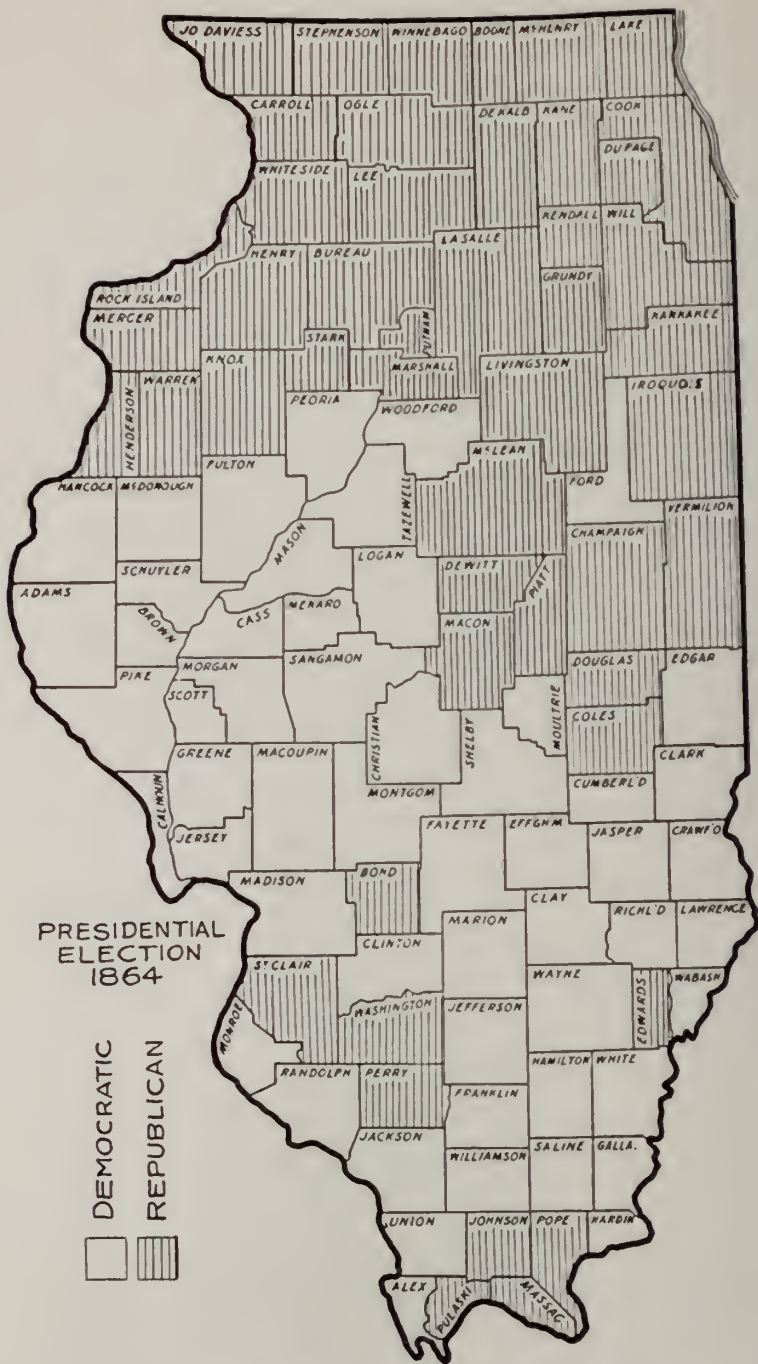
On June 17, 1863, a great Democratic Mass Convention met at Springfield to give expression to the views held by the Illinois Democracy. It was estimated that no less than 40,000

people assembled, among them some of the ablest men in the party.⁴³ Resolutions were passed in which they declared the supremacy of the Constitution; condemned the arrest and banishment of Vallandigham; adhered to the doctrine of State sovereignty; condemned the actions of Governor Yates; denounced secession and offered the seceded States equal rights if they would return to their allegiance. The resolutions further favored peace upon the restoration of the Union and proposed a national convention to adjust the differences between the two sections of the country.⁴⁴ They pledged their support and sympathy to the brave soldiers in the field and requested the President to withdraw his Emancipation Proclamation. A fund of \$47,400 was contributed for the sick and wounded soldiers of Illinois.⁴⁵

Numerous other peace meetings were held in southern Illinois. At Peoria, on August 3, 1863, one was attended by 20,000 people. The tone of the meeting, with General Singleton as chairman, was similar to the one held at Springfield in June. They declared the war a failure and proposed an almost unconditional peace with the South. The most significant and inconsistent act of the convention was that they pledged themselves to support a war Democrat for President, showing that Party success was more dear to them than peace itself.

The Chicago Democratic National Convention of 1864 was no less inconsistent than the Peoria meeting. To insure the greatest possibility of success at the fall elections, a popular leader had to be selected to head the ticket. For that reason, they nominated McClellan, but permitted Vallandigham to draft the platform, which declared the failure of the war and the need of peace. Pendleton of Ohio was nominated for Vice-President to satisfy the peace-men. This peace article was repudiated by McClellan in his letter of acceptance, when he said:⁴⁶

“But the Union must be preserved at all hazards. I could not look into the face of my gallant comrades of the



Map of Illinois showing Presidential election of 1864.

army and navy, who survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren have been in vain."

The immediate reaction of this nomination was an outburst of enthusiasm, so that even Lincoln himself anticipated his own defeat in the election.⁴⁷ The months of September and October, 1864, changed the situation for Lincoln. News was arriving of Sherman's successes in Georgia and victory for the Unionists became more and more imminent. The platform of the Democrats began to look more impracticable and untenable than ever, even to the extent of treason. With the defeat of the Democrats at the polls in 1864 and the successful termination of the war in the months following, the peace movement subsided.

One more topic that needs a brief treatment in relation to the peace movement, was the secret, anti-war society known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. The work of this organization consisted mainly of discouraging enlistments and influencing elections.⁴⁸ Its greatest strength in Illinois was probably 85,000, with about 50,000 in Indiana and 110,000 in Ohio.⁴⁹ Vallandigham was thought to be head of the organization and no doubt it had relations and connections with the Confederate Government.⁵⁰ The principles of the organization indicated that it was in full sympathy with the Southerners. At Indianapolis, it had stores of ammunition and guns, probably for the purpose of instigating an uprising in the North and then join forces with the South.⁵¹ The work of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Illinois ended, when their chief ringleaders were arrested in the attempt to release the nine thousand rebel prisoners at Camp Douglas in Chicago on November 8, 1864.

IV. Conclusion.

The peace movement in Illinois during the Civil War was primarily a movement of the Democratic party. There were several reasons why the Illinois Democracy favored a peace

policy. (1) With few exceptions, the Democrats of Illinois, located solidly in the southern half of the state, had hailed from the slave states of the South, were therefore Southern in sympathy and recognized slavery as a legitimate institution where it existed. They were opposed to all interference with it by the Government, as the numerous resolutions passed at the various conventions will amply show. When the war aims of the Administration began to change from preserving the Union to abolishing slavery, the Democracy began to lose interest in the struggle more than ever. Rather than fight for the abolition of an institution which they considered legitimate and just, they favored an armistice and proposed a convention to adjust the differences between the two sections. (2) The Democrats favored peace, because it was the war of their opponents, the war of the upstart Republicans, and why should they support them in their program. To do so, would strengthen the Republicans and weaken the Democrats. That would not be good party politics. Instead, they used for political capital all the misfortunes and mistakes of the Republicans and in place of encouraging the war, they did the opposite and favored peace. (3) The Democracy thought, and quite rightly so, that the Administration was usurping power nearly to the extent of a dictatorship. That was violating the principle of true Democracy. In order to stop these ever-increasing war powers that were being usurped by the President, they favored a cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace.

To speak of the peace movement in Illinois as a movement of the Democratic Party only, would be assuming too much. There were many who were not affiliated with any party organization and favored peace. There were pacifist groups. There were Republicans who were opposed to the policy of the Administration. As a whole, the matter of analyzing the movement is difficult and complex. But a study of the subject has convinced me that party loyalty played a very distinct and important part in the movement, as my discussion and maps indicate.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

I. Newspapers:

- Chicago Times*, 1860-65, Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Tribune, 1860-65, Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Staats-Zeitung, 1860-65, Chicago, Ill.

II. Federal and State documents:

- Adjutant General's Report*, Illinois, 1861-65, Springfield, Ill., 1900-1902.
Compendium of the 9th Census of United States, Washington, 1870.
Congressional Globe, 1860-65, Washington, D. C.
War of the Rebellion, Official Records, 1881-1901, Washington, D. C.
Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, Springfield, Ill., 1862.
Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, 23rd General Assembly, Springfield, Ill., 1863.

III. Biography:

- Gustave Koerner, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, Vol. II, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909.
Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, New York, 1908.
Nicolay-Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, New York, 1890.

IV. Diaries, Letters, Articles and Pamphlets:

- O. H. Browning, *Diary of Orville H. Browning*, Springfield, Ill., 1925.
W. E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest in 1860" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. 16, 1911.
R. J. Kerner, "Diary of Robert J. Kerner," in *Publications of Illinois State Historical Library*, 1914.
A. L. Kohlmeir, "Commerce and Union Sentiment in the old Northwest in 1860" in *Publications of Illinois State Historical Society*, 1923.
J. S. Russel, Report to Governor Morton in "Conspiracy of the Northwest." (In Newberry Library, Chicago.)
Eddy Bateman Shelly Article, "James A. Singleton" in *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, Vol. I, Chicago, 1921.

Pamphlet, "Remarks of James A. Singleton." (In Newberry Library, Chicago.)

Bluford Wilson, "Southern Illinois in the Civil War" in *Publications of Illinois State Historical Society*, 1921.

J. R. Zearing, "Civil War Letters of Major J. R. Zearing 1861-65" in *Publications of Illinois State Historical Society*, 1911.

V. Other Secondary Works:

A. C. Cole, *Centennial History of Illinois*, III, Chicago, 1922.

Davidson and Stuve, *History of Illinois*, Springfield, 1873.

Jefferson Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate States*, New York, 1887.

J. Moses, *Illinois Statistical and Historical*, Vol. II, Chicago, Ill., 1889.

Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record*, 7 Vols., New York, 1862-64.

J. F. Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, 1861-65, New York, 1917.

A. H. Stephens, *Constitutional View of the War Between the States*, II, Philadelphia, 1868-70.

¹ *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series III, Vol. IV, Series 125, p. 148.

² Nicolay-Hay, *Lincoln*, VII, p. 339-40.

³ Jefferson Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate States*, Vol. II, p. 611.

⁴ Alexander H. Stephens, *Constitutional View of the War Between the States*, II, p. 529.

⁵ J. Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, II, p. 692.

⁶ F. Moore, *Rebellion Record*, XI, pp. 142-43.

⁷ Koerner says in his *Memoirs*, that all told, more Democrats volunteered in the war than Republicans. (*Memoirs* II, 423); A report says that southern, central and northern Illinois had vied with each other in the work of the troops for the suppression of the Rebellion. (Adj. Gen. Report, Ill., 1861-66, Vol. I, p. 27.) Such Democratic generals as Logan, McClelland, Hayne, Brayman, Carlin, and many others from Illinois showed their most bitter disapproval toward the peace movement and armistice agitation which was being carried on by their Democratic brethren at home. (Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, II, p. 681.)

⁸ In the majority report of the House of Representatives of the 23rd General Assembly of Illinois, the resolutions opposing the war were adopted by a vote of 52 to 27, while the minority resolutions supporting the war were rejected by a vote of 52 to 28. These votes were cast on strictly party lines. The Republicans from the northern half of Illinois supported the Lincoln administration while the Democrats from the southern half opposed it. (*Journal of House of Representatives*, Ill., 1863, pp. 382-84.)

⁹ B. Wilson, Art. "Southern Illinois in the Civil War" in Ill. State Historical Society Publications, 1911, p. 97.

¹⁰ *Compendium of the 9th Census of United States* (1870), p. 38; A. L. Kohlmeir, "Commerce and Union Sentiment in the Old Northwest in 1860" in *Illinois State Historical Society Publications*, 1923, p. 154.

¹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1862, Pt. 2, 2045; 1861, Pt. 1, 690; 1861, Pt. 2, 1243; 1861, Pt. 4, 431; 1862, pp. 2793, 3267-68, 1648-49, 2206-7.

¹² A. L. Kohlmeir, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Chicago Tribune of June 19, 1863, says: "Gen. Singleton has put back the Democracy to the place where they were before Douglas brought them out in favor of the country and the war."

¹⁵ L. Howland, *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 359.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Allen Johnston, *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 359.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ B. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

^{19a} Davidson and Stuve, *History of Illinois*, pp. 866-67.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ A. C. Cole, *Centennial History of Illinois*, III, p. 259.

²² Gen. Jas. A. Singleton was the leader of the radical peace movement. He was born in 1811 and came to Illinois in 1833. He was a lawyer; Brig. Gen. of Illinois Militia in 1844; served in the Mormon war; member of constitutional conventions of 1847 and 1862; six terms in state legislature; Democratic congressman from Illinois in 1878, 1880. During the Civil War he was one of the most conspicuous leaders of the peace party, favoring the immediate cessation of hostilities and a peace convention to adjust differences between the two sections. He was active in organizing peace meetings and was a leading figure in the Democratic mass convention at Springfield, June 17, 1863. He constructed the Quincy, Toledo and Quincy, Alton and St. Louis Railroad, and was president of both companies. He died in Baltimore, 1882. (Art. in *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, Chicago, 1920, Vol. I, p. 481.). A pamphlet on "Remarks of Gen. Jas. A. Singleton" is found in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

²³ Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, p. 867.

²⁴ Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, p. 878.

²⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives of Illinois*, 1863, p. 7.

²⁶ The following resolution was submitted to the House Jan. 29, 1863: "Whereas Abraham Lincoln, at the commencement of the present unhappy war, declared in every official paper that came from his hands that the sole object of the prosecution of the war was and should be the restoration of the Union and the laws as our fathers made them; and whereas, by his subsequent acts, he has proven to every unbiased mind that such now is not the intention in the further prosecution of the war; and that he has willfully deceived the soldiers by inducing them to take up arms as they supposed for an honorable and just cause, he has lured them into a dishonorable and disgraceful crusade against the rights of the states. . . . He has without authority of law or right, imprisoned our citizens in loathsome dungeons, and refused them the right of speedy trial. . . . He has by his proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, disregarded the reserved rights of the States and attempted by that proclamation . . . to excite several insurrections in the Southern States. . . . He has suppressed the liberty of the press and the free speech, a liberty feared only by tyrants. . . . He has squandered the nation's wealth and made us a bankrupt people . . . against all of which we do enter our solemn protest and disclose it to be our fixed and firm intention to submit to these wrongs and usurpations no longer. That we will, as heretofore, sustain the administration in all its constitutional acts. Therefore be it resolved and called a national convention to meet at Louisville, Kentucky, the first Tuesday in April, 1863, and we recommend to all the States that their Legislatures appoint Commissioners to meet at said Convention." The Congress of United States was memorialized to obtain an armistice and cessation of hostilities now existing between the different sections of our country. Copies of the resolutions were to be sent to Governors of all States and the Illinois Representatives and Senators in Congress. (Cf. *Journal of House of Representatives*, 23rd Assembly, pp. 278-80.)

- ²⁷ Chicago Tribune, Jan. 6, 1863.
- ²⁸ Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, pp. 882-3.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 883.
- ³⁰ *War of Rebellion, Official Records*, Series III, Vol. IV, Serial 125, p. 159.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. LII, Pt. I, Serial 109, p. 109.
- ³² Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 580.
- ³³ Diary edited by Robert J. Kerner, in *Publications of Illinois State Historical Library*, 1914, p. 260. Other letters of the army had a similar tone. The Chicago Tribune of Jan. 26, 1863, has among its letters from soldiers the following: "The traitors at home are fighting us as hard as the traitors in arms," and again on the 28th of the same month, another letter says, "Desertions insisted and encouraged by northern traitors are becoming alarmingly and dangerously frequent."
- ³⁴ *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1921, p. 169.
- ³⁵ Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, pp. 883-84.
- ³⁶ There were a number of other papers in Illinois that were severely criticized and temporarily suspended for publishing anti-war and peace propaganda, such as the Quincy Herald, Peoria Democrat, Paris Democratic Standard, Bloomington Times, Jerseyville Democratic Union. (Cf. Cole, *Centennial History of Illinois*, Vol. III, p. 303.)
- ³⁷ *War of Rebellion Records*, Series I, Pt. 2, Vol. 23, p. 381.
- ³⁸ Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 633.
- ⁴⁰ *War of Rebellion Records*, Serial I, Pt. 2, Vol. 23, p. 385.
- ⁴¹ Chicago Tribune, June 2, 1863.
- ⁴² *War of Rebellion, Official Records*, Series I, Pt. 2, Vol. 23, p. 382.
- ⁴³ Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, p. 901: The Illinois Staats-Zeitung of June 18, 1863, says in one of its columns: "The Democratic Mass Convention was attended by 7-10,000 people and no more. Cook County, supposed to be represented by 1,000 delegates, sent only 60. Had Jefferson Davis been nominated for President of the United States the meeting would have endorsed him. Richardson represented the Seymour faction. Singleton represented the Wood faction. They favored a peace convention and armistice to save the Constitution and Union from anarchy and revolution." The Tribune of June 19, 1863, wrote as follows: "As to the Democratic Mass Convention, General Singleton was in communication with Fernando Wood all day and telegraphed his triumph to New York City. He is the great man of the convention. He has put back the Democracy to the place where they were before Douglas brought them out in favor of the country and the war."
- ⁴⁴ The Illinois Staats-Zeitung of June 18, 1863, says that at the Democratic Convention, Jeff Davis himself could not have defended the interests of the Southern Confederacy better than did General Singleton in his resolutions in the committee. The Chicago Tribune of June 20th says that "the Old Democracy is dead and the voice of Douglas is heard no more. The Democracy is cheated and misled and blinded by pestilent demagogues."
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, p. 905.
- ⁴⁷ Koerner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 432.
- ⁴⁸ Chicago Tribune, Jan. 29 and 31, 1863.
- ⁴⁹ Moses, *op. cit.*, II, 692.
- ⁵⁰ *War of Rebellion, Official Records*, Series II, Vol. II, Serial 115, pp. 240-41: The Chicago Tribune of July 26, 1864, writes in its editorial column: "A pleasant foretaste of the blessing which might be expected from a disunion peace is presented in the conspiracy for a Northwest Confederacy to be inaugurated by the Knights of the Golden Circle with Vaindigham as President, Cox as Vice-President, McClellan as Generalissimo, and the Chicago rebel paper as government organ. . . . They were to drive all the Unionists out of the Northwest and convert them into a colony of Confederate States, seeking admission under the Montgomery Constitution as soon as practicable."
- ⁵¹ Report of J. S. Russel to Gov. Morton in "Conspiracy of the Northwest," p. 7, we find that 390 revolvers and 140,000 rounds of ammunition were shipped from New York City to a Mr. Parsons at Indianapolis. These supplies were confiscated by the Government. For information on the principles of the Knights of the Golden Circle, cf. report of H. B. Carrington to Gov. Morton in "Conspiracy of the Northwest," p. 2.

THE REPUDIATION OF LINCOLN'S WAR POLICY IN 1862—STUART-SWETT CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN.

By HARRY E. PRATT.

"We are all plodding along after the old style, doing nothing, and nothing to do. So far as business is concerned we had better all be in the army."¹ Thus wrote on October 3, 1862, John M. Scott, a leading republican lawyer of central Illinois, who was soon to be judge of what remained of the famous old Eighth Judicial Circuit traveled by Abraham Lincoln.

This was true of law and politics in general but candidates for congress were warming to their tasks. According to the census of 1860 Illinois was entitled to five more members in congress, bringing its representation in the lower house up to fourteen.²

All was not well with war and politics in the fall of 1862. Lincoln had issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22 with the expectation that congressional elections might reveal themselves as favorable to his policy. Republican strength had shown itself in June in the rejection of the new constitution. "We have escaped a terrible calamity," declared Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune*.³ "No more politics," declared republican papers in August; candidates should declare their intentions independent of cliques or conventions. Three weeks later democratic papers declared, "Never in the history of the country was there so imperative a necessity for the thorough organization of the democratic party . . . a party of unscrupulous demagogues have the control of the United States Congress."⁴

¹ John M. Scott to Wm. W. Orme, Bloomington, Ill., Oct. 3, 1862. In possession of H. E. Pratt.

² Population increased from 851,470 in 1850 to 1,711,951 in 1860.

³ Joseph Medill to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, Ill., June 25, 1862. Trumbull MSS. Library of Congress.

⁴ *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 9, 1862.

In particular the democrats charged the federal government with seeking to inaugurate a reign of terror in the loyal states by military arrests and transportation of citizens without a trial to prisons outside the limits of the state. Was not the republican administration trying to browbeat all opposition by villainous and false charges of disloyalty against whole classes of patriotic citizens? And finally, was it not destroying all constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press, and the writ of "habeas corpus"?⁶

Illinois had responded so well to Lincoln's call for 600,000 troops in the summer that there was no talk of the draft in the state. But the fall was wearing away and McClellan was at a standstill on the Potomac. Rumors of peace in Washington were unfounded. Could the Union ever be restored to its ancient fraternal feeling? "If this war is not closed by spring, the civilized world will interpose. Fighting the rebels in the field and the democracy at home is rather tough . . . our financial affairs are becoming terribly deranged, specie being 33 per cent above paper. There will be a breakdown unless more financial skill is called into requisition."⁷

The republicans of central Illinois had one solution for the evil condition of the country, a congressional district made to order. Shelby M. Cullom, elected to the state legislature in 1860, as Speaker had the district "stocked up," putting democratic Sangamon and Woodford of 1860, into the eighth district with republican Livingston, McLean, Logan, DeWitt and Tazewell. "I so shaped matters," said Cullom, "during that session of the legislature as to secure a district in which some republican could hope to be elected. In the apportionment under the census of 1860, I had our congressional district elongated to the north and south rather than to the east or west."⁷ The new eighth district included seven counties:

⁶ *Ibid.* Force was added to the Democratic contention by the President's proclamation of Sept. 24, 1862, which made anyone guilty of any disloyal practice subject to court martial.

⁶ David Davis to Wm. W. Orme, Lincoln, Ill., Oct. 15, 1862. Davis MSS. Illinois State Historical Survey.

⁷ Cullom, Shelby M., *Fifty Years of Public Service*, p. 78. Of the eight counties adjoining Sangamon, Logan was the only one carried by Lincoln in 1860. Cullom was elected to Congress from this district in 1864, after withdrawing in 1862 in favor of Leonard Swett.

Sangamon, Logan, DeWitt, McLean, Tazewell, Woodford and Livingston.⁸

There was a general impression that the democratic party, as such, was discredited in September of 1862. Prominent members under the cognomen of "war democrats" were out of favor and others demanded that party lines and partisan feelings should be swallowed up in patriotism.⁹ Vallandigham, the notorious Ohio copperhead, attracted a following. The democratic state convention on September 10 brought a scant attendance, with forty counties in the northern part of the state entirely unrepresented. Though the convention was held before the issue of the Proclamation, the policy of emancipation was in the air and they denounced it in advance. The favorite catchword, "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was," expressed exactly the principle upon which they bid for the support of the state. By "the Constitution as it is," they meant that there ought to be no more violation of it than in times of peace, and that it ought not to be stretched to cover an arbitrary use of power. By "the Union as it was," they signified that after the suppression of the rebellion the States should be as they had been before; slavery should remain unimpaired.¹⁰

John T. Stuart of Springfield was endorsed as the democratic candidate for congress in the Eighth District. On August 31, he had announced himself a candidate, making the announcement by means of an open letter which revealed perhaps more clearly than could have been done in any other way his high sense of patriotism and civic duty. At the beginning of the letter he explained the unusual step of announcing himself—since the death of the Whig party he had been a member of no party, and therefore could not be put forward by any organization. "Frankness further requires me to say," he continued, "that I become a candidate not because any friends have pressed me to do so, but because my own

⁸ *Public Laws of Illinois, 1861*, p. 22.

⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 20, 22, 23, 1862.

¹⁰ Rhodes, J. F., *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. 4, p. 167.

inclinations have so prompted, stimulated by the hope that the contingency has now arisen, or soon will arise, when I may be of service to our beloved country in her hour of trial, and aid in preserving that glorious Union which our fathers formed.”¹¹

Republicans ridiculing the democratic convention as a meeting of copperheads, sought to impress upon the people of the state the contention that traitors, Knights of the Golden Circle and democrats, were synonymous names. The democrats retaliated with a cry of “abolitionists,” when the Union Convention met in Springfield on September 24. Joseph Medill and Lyman Trumbull had worked hard to make the convention a “Union” rather than a “Republican” affair.¹² They had worded the call to include all voters “who cordially endorse the present administration” in “all means known to civilized warfare for subduing the rebellion and punishing traitors, thereby saving the Union and the Constitution.”¹³

Leonard Swett, a member, describes the convention as “a funny affair . . . with a general disposition . . . to nominate a ‘war democrat’ . . .” As soon as the convention organized temporarily some one suggested that the candidates should be made to declare their sentiments. Then commenced a scramble of outbidding which was never equaled.

First Bromwell [Henry P. H., of Charleston] insisted that only those who had been tried and proved faithful should receive preferment. Then Moulton [Samuel W., of Shelby] outstripped the former in radicalism, producing a favorable impression. Next was Casper Butz of Chicago, who pressed for liberty with true German fervor, “but we had heard that song from the faithful so long that it seemed to produce but little effect.” Ingersoll [Ebon C., of Peoria] who had come out just before in a letter denouncing the democratic convention, was loudly and repeatedly called for. . . . He took the

¹¹ Angle, Paul M., *One Hundred Years of Law*, p. 38; *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 31, 1862.

¹² Joseph Medill to Lyman Trumbull, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 26, 1862. Trumbull MSS. Library of Congress.

¹³ *Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 6, 1862.

convention with a speech, and was nominated on the third ballot. . . . The contest, so far as the speeches were concerned, was as to who should endorse the Proclamation *closest*. It all went off in harmony and good feeling.¹⁴

Next to the contest to determine who would be Illinois' first congressman-at-large, the contest in the eighth congressional district between John T. Stuart and Leonard Swett held the attention of the state. Stuart, like Lincoln, Richard Yates and Orville H. Browning, had emigrated from Kentucky. Settling in Springfield a decade before it became the seat of the state government, he began the practice of law among its five hundred inhabitants. The Black Hawk War called him away for a tour of the Rock River country. Lincoln's reenlistment as a private put them in the same company, and on their way back to Springfield Stuart interested him in the study of law.

Following two terms in the legislature, Stuart was running against Stephen A. Douglas for congress, when the two struck, grappled, and "fought like wildcats" back and forth over the floor of Herndon's grocery 'till each was too tired to hit another blow. Stuart won the seat in congress by thirty-six votes in a poll of 36,461, three-fifths of the vote of the state. As a member of the Whig party he was twice elected to congress and three times to the state legislature. Like Lincoln, he was a Whig of the Henry Clay school, but while he indignantly rejected any imputation of pro-slavery views, he could not reconcile himself to emancipation. A conservative Old Whig, he supported Fillmore in 1856, and in 1860 forsook his former law partner, Abraham Lincoln, and became candidate for governor on the Bell and Everett state ticket.

Major Stuart was about six feet tall, weighing about two hundred pounds, with piercing dark eyes, high forehead, and hair tinged with gray. He was eminently cheerful, social, and good humored, a clever politician, and "a man would be

¹⁴ Leonard Swett to Wm. W. Orme, Bloomington, Ill., Sept. 27, 1862. Swett MSS. Illinois State Historical Survey. Ebon C. Ingersoll was an elder brother of Robt. G. Ingersoll, noted infidel writer and lecturer.

a fiend who would pick a quarrel with him," declared an old lawyer who had traveled over the Illinois prairie with him.¹⁸

Leonard Swett, Stuart's opponent, eighteen years his junior, was born in Maine, a descendant of John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. After taking up the study of Latin and Greek at the age of twelve at home, he attended Waterville College (now Colby College) for three years. After studying in a Portland law office for two years, he set out to make his way as a book agent. Weary and discouraged by repeated failure, and heart-sick at the rude repulse the world returned for his best endeavors, he joined the Fifth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, then being raised for service in the war with Mexico. After following General Winfield Scott along the causeways of the Montezumas from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, he was prostrated by tropical fever. An army surgeon's casual remark that he would "probably die in a few hours," strengthened his will to live. Discharged at Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis, Swett, full of experience, started for his father's home in Maine. At Peoria he had a relapse, and being advised to go back into the country from the Illinois river, he found his way to Bloomington in July, 1848.

After a year spent in regaining his health, teaching school, reading law and admission to the bar, he began the practice of law at Clinton, a small town near Bloomington. Traveling the circuit alone kept lawyers from the poorhouse, and Swett toured the famous Eighth Circuit with Judge David Davis, Lincoln, Stephen T. Logan, Edward D. Baker and John T. Stuart.

Taking a lively interest in politics, Swett in 1852 canvassed the third Illinois congressional district as a Whig elector. He assisted in the formation of the republican party at Bloomington May 29, 1856, when Lincoln made his "Lost Speech." That same summer he was defeated by Owen Lovejoy for the republican nomination to congress. Lincoln's comment was: "It turned me blind when I first heard Swett

¹⁸ Linder, U. F., *The Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, p. 348.

was beaten and Lovejoy nominated; but, after much reflection, I really believe it is best to let it stand. This, of course, I want to be confidential."¹⁶

In 1858 Swett represented McLean county in the state legislature, the only public office he ever held. Failure to attend the Decatur convention in 1860 lost him the nomination for governor. Disappointed, he threw all his soul and energy into the republican convention at Chicago the next week to obtain the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. Thurlow Weed in his autobiography said Swett "contributed more than all others to his [Lincoln's] nomination."¹⁷ Until his death, Swett was one of his "close personal and political advisers."¹⁸

Tall and erect in stature, dignified and commanding in personal appearance, possessing strongly marked features, brilliant black eyes overhung by heavy, bushy brows, gifted with a powerful voice, suave manners, as an advocate Swett "was one of the most persuasive who ever addressed a jury at the American bar."¹⁹

Elated at being the unanimous choice of the Union convention for congress for the eighth district, Swett challenged John T. Stuart to a series of joint debates. Stuart refused the offer. In a letter to his law partner, Swett explained as follows: "The substance of it is, that since I wrote him, the President has proclaimed martial law, and if we should say in debate all we might think and feel, we might be imprisoned; and that I, being the younger and more indiscreet man, might be in greater danger than he."²⁰ Stuart had replied "... I feel, therefore, inclined for the present to postpone the further consideration of your proposition. It is my desire to give the President a frank and earnest support in all his constitutional efforts to suppress the present wicked rebellion,

¹⁶ Abraham Lincoln to H. C. Whitney, Springfield, July 9, 1856. *Lincoln's Works*, Lapsley Ed., Vol. 2.

¹⁷ Weed, Thurlow, *Autobiography*, p. 602.

¹⁸ McClure, A. K., *Lincoln and Men of War Time*, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Chicago Times*, June 9, 1889. Statement of Wirt Dexter, ex-President of Chicago Bar Association. *Transactions of McLean County Historical Society*, Vol. 2, pp. 332-365.

²⁰ Leonard Swett to Wm. W. Orme, Tremont, Ill., Oct. 23, 1862. Swett MSS. Illinois State Historical Survey.

and reserve all censure, if any, for a more suitable time and a full knowledge of all the facts influencing his conduct.”²¹

Swett commented: “He cannot be jesting, because it is not the venerable statesman who speaks with a patronizing air of his sedate age, but the Nero that fiddles when ‘Rome is on fire.’ . . . His suggestions to me, however kind, are inopportune, because all my thoughts and feelings are for the government and against the rebellion, and the more frankly I might speak, the less I would be suspected of entertaining questionable sentiments.”²²

Swett published the correspondence to put Stuart in a bad light. Taking their cue, the republican papers intimated that it was fear of Swett’s brilliant oratory that led Stuart to refuse the joint debate. Smarting under this ridicule, Stuart suddenly appeared one day at the court house in Lincoln where Swett was scheduled to speak, and asked his opponent to divide the time with him. In his speech Stuart did not come out either for or against the Emancipation Proclamation but made a most eloquent and effective speech.²³ Swett, like Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, planted himself squarely on the Proclamation and maintained it was a military necessity. This major point of difference existed between the candidates: Was Mr. Lincoln violating the constitution in his efforts to put down the rebellion? Major Stuart declared, “the constitution was broad enough to put down the rebellion without any violation of it, and that the government was guilty of inaugurating a revolution leading to military despotism.” . . . That he wished a “peace which will degrade no section of the Union.”²⁴ His opponent countered that “it is constitutional to use any means which may be found necessary.”²⁵

²¹ *Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 30, 1862.

²² *Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 30, 1862.

²³ David Davis to Wm. W. Orme, Lincoln, Ill., Oct. 15, 1862. Davis MSS. Illinois State Historical Survey.

²⁴ *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Oct. 14, 1862.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Again and again Stuart declared his undiminished respect for Lincoln and "unbounding confidence . . . in his personal integrity." He implored the President to "follow the dictates" of his "clear head and patriotic heart and preserve the Union by the use of the ample powers conferred upon him by the constitution, and repulse any resort to revolutionary means; and for a Union and a Constitution so preserved, history would erect monuments for him by the side of Washington."²⁶

A flood of pamphlets and circulars declaring against Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus and jury trial came from the democratic presses. A party organ, *The Daily Statesman*, was published in Bloomington to tell the people the faults of Swett, their fellow townsman. Class hatred was stirred over the "everlasting nigger question." The Illinois constitution of 1862 had contained an article forbidding the migration or settlement of negroes and mulattos in the state. Though the constitution was defeated by 16,000 votes, the article prohibiting the immigration of negroes was approved by a majority of 100,000 votes. Unable to deal with them effectively in the south, army officials shipped them to Cairo until the levees were "so dark with negroes that pedestrians found it difficult to peregrinate without lanterns."²⁷ Republicans urged the farmers of Illinois to welcome this source of cheap help; the democrats set up a howl about an impending reduction of wages and consequent distress among the laboring classes, and urged the working man to go to the polls and vote down the negro invasion. "Shall the Constitution be maintained? Shall Illinois be Africanized?" asked democracy.²⁸ Swett tried to stem the tide that was turning against him by publicly announcing that "the bringing of contrabands into this state tends to degrade white labor. . . . I am now and always have been opposed to their introduction amongst us."²⁹ The practice was halted by order of Secretary of War Stanton, on October 14, too late to aid the republican cause.

²⁶ *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 3, 1862.

²⁷ *Cairo Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1862.

²⁸ *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 25, 1862.

²⁹ *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 25, 1862.

Resorting to an old campaign trick, the democrats reported through the newspapers that Swett had been called to Washington, "to assume a responsible position near the President."³⁰ The republicans in turn capitalized upon the prestige of Judge David Davis, who had just been appointed by President Lincoln to the United States Supreme Court. In a letter to the *Pantagraph*, Davis stated that both candidates had agreed to withdraw if he would consent to run, which was impossible, and that he "desired the election of Mr. Swett."³¹

In an effort to revive some of the enthusiasm of 1860, the republicans imported the Tennessee fire-eater, Parson Brownlow, bitter foe of the Confederacy. Just recovering from typhoid fever contracted in a Confederate jail, he toured the state the last week before election, violently condemning everything contrary to the administration in Washington. "His speech," [Bloomington] said David Davis, "was the most denunciatory of any I ever heard . . . no argument at all, and the whole vocabulary of expletives. His nostrils are like a race horse. His face is iron and you can see by his eye that he does not fear the face of man. He is not a man of *Brain*. He has pluck, will and energy. His mouth is as big as (Henry) Clay's."³²

Fearful of the result as election day drew nigh, republicans begged Governor Yates to send home state troops in order that they might cast their votes. Wherever possible this was done, for the natural tendency of the soldiers was to vote as they fought and to sustain the administration in its conduct of the war. Letters from officers giving the vote of their regiments in the field were received by friends of the candidates and broadcasted to influence the voters.

Toward the end of the canvass Swett grew confident. His friends, Lawrence Weldon, Jesse W. Fell, Samuel Parks, John M. Scott and Clifton H. Moore, all well-known lawyers, "beat the bush" and calculated the outcome favorably. A week be-

³⁰ *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 17-18, 1862; Bloomington *Pantagraph*, Oct. 21, 1862.

³¹ Bloomington *Pantagraph*, Oct. 28, 1862.

³² David Davis to Wm. W. Orme, Bloomington, Ill., Oct. 21, 1862, Nov. 2, 1862. Davis MSS. Illinois State Historical Survey.

fore the election, Moore wrote: "Swett is working hard and is confident more so than his friends. Still every exertion will be made. Here [Clinton] we shall run groceries as well as wagons and carriages on election day. The elections in Ohio and Indiana have greatly elated his opponents . . . we hope to carry this county [DeWitt] by 100, but it is thought by many to be doubtful. The last call took off so many men that no certain calculation can be made. It is too bad for a man like Swett to have such a hard race when he wants anything. In politics he has certainly had the 'boy's row' ever since I knew him. Does more work and gets less pay than any man I know.'³³

Ward H. Lamon, swashbuckler friend of Lincoln, and Marshal of the District of Columbia, arrived "flush with money to bet on Swett and the state ticket . . . by his boldness and pluck he backed them out so I don't think he bet to any considerable extent.'³⁴

The republican following appeared very strong outside of the towns and in the northern part of the district. Stuart was relying on a large majority in Sangamon county to carry him to victory. Day after day throughout October and up to the eve of the election Swett spoke in every hamlet and town, winding up as he had begun in Phoenix Hall in Bloomington. Feeling that he had the "buck ague" on Stuart, he counted on victory by a majority of one hundred votes. Stuart put his faith in pamphlets rather than in speeches, a practice indulged in by the republicans when they distributed 5,000 pamphlets in the district on the day before election.

Election day brought out a large vote despite the sending of forty-four regiments to war during the last five months. The state went democratic; nine of the fourteen representatives to the next congress were to be of that party. In the eighth district, Stuart polled 12,808 votes to 11,443 for Swett, a majority of 1,365. The bitter fight was over and the repub-

³³ Clifton H. Moore to Wm. W. Orme, Clinton, Ill., Oct. 27, 1862. In possession of H. E. Pratt.

³⁴ Lawrence Weldon to Wm. W. Orme, Springfield, Ill., Nov. 24, 1862. In possession of H. E. Pratt.

licans began their quest for an explanation. "Just what was expected," lamented Orville H. Browning, "from the insane ravings of the *Chicago Tribune*, *Quincy Whig*, *ed id omne genus*."³⁵ The *New York Times*, ardent supporter of the administration, called it a "vote of want of confidence" in the President. A solid block of states from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, including Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, all of which, except New Jersey had cast their electoral vote for Lincoln, now voted against his policies.³⁶

Upon hearing the news of the election, General William W. Orme, Swett's law partner stationed at Springfield, Missouri, wrote: "Swett's beaten! The democracy have carried everything, and I think the country is ruined. The result of these elections will palsy the arm of the President. . . . I can scarcely foresee the effects of this election. It will nerve the rebels to redoubled energy."³⁷

"I presume," wrote Clifton H. Moore, "you were much surprised at the result of our election. Swett was beaten about 1,500. When we take the figures of 1860 they show conclusively that he had no chance at the start. In the counties composing this district, Lincoln in 1860 had only 800 majority over all opposition. Then take the fact that out of these counties there were at least 12,000 soldiers, 8,000 of whom were voters. Five thousand of these at least did and would have voted the Union ticket. These figures, which I think the facts will sustain, placed Swett's hope in a fearful minority. . . . Swett took his defeat in the spirit of a true philosopher. He said that he 'would have felt much worse if he had been beaten only a hundred or so, but when they "skunk" a fellow it becomes ridiculous'."³⁸

³⁵Pease and Randall (ed.) *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, Vol. 1, p. 582.

³⁶*New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1862. New Jersey cast 4 of her 7 votes for Lincoln.

³⁷*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, July, 1930, p. 259.

³⁸Lawrence Weldon to Wm. W. Orme, Springfield, Ill., Nov. 24, 1862. In possession of H. E. Pratt.

AN APPRAISEMENT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE REV. JAMES McGEOCH, 1833

By C. A. HARPER.

The above appraisal¹ of the personal property of the Rev. James McGeoch who died in Bloomington, Illinois, in February, 1833, is of considerable interest to the student of the American Frontier. It illustrates the fact that the frontier was a varied thing and there is little typical about it save its diversity. People came to it from various walks of life for various reasons and with various social and economic backgrounds. Although, as pointed out by Paxson,² the common experiences of the hard existence of frontier life were a great levelling agency and produced a certain uniformity, yet the significant thing is that isolation allowed a continuation of old customs, ideas and social norms with little dilution or modification for considerable periods of time. In other words, when the new settler broke from the old surroundings, he took with him his lares and penates and even if he did face an entirely new environment, there was so much of a social vacuum in the wilderness that he was in no way challenged to break suddenly with his attitudes and ideas. The American frontiersman faced outward when in contact with his physical environment but faced inward in preserving his social and cultural relationships. In sharp contrast to both the Spaniard and Frenchman, the Englishman did not modify and adjust his inner life to the standard of the Indian.

We may believe that the Rev. McGeoch was merely an incongruous figure; a sort of anomaly, a piece of wreckage from an older civilization washed up on the beach of frontier society. We may see in his velvet vests, his extensive library, his tooth brush and his flute only evidence of his unfitness for frontier life. Again, upon closer examination we may find in him part of the pattern which enabled the pioneer state of

¹ Probate Records, McLean County Court House, Bloomington, Ill.

² Paxson: *History of the American Frontier*, p. 96.

Illinois to develop in a man like Lincoln a style of unsurpassed literary distinction. The culture of Bloomington in the fifties³ was an evolution from influences of men such as McGeoch. His library was purchased greedily by his neighbors and no doubt helped mould the moral and intellectual stature of the rising generation.

The Rev. James McGeoch⁴ (or Gouch) was the son of a wealthy Scotchman of Washington County, New York. The elder McGeoch had made a respectable fortune in connection with army contracts in the war of 1812, but this was merely an addition to an inherited competency gained through close association with the Albany fur trade. The McGeoch family were members of the Covenant Church and were mainstays of its financial support. The young James McGeoch was a graduate of Union College and the University of Edinburgh. He had gained a solid theological training under the dour Dr. Chalmers and the more genial Prof. John Wilson. In 1832 he had spent an additional six months in Princeton. Here he fully made up his mind, in spite of the strenuous opposition of his father, to preach in the Presbyterian Church. This decision resulted in a bitter family row and the young minister found himself definitely disinherited. With stern covenanter zeal, he turned to the opportunities of religious service in the West. In February of 1833 he arrived in the village of Bloomington, then a town of one hundred and fifty souls. Here he entered actively into the task of creating a church. One hundred dollars were raised in the community and success was assured. Then followed a strenuous missionary effort. But the hardship was too much for the little minister and in February of 1833 he joined his Scotch ancestors.

His library was his principal legacy. Rich in the theology of Presbyterian divines, full of titles which smack of Calvin and Knox, atonement, predestination, original sin—well thumbed works of Locke and Bacon, together with Milton,

³ "Extracts from Diary of Isaac Kenyon." *Transactions of McLean County Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 415.

⁴ E. M. Prince: *Notes on James McGeoch* (unpublished). McLean County Historical Library; also letters of the wife of James McGeoch.

Burke and Shakespeare—even Lady of the Lake, the Vicar of Wakefield—five hundred and thirty volumes—Latin, Greek, Hebrew—Webster's latest dictionary—altogether the library of a gentleman and a scholar. This library was appraised at \$434.09½ with many of the titles listed as low as 12½ cents. But it sold at nearly twice that amount.

The next thing which impresses us is the wardrobe of the minister. Appraised at \$100.23½, it represented an original cost of more than four times that much. In fact, it represents the outfit of quite a dandy and was the relic of better days when the elder McGeoch dressed his son in the styles affected by the New York Livingstons and other modish Scotch capitalists. Broadcloth suits, camlet cloak, velvet and French Bombazin vests, linen shirts, palmetto hat, neck cloths, dickeys and silver watch—all are listed.

Then the household furnishings give us a picture of elegance. Mahogany bureau, silver plated candlesticks, silver plated looking glass, brass andirons, Liverpool plates, dutch ovens, brass mounted shovel and tongs were indeed unusual in a log cabin.

An appraisement List of the property of the Rev. James McGeoch deceased.*

Names of Articles.		dol.	cts.
New cloth coat.....		25.00	
Do. pantaloons		8.00	
Do. velvet vest		5.00	
Bambazin coat		4.50	
Do. pantaloons		1.00	
Do. do		3.00	
Drilling pantaloons		1.00	
Linin shirt .....		.75	
3 Linin shirts at 75 cts.....		2.25	
1 do.		1.25	
Do. muslin .....		.75	
Do. linin		1.00	

* The author has made no attempt to edit this list. Some of the titles of the books on the list were hastily written and may puzzle the reader, as they have the author.

	Do. muslin .....	.75
	Cotton pantaloons .....	.50
	Linin Dickey .....	.25
	Do. waistcoat .....	.37½
	Marsailes vest	1.50
	Flanel waistcoat .....	.50
3	Linin dickeys at 50 cts.....	1.50
	Flannal shirt	1.25
	Do. drawers .....	.62½
2	Linin collars .....	.12½
	Flanal waistcoat .....	.50
11	Dish towels 34 2/5 cts.....	3.82½
2	Muslin neckclothes .....	.75
4	Do. do.	1.37½
6	Pillow cases 25 cts.....	1.50
7	Do. do.	1.75
	Neck cloth .....	.25
2	Window curtains	1.00
1	Pillow case .....	.25
3	Muslin sheets 87½ cts.....	2.62½
1	Table cloth	1.50
2	Pair socks .....	.25
	Calico counter pain.....	2.00
	Plaid table cloth.....	1.50
3	Large silver spoons.....	6.00
11	Tea do. do. 75 cts.....	8.25
	Box with contents consisting of 3 glass bottles..	1.75
	Silver watch	25.00
	Writing desk, portable.....	3.50
	Pocket Bible .....	.75
	Glass Bottle .....	.18¾
2	Trunks	3.50
	Glass bottle (long).....	.12½
	Cricket .....	.25
	Small pocket book.....	.12½
	Red do. ....	.50
	Baskett .....	.12½

Prism	1.00
Tooth brush .....	.25
Bottle containing sweet oil.....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Band boxes .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
Set of Brittannia consisting of coffee pot, 2 tea potts, sugar bowl, cream and preserve dish...	9.00
Fire bilows	1.50
Milk strainer .....	.25
Kitchen table	1.50
Flour barrel .....	.25
Mahogany bureau	35.00
Silver looking-glass	3.50
Domestic comb stand.....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Silver plated candle sticks.....	3.50
$\frac{1}{2}$ doz. Common chairs.....	3.75
2 pair red Flanal drawers.....	2.00
Do. drab do. ....	.75
2 Flanal shirts \$1.50.....	3.00
2 Muslin shirts with linin bosoms.....	1.50
Cotton twill pantaloons.....	1.25
Calico counter pain.....	2.00
$\frac{1}{2}$ yds. Fow Linin.....	.18 $\frac{3}{4}$
Shaving box and brush.....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 Bolts woolen yarn.....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shovel forseps .....	.25
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yds. domestic cheesecloth 15 cts.....	.375
Cotton huch .....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pair white drawers.....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pair Thread socks.....	.18 $\frac{3}{4}$
Diaper Table Cloth.....	1.50
Pair card racks.....	.25
Bolt of domestic binding.....	1.25
4 Yds. Muslin 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ cts. yd.....	.75
1 2/3 Yds. do. do. ....	.25
Linin Pillow Case.....	.25
1 Yd. Calicio .....	.25
1 Bound calico counter pain.....	2.75

$\frac{1}{3}$	Yd. Calico .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Sea Grass rope.....	.25
12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Yds. muslin 25 cts. yd.....	3.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Silk velvet vest.....	1.00
	Black cloth vest.....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Do. do. vest.....	1.25
	Do. coat	10.00
15	Yds. Bed Ticking 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ cts. yd.....	4.08 $\frac{3}{4}$
7	Linin collars 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ cts.....	.44
	Hearth Brush .....	.50
	Scotch caps .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
	French Bambazine vest.....	2.50
	Iron Pott	1.40
	Gritts .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Earthen preserve dish.....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
	do. pan .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Gimlet .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Bed quilts (double wove).....	8.00
2	Comfortables \$2.50	5.00
2	pair woolen socks 25 cents.....	.50
1	Black worsted .....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cotton plaid Kerchief.....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Pocket Book .....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Camlet Cloak	10.00
	Black cloth coat.....	1.50
	Cloth pantaloons	1.25
4	Towels 25 cts.....	1.00
1	Cotton do. ....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cotton Sheet	1.00
	Old sheet .....	.75
	New do.	1.00
	Do. do.	1.00
	Twilled Table Cloth	1.00
	Shirt	1.00
	Shirt .....	.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
	White Flanel Shirt.....	1.25
	Straw Tick .....	.75

Checked Blanket	2.50
5 Yds. Bed Ticking.....	1.87½
Cloth coat (old).....	.25
Palmeto Hat .....	.37½
Felt Hat .....	.75
Linin Bed Tick.....	1.50
Do. do.	1.50
Linen covering for card Table.....	2.00
Pair woolen socks.....	.12½
2 Sea Grass bed cords.....	.75
Ball cotton candle wick.....	.20
3 pair woolen socks.....	.75
do do. ....	.37½
Carpet hand sock.....	1.87½
Pair cotton socks.....	.18¾
Ball of twine & ⅔ shein cotton yarn.....	.06¼
Brass hand <i>Seine</i> (?).....	1.25
Tea kettle	1.25
Tin Buckett .....	.37½
Do. do. ....	.25
Iron Porringer .....	.25
Spider .....	.37½
Frying Pans .....	.50
Brass hand Irons.....	10.00
3 Earthen Plates .....	.25
1 do Jar and ring.....	.12½
Tin Pan .....	.25
Pair Flat bottom candle sticks.....	1.00
Do. Square bottom do.	1.25
2 pair candle snuffers.....	.50
Earthen Saltz .....	.06¾
2 Tin pans .....	.37½
Bed warmer .....	.75
Earthen dish & contents.....	.06¾
Coffee mill	1.25
Do. do.	1.50
2 Tin scimmers	1.25

Tin Tea Pott.....	.37½
Wooden Buckett .....	.50
Coffee Pott .....	.50
Tin Dipper .....	.12½
Do. Skimmer .....	.25
Ink bottle & Ink.....	.12½
Glass Bottle .....	.18¾
3 pair Hasps 12½ cts.....	.37½
2 Glass vials .....	.16¼
Glass pepper box.....	.12½
Tin do. ....	.06¼
Earthen Pott .....	.06¼
4 Liverpool bowls .....	.50
1 do. do. ....	.25
Set of China Tea Cups.....	1.25
⅓ do. do. ....	.37½
2 saucers and cups.....	.06¼
set of Glass cup—plates.....	.37½
Pair of Glass salts.....	.37½
2 Glass Tumblers .....	.25
5 small plates .....	.31¼
12 plates (Liverpool)	1.20
6 do. do. ....	.50
Snuffer & Tray.....	.18¾
Dish & plate.....	.18¾
Large do. ....	.37½
Large captain Tray.....	1.50
Old pair boots.....	.15½
Two pair old shoes.....	.62½
Whisk broom .....	.06¼
Tin Pan .....	.10
2 set bone handle knives & forks.....	2.00
5 knives & 2 forks.....	.37½
2 Table Spoons .....	.18¾
Diaper Table Cloth.....	1.50
Razor .....	.37½
2 Large Boxes	1.00

	Diaper Towel .....	.25
	Pair of smoothing irons.....	1.00
	Rolling pin .....	.06 ¹ / ₄
	Waffle Iron .....	.50
	Pair of shoe Brushes.....	.12 ¹ / ₂
	Brass Mounted shovel & Tongs.....	3.00
15	Gall. Keg .....	.37 ¹ / ₂
	Box coat	15.00
2	Boxes (for Books).....	1.50
4 ¹ / ₂	Yds. Muslin	1.12 ¹ / ₂
	Linin Dickey .....	.25
2 ¹ / ₂	Yds. red Flanel.....	1.25
	Sugar Cask with contents.....	10.00
	Bed quilt	3.00
	do. do.	2.50
	Dutch oven	1.50
	do. Large	2.00
	Large Box .....	.75
	Large hair Trunk.....	3.50

Amt. carried over.....379.34

Books.

	Websters Dictionary	12.00
	Pool's Annotations	10.00
	Henry's Commentations	15.00
	Colridge, Shelly & Keats.....	1.25
5	Common Bibles	3.12 ¹ / ₂
	Maysillon's (?) Sermons.....	1.00
	Bible .....	.62 ¹ / ₂
	Scott's Bible	12.00
	Spectator	2.00
	Calvin's Com. on Genesis.....	3.00
	Do. on Epistles	1.50
	Brown's Antiquities of the Jews.....	4.00
	Crudon's Concordance	4.00
	English Synonymes	1.50
	Strime's Reflections	1.25

Campbell's Gospels	6.00
Stewart's Connnotations	1.00
Lovotir's Isiah .....	.75
Locke on the Epistles.....	1.00
Port Folio .....	.75
Leod on the Revelations.....	1.00
Hebrew Bible	6.00
Whitefield's Sermons	2.00
Greek English Lexicon.....	5.00
Hosin's Introduction	10.00
Gospel Truth .....	.50
American Speaker .....	.62½
Synod of Dort.....	.50
Brown's Philosophy	10.00
Ridgley's Body of Divinity.....	5.00
Boston's Sermons	3.00
Neroton on prophecies.....	3.00
Luther on Galitians.....	1.00
Witsing on the Creed.....	2.00
Owen on the Hebrews.....	6.00
Mihur's Church History.....	5.00
Gaston's Collection	1.00
Legh Richmond .....	.75
Young's Night Thoughts.....	.37½
Paradise Lost	1.60
Communicant's Companion .....	.62½
Jay's Lectures .....	.62½
Confession of Faith.....	.75
Dogmatic Litany .....	.50
Wilberforce's Christianity	1.00
Predestination .....	.50
Four fold States.....	.50
Life of Hollyburton.....	.25
Josephus' Works	1.50
Student and Pastor.....	.12½
Witherspoon's Lectures .....	.75
Comstock's Essays .....	.50

Life of St. Paul.....	.50
French Grammar	1.00
Shakespear	2.00
Davise's Sermons	3.00
<hr/>	
Amt. Carried over.....	533.21½
Newton's Works	8.00
Dwight's Theology	5.00
Simpson's Euclid	1.00
Nillorge Sermons	1.00
Pronouncing Bible	1.00
Bustom's Epitome .....	.75
Gray's Priesthood .....	.25
Reign of Grace.....	.50
Harmony of the Gospels.....	.50
Goddridg's Works	2.00
Course of Lectures.....	.37½
Miller's Letters	1.25
Communicants' Comp. ....	.25
Edwards on Original Sin.....	.75
Predestination .....	.50
Opie on Living.....	.12½
Clark on the Promises.....	.25
Calvin's Epistles .....	.37½
Elliott's Sermons .....	.50
Christian Charity .....	.37½
The Friend	1.50
Divine St. Lectures.....	1.00
Brown's Divinity	1.50
Dick's Christian Character.....	.75
Desolme on the Constitution of England.....	.37½
Life of the Rev. H. Mastin.....	1.00
Deam's Lectures .....	.25
Paul's Epistle to the Romans.....	.50
Schavelie's Lexicon	1.00
Cambell & Harrison on Elocution.....	.37½
Theological Com. Place Book.....	1.00

John's Archaeology	1.00
Lamin's Sermons	2.00
Life of Mathew Henry.....	.75
Bradberry	1.25
Doddridge Family Exposition.....	2.00
Schinskford's History	1.50
McCulloch on Isaih.....	3.00
Leightons' Works	5.00
Christian Minister	1.00
Masheim's Ecclesiastical History.....	3.50
John's Hebrew Commonwealth.....	1.00
Mayer on Atonement.....	2.00
Moore's private devotion.....	.25
Paley's Works	1.50
Mithren Church History.....	.75
Dick's Lectures	1.75
Witsinz on, Covenants.....	1.50
David's Psalms .....	.37½
Theological Disputations .....	.25
Discourses to parents.....	.12½
Hebrew Grammar .....	.25
Burk on the Sublime and Beautiful.....	.37½
Life of Jno. Calvin.....	.12½
<hr/>	
Amt. carried over.....	598.66½
Life of Paul Jones.....	1.00
Baxter Reformed Pastor.....	.50
Dictionary of the Bible.....	2.00
History of Annimals.....	.62½
Christian in Complete Armor.....	.50
Theological Institutes	1.00
Horace Delphim	1.50
Cicero's Orations	1.00
Walker's Dictionary	1.50
Vergil Delphim .....	.75
Blair's Lectures .....	.75
Roman Antiquities	1.00

Harvey's Meditations.....	1.00
Disputation on the atonement of Christ.....	1.00
Frances Institutes of Ecclesiastical Theology...	1.00
Witse's Orations	1.00
Frances' Institutes	1.00
Latin Grammar .....	.37½
Sacred Scheme of revealed Religion.....	.25
Blank Books	2.00
Dignity of human life.....	.50
Butler's Analogy .....	.62½
Reed's Inquiry .....	.75
Ainswoorth's Dictionary	1.00
Hebrew Grammar	1.00
Do. Study	2.00
Proudlit's Works	3.00
Do. do.	3.00
Amolia Lux	1.50
Theological Institutes	1.00
In Anelium Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.....	1.00
Hunter's Sacred Biography	2.25
Cecil's Works	3.00
Yoplady's Sermons .....	.75
Ancient Geography .....	.75
Prideam's Connexions	4.00
Holy Bible .....	.50
Faithfulness of God (odd vol.).....	.25
Bible .....	.50
Rutherford's Letters .....	.25
Calvin's Institutes .....	.25
Paxton's Illustrations	3.00
Benedict's Theology .....	.75
Works of T. Moore.....	1.00
Baxter's Writings	3.00
Ramsey's S. Carolina.....	1.50
Works of Robt. Hall.....	2.50
Orven on the Hebrews.....	6.00
Practical Theology (odd vol.).....	1.00

Letters Concerning the Christian Ministry.....	2.00
Letters on a Shorter Catechism.....	.50
Aids to reflection.....	1.75
Sharp's Theology (odd vol.).....	1.00
<hr/>	
Amt. carried over.....	670.29
Milner Church history (odd vol.).....	1.50
Present Youth	1.50
May's Geography .....	.75
Elements of Criticism.....	2.50
Village Sermons .....	.75
Theological Dictionary	1.50
Bunion's Works	2.00
Goldsmith's Works	1.50
Cubberton on Revelations.....	3.00
Musick Book .....	.50
Tales of a Grand Father.....	.75
do. do. ....	.75
Graham's Works .....	.37½
T. Moores Works.....	4.00
Signs of the Times.....	2.00
Pleasing Exposition .....	.31½
Christian Instruction (odd vol.).....	1.25
McEwing on the Types.....	.62½
Cases of Conviction.....	.75
Gordon of the psalms.....	.18¾
Strictures on Mason's plea.....	.37½
Lusk on Original Sin.....	.25
Bativ on Prayer.....	.25
Method of Prayer.....	.37½
Testament .....	.25
Testimony of Truth of Christ.....	.75
Gordon on the psalms.....	.18¾
Strictures on Mason's plea.....	.37½
Lusk's Original Sin.....	.25
Talyor's Theology .....	.75
Theological Library	1.50

Ovid's Metamorphyses .....	.50
Philip 3rd King of Spain.....	.50
Catechism .....	.75
McEwing on the Types.....	.62½
Classical Dictionary	1.00
Four-fold State .....	.75
Josephus's Works (6 vol.).....	5.00
The Listener	1.25
Lacon .....	.50
Do. ....	.18¾
3 Copies Pope's Works.....	3.00
2 do. Henry on prayer.....	.75
4 do. Doddridge	2.00
2 do. Martin's Sermons	1.87½
3 do. Christian Morals	1.12½
3 do. Scientific Dialogues	1.50
3 do. Allen's Evangelical Rambler.....	1.50
Johnson's do. (2 odd vol.).....	.50
Erskine on the Gospel, 5 copies.....	1.25
5 Copies Erskine on Faith.....	.94
6 Copies do. Evidence.....	1.50
2 do. Life of Taylor.....	.75
2 do. Lady of Lake.....	1.75
2 do. Bickerstaff on prayer.....	1.00
<hr/>	
Amt. carried over.....	731.00½
2 Copies Jay's Lectures.....	1.25
2 do. Baxter's Call.....	.75
3 do. Private Thoughts on Religion.....	1.50
Memoirs of Cooper.....	.25
Cowper's Task .....	.37½
2 Copies Juvenile piety.....	.25
2 do. Christian Student	1.25
2 do. Instructions of Jesuits.....	.50
2 do. Questions on Bible .....	.37½
2 do. Evangelical Spectator .....	.62½
Batie on Youth.....	.75

Lock & Bacon.....	.62½
Christian hearer .....	.50
Nat. History of Enthusiasm.....	.50
Christian's own Book.....	.62½
Rasetis .....	.12½
Temperate Life .....	.18¾
Present .....	.18¾
Bread of deceit .....	.20
Morning Thoughts .....	.20
Bible Class Text Book.....	.18¾
Missionary Gazetteer .....	.62½
Edinburg Almanac .....	.25
Thompson's Seasons .....	.50
Confession of Faith .....	.75
Dissertation on Atonement .....	.25
Union Questions .....	.12½
Union Questions .....	.12½
Detraction Displayed .....	.25
Itinerary of Scotland.....	.25
Father Clement .....	.25
Predestination .....	.37½
Self Knowledge .....	.20
Golden Chain .....	.25
Chineas' Puzzle .....	.06¼
Salvation Made Shure.....	.12½
Saturday Evening .....	.50
Considerations for Young Men.....	.50
Fashionable Amusements .....	.25
Richmond's Memoirs .....	.50
Woodrought, Voyage to Malta.....	.62½
Stevenson's Atonement .....	.25
Taylor's Holy living.....	.50
Catholic Bible	1.50
Vicar of Wakefield .....	.50
Abridged History of Eng.....	1.00
Private thoughts on religion.....	.50
Biography of Self Taught Man .....	.75

Missionary Gazetteer	1.00
Harmony of divine attributes .....	.75
Alexander on the Canon of Scriptures.....	.75
Mental discipline .....	.37½
Book on Popery .....	.75
<hr/>	
Amt. carried over	758.35½
Miller's Letters .....	.87½
Adventures of Talunaque.....	.87½
Memoirs of Payton.....	1.00
Students' Com. Place Book.....	.37½
McMaster on the Psalms.....	.25
Laws serious call.....	.50
Dissertation on Atonement.....	.12½
Imitation of Christ.....	.50
Truth's Victory .....	.37½
Milton's Works	1.00
Consolation in Travel .....	.37½
Lacon (1 odd vol.).....	.12½
Essay on the duties of Elders.....	.75
Memoirs of L. Parsons.....	.50
Wood on Inspiration.....	.25
Chrysastom on Priesthood.....	.25
Strictures on Mason's plea.....	.25
Brugh's Dignity .....	.37½
Grammar of Greek Language.....	.50
Wishart's Theology	1.00
Methodist Discipline .....	.25
Grammatical Exercises .....	.25
Grammatical Exercises .....	.25
Greek Grammar .....	.25
Fuller's Gospel .....	.25
Erskine on Gospel.....	.31¼
Self Knowledge .....	.25
The force of Truth.....	.12½
The Examiner .....	.12½
Yiti Lioci .....	.37½

Sermon for Christian families.....	.37½
Lives of remarkable Youths.....	.31¼
Difficulties of Romanism.....	.37½
Saul's immorality .....	.12½
Memoirs of Parce.....	.25
Essays to do Good.....	.25
Hersey's Treatise .....	.12½
Questions on Bible.....	.12½
New Testament .....	.25
Pious Minstrel .....	.25
Cicero's Orations .....	.75
Hebrew Lexicon	1.00
French Grammar .....	.31¼
Guide to Elocution .....	.25
Frederick's Theology .....	.25
Fulfilling the Scriptures .....	.50
Remarks on Christian belief.....	.25
Infant baptism .....	.25
Steward on divinity of Christ.....	.25
Durham on Scandle .....	.25
do do .....	.18¾
Camby's Grammar .....	.12½
Chrisostom on Priesthood.....	.25
Display of religious principles.....	.25
<hr/>	
Amt. carried over	779.58
Sermons in India.....	.25
Scongal's Works .....	.25
Introduction to Geography.....	.37½
Memoirs & Confessions of Reinnard.....	.25
Edwards on redemption	1.00
Cabinet Library of Divinity.....	.25
Dodd on Death.....	.12½
Lessons on Enunciation .....	.10
Fenelon .....	.75
Proudfoot on Parables .....	.62½
Devout Call .....	.75

Orton's Discourses .....	.37½
Practical Gardner .....	.50
Advard's on revivals .....	.62½
Milligant Plea on infant Baptism.....	.50
Logan's Sermons .....	.50
Hamists Awaeli .....	.37½
Guide to Christ.....	.25
Yuckus' Predestination .....	.37½
Saint's Rest .....	.50
One thing Needful.....	.25
Consistency .....	.25
Reserches in Asia.....	.31¼
Spirit of prayer .....	.12½
Geography of the Bible.....	.50
Beauties of Johnson.....	.50
Pratt on Meditation and Prayers.....	.25
Murray's Grammar .....	.50
Latin do. ....	.25
Times of the Saviour.....	.12½
Monistorial Instruction .....	.31¼
Design & Use of the Psalms.....	.12½
Hebrew Grammar .....	.25
Bunch of pamphlets No. 1.....	.25
May of N. York.....	1.50
Bunch of pamphlets No. 2.....	.50
Do. Do. No. 3.....	.25
Do. Do. No. 4.....	.75
Defence of exclesiastical establishments.....	.12½
Musium (1 no.) .....	.12½
History of N & S America.....	1.00
17½ quires of Capp. ruled paper.....	3.50
14½ do. Letter do.	5.38
17½ do. Capp. do.	4.37½
Lectures on the parables.....	.25
Johnson's Dictionary	1.50
Life of Mrs. Graham.....	.75
Brown's Concordance .....	.75

Flute	3.00
Pair of red painted Bed Steads.....	10.00
3 do. Yellow do.	9.00
Church Musick Guide.....	.37½
<hr/>	
Amt. carried over.....	835.93½
Pine Box .....	.75
Mahogany Table	12.00
Cow & Calf.....	12.00
Shovel & Tongs.....	1.00
Wash Tub	1.00
3 sheets at 1.00 piece.....	3.00
5 Towels at 25 cts. piece.....	1.25
Meal Bag .....	.25
Bedquilt or Cover.....	4.00
<hr/>	
Whole Amount	871.18½
Deduct price of a Bible appraised by mistake..	.50
<hr/>	
Amount	870.68½

We the undersigned appraisers duly appointed to appraise the Personal property belonging to the Estate of James McGeoch deed do certify that the foregoing list of appraisement is just and true according to the best of our knowledge and belief.

Isaac Baker
J. W. Fell
David Wheeler
Appraisers.

NECROLOGY

DR. ARTHUR E. PRINCE.**1854-1930.**

Dr. Arthur E. Prince, a prominent resident of Springfield for forty years and a practicing physician for more than half a century, died on October 21, 1930, at his home in Springfield, Illinois.

Few men of his profession attain the popular fame so long enjoyed by Dr. Prince. Probably there is not a town between Joliet and Cairo in which the name "Prince" does not mean in the minds of large numbers of the people the final authority upon eye troubles. This remarkable prestige was built up fundamentally, no doubt, by a training and a deftness in operation unusual for the day in which he began his practice, but it was reinforced by a phenomenal capacity for work. Dr. Prince appeared to be able to see and dispose of more patients in a day than two other men. (Editorial in Decatur, Illinois, *Herald*.)

Specializing in eye, ear, nose and throat treatment, Dr. Prince devoted his chief attention to eye ailments and gained a nation-wide reputation in his research work. He perfected several instruments for eye treatment which are in general use among oculists and he developed new methods for combating eye troubles. Although interested in every phase of eye treatment, Dr. Prince devoted especial attention to removal of cataracts, and patients came to him from all parts of the country.

The David Prince Sanitarium, founded in 1867 in Jacksonville, Illinois, by the father of the Springfield physician, was the first institution in that part of the state to maintain a hospital for out-of-town patients undergoing special surgical treatment. Dr. Prince became associated with the sanitarium in 1877, the year of his graduation from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons.

After the death in 1890 of Dr. David Prince, the founder, his two sons, Dr. Arthur E. Prince and Dr. John A. Prince moved the sanitarium to Springfield where they established

it on the corner of Seventh street and Capitol avenue. Dr. N. S. Penick was associated with the David Prince Sanitarium from this time until his death in 1928. After the deaths of Dr. John A. Prince in 1912 and Dr. N. S. Penick, Dr. Arthur E. Prince continued to operate the sanitarium until the summer of 1930 when he retired because of ill health. He was a member of some years' standing of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Dr. Prince was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, April 3, 1854. His mother was Lucy Manning Chandler Prince. He graduated from Illinois College and, after completing his medical course in New York, studied in Europe before taking up active practice. Later he returned to Europe to do work in London, Paris and Vienna. In 1887 he married Miss Charlotte Hitchcock of Springfield, Illinois. They had three children, Virginia Prince of Springfield, David Chandler Prince of Schenectady, N. Y., and Mrs. Amos Richardson of Edinburg, Illinois.

MRS. FRANCES E. OTWELL.
1845-1930.

Frances Evaline Brown was born December 15, 1845, near Woodburn, Illinois. At the age of six years her parents moved to Brighton, Illinois, where she attended school, later spending a short time in Monticello Seminary. At the age of nineteen she taught the Eddington school near Brighton, and the following year taught the Plainview school.

In Plainview she met William H. Otwell, a leading merchant of the town, and was married to him on April 17, 1867. To this union were born twelve children, eight of whom are living: Allen M. Otwell, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Kate Karnes, Lebanon, Illinois; Mrs. Josie C. Andrews, Holt, Michigan; Mrs. Addie O. Brackett, Los Angeles, California; Mrs. Eva M. Kortkamp, Moline, Illinois; Eugene C. Otwell, San Diego, California; Mrs. Irene M. Moorman, Plainview, Illinois, and P. C. Otwell, Belleville, Illinois. The four who preceded her in death were: Winthrop C. Otwell, Robert L. Otwell, Chicago, Illinois; Irma O. Bullington, Hillsboro, Illinois, and an infant daughter, Amy. Her husband died on August 19, 1917, after more than fifty years of wedded life.

Mrs. Otwell was converted at the age of fifteen years, joining the Methodist Episcopal church, and a little later she became a primary Sunday School teacher. In the seventy years that followed until her death, there was never a time when she did not have a class. In recent years she taught the children and grandchildren of her former scholars.

While Mrs. Otwell was old in years, she was young in spirit. In a small village things may have been drab for some, but not for her. She was interested in the church and in the community, as well as in her home life, and never found time to be idle. In the last year of her life she wrote more than two hundred fifty letters, many of them being from four to eight pages in length. She subscribed to a large number of newspapers and magazines, all of which she read. She was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, and was greatly interested in its publications.

Mrs. Otwell's memory was a remarkable one concerning happenings, both in past and recent years. Events of long ago, she recalled with great delight. One of her favorite stories was of her father's connection with the "Underground Railway." She loved to tell of his helping slaves on their way to Canada, hiding them by day in his garret, where she, a young girl at the time, read Bible stories to them.

On December 9, 1930, Mrs. Otwell passed away at her home in Plainview, as the result of a paralytic stroke suffered the preceding day, and from which she never regained consciousness. In the death of Mrs. Otwell, there has been removed from the community a woman of beautiful christian character. To those about her, she was an inspiration for things worth while.

Funeral services were held on Friday afternoon, December 12, 1930, from the Methodist church in Plainview, and were conducted by Rev. T. H. Roddey, of Palestine, Illinois, assisted by Rev. Charles Andrews, of Holt, Michigan, Rev. Alfred Kortkamp of Moline, Illinois, Rev. Montgomery and Rev. Hines of Lebanon, Illinois, and Rev. Glotfelty of Shipman, Illinois. Mrs. Otwell was laid to rest by the side of her husband in Plainview cemetery.

COL. E. C. SILLIMAN.
1840-1930.

Colonel E. C. Silliman, ninety years of age, and a Civil War veteran, died at 6 P. M. Wednesday, December 10, at the home of his son, L. L. Silliman. He had been in failing health for several years, caused by his advanced age.

Colonel Silliman was a graduate of the Peoria county grade schools, Toulon Academy, and Lombard University. He enlisted in Company C of the 86th Illinois Regiment, and served three years in the Civil War. He saw action in the battles of Mission Ridge, Chickamauga, the Atlanta campaign, and Sherman's march to the sea, and took part in the grand review at Washington, D. C., after the war.

On December 25, 1866, he married Sarah M. Haynes at Lacon, Illinois, and they came to Chenoa in 1872, where he was active in mercantile business. He was elected treasurer of Peoria County in 1869, and served one term.

The veteran was a charter member of Chenoa Post, No. 125, G. A. R., and only one member survives him, William H. Loper of Weston. He was a member of Gridley Lodge, I. O. O. F., and was an active member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Surviving him is one son, L. L. Silliman. His wife and another son, Dr. H. H. Silliman, preceded him in death. The funeral was held at the home of his son at 2:30 P. M., December 12, and burial was made in Chenoa cemetery. The local American Legion furnished a military escort for the body, and military rites were held at the grave.

MRS. CLARA RICHMOND.
1854-1930.

Mrs. Clara Richmond was born in Saginaw, Michigan, on November 26, 1854, a daughter of Benjamin and Emeline (Palmer) McLellan.

She was graduated from Saginaw High School, and attended Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti for two years, and Wellesley College for Women, in Massachusetts, for one year.

On May 25, 1881, she was married to Joseph Warren Richmond of Geneseo, whom she met in her father's home in Saginaw, while he was traveling in Michigan. Mr. Richmond conducted the Prospect Hill nursery a mile southwest of Geneseo for many years, and the place has been Mrs. Richmond's home since their marriage.

Mrs. Richmond was a charter member of the Geneseo Columbian club, and she belonged to the Geneseo chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of which she was historian. She was a member of the Congregational church. In addition to the local organizations, she belonged to the Illinois State Historical Society.

Mrs. Richmond was ill only one day, passing away early in the morning of December 26, 1930. She is survived by two children, Miss Mildred Ella Richmond and Warren McLellan Richmond, both living at home.

Funeral services were held in the home near Geneseo on Monday afternoon at 2:30, December 29. The Rev. Frank Brewer, pastor of the Sheffield Congregational church, conducted the rites, assisted by the Rev. Jeffrey D. Hoy of Geneseo. Burial was made in Oakwood cemetery.

URIAH J. HOFFMAN.**1856-1931.**

Uriah J. Hoffman, Supervisor of Public Schools in the State Department of Public Instruction since 1906, died at Springfield Hospital at 5 A. M., Sunday, January 25, 1931, after a long illness.

In January, 1907, Mr. Hoffman was appointed State Rural School Supervisor by Francis G. Blair, who established this office at the beginning of his first term as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Mr. Hoffman was the first person to hold such a position in the United States, and held it till the day of his death.

His preparation for the position consisted of one year of teaching in a rural school in Indiana, two years as principal of a three-room school in Indiana, five years as vice-president and teacher in the Jennings Academy (now Aurora College), three years as president of the Harvard Collegiate Institute, Fairfield, Illinois, three years as teacher and superintendent in the state of Florida, one year in the schools at Marseilles, Illinois, and twelve years as county superintendent of La Salle County, Illinois.

It was under the supervision of Mr. Hoffman that the standards of sanitation, housing, and teaching, were raised to their present high levels in the small country schools of Illinois. Mr. Hoffman was the author of the school safety and sanitation law which was approved by the General Assembly in 1913. The one-room, one-teacher school was designed and regulated at his direction. He was the author of several books and pamphlets on rural education. Mr. Hoffman was an interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Mr. Hoffman is survived by his wife, Mrs. Ella W. Hoffman, two daughters, Mrs. Helen H. Collar, Crawfordsville, Indiana, and Margaret Hoffman, a student in the Teachers' College at Greeley, Colorado, and one sister, Dr. Amelia Zimmerman, of Batavia, Illinois.

Funeral services were held at 10 A. M., January 27, at the residence, 535 South Glenwood avenue, Springfield, Illinois, and the burial took place in the Earlville cemetery, La Salle County, Illinois, on the following day.

MISS FLORENCE FOLEY
1864-1931.

Miss Florence Foley, one of the best known women of Lincoln, Illinois, died shortly before midnight, Friday, February 6, 1931, at Gulfport, Mississippi, where she had been spending the winter for the benefit of her health.

Miss Foley was born in Lincoln on November 7, 1864, the daughter of the late Judge and Mrs. Stephen A. Foley, prominent and influential citizens of Lincoln. She attended St. Agatha's School in Springfield, Harcourt at Gambier, Ohio, and graduated from Wellesley College. After her graduation, Miss Foley assisted her father, who was one of Lincoln's early lawyers and judges, and who had large business interests there.

For a number of years Miss Foley served on the Lincoln Library Board; she was a member of the Trinity Episcopal church, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Art and Travel Club, and the Illinois State Historical Society.

Miss Foley is survived by her sister, Mrs. Edna Sanford, and several nieces. Her remains arrived in Lincoln early Monday morning, and were taken to the home on Tremont street. Funeral services were held at 2:30 o'clock, Tuesday afternoon, February 10, and were conducted by Bishop John Chanler White of Springfield, assisted by Dr. J. A. Betcher of Lincoln. Burial was made in Union cemetery.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-37. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1930. (Nos. 6-28 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. civi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ. and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

* Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlle. xxxlii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles. By Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL.D. lxxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XXI. Law Series, Vol. II. The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809. Edited with introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, Professor of Law, University of Illinois. cclxxxii and 734 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I., No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I., No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I., No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

General Index to Collections, Journals, Publications, 1899-1928. Compiled by Juliet G. Sager. 95 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I., No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXIV, No. 1, April, 1931.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

* Out of print.

SOME CORRESPONDENCE OF NINIAN EDWARDS.¹

By PHILIP D. JORDAN.

Despite the fact that much of the correspondence of Ninian Edwards, chief justice of the court of appeals of Kentucky, first and only governor of Illinois Territory, one of the first two United States senators from the State of Illinois, and the third governor of the State of Illinois, has been published,² there still remain isolated letters and communications housed in various state libraries and in the collections of historical societies. The publication of letters, although the communications themselves are often relatively unimportant, is of much value as frequently a letter regarded, in general, as insignificant, throws an illumination upon a man or a political situation which is invaluable to the researcher. Then, too, it is well to reprint such communications if only to present them in a fashion easily accessible to the student and historiographer.

This collection of eight letters, written by Ninian Edwards,³ and printed here, for the first time, is housed in

¹I am much indebted to Mr. Alexander J. Wall, librarian, of the New York Historical Society, for permission to work there; to Miss Dorothy Barck, of the same Society, for her courteous and kindly cooperation; to Mr. Joseph Feingold, one of my students, for his assistance; and to Miss Georgia L. Osborne, editor of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, for the generous cooperation which she has extended to me over a period of years, and for her permission to publish this paper here.

²*Vid.* E. B. Washburne (ed.), *The Edwards Papers*. Chicago Historical Society Collections. III. Chicago, 1884; and Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois, from 1778 to 1833; and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*. Springfield, 1870. Also, E. B. Greene and C. W. Alvord (eds.), "Executive Letter Book of Ninian Edwards, 1826-1830," in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*. IV (1909).

³b. March 17, 1775 in Montgomery county, Maryland; attended Carlisle College; elected to Kentucky legislature before the age of 21; licensed to practice law in 1798; major of Kentucky militia in 1802; appointed circuit judge in 1803; appointed fourth judge of court of appeals in 1806; chief justice in 1808; appointed governor of the Territory of Illinois, by President Madison, on April 24, 1809; re-appointed in 1812 and 1815; organized companies of rangers in Illinois, armed them, built lines of forts, and established expresses along frontier settlements from the Mississippi to the Wabash; chosen by legislature for post of United States senator in 1818; 1824 resigned from the Senate to accept an appointment by President Monroe as Minister to Mexico. Before taking his post he was forced to resign his office, owing to his having made certain reckless charges against William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, which he was unable to substantiate; elected governor of Illinois in 1826; defeated for congress in 1832; d. July 20, 1833, in Bellevue. (Cf. J. M. Peck, *A Discourse in reference to the decease of the Late Governor of Illinois, Ninian Edwards, Delivered in the Court House, Bellevue, Illinois, December 22, 1833; With a Sketch of His Public Life and Character*. Printed by Ashford Smith, Rock-Springs, Illinois, 1834.)

the manuscript division of the New York Historical Society. The collection of these eight communications falls rather naturally into five divisions or classifications, if we arrange them according to addresses, in the following manner: (a) to Governor William H. Harrison, of Indiana;⁴ (b) to John W. Taylor;⁵ (c) to Rufus King;⁶ (d) to Col. Elijah C. Berry;⁷ and (e) to David J. Baker.⁸ The chronological periods covered in the letters range from the year 1812 to the year 1829. One of the letters (to David J. Baker) bears no date. In the main, the script is legible enough, but where there was doubt concerning a word, explanatory matter has been included, in brackets, in the text of the letter.

Generally, the subject matter of these communications is sufficiently clear, but when there is some doubt concerning content adequate explanatory material is presented in footnotes. Personal references, in the main, found in the letters are identified when important and a brief biographical sketch given in footnotes.

⁴ The Ninth President of the United States. (Vid. Dorothy B. Goebel, *William Henry Harrison*. Indiana Library and Historical Department. Biographical Series. II; ——— *General William Henry Harrison (candidate of the People for President of the United States)*. Printed by Samuel Sands and published at the office of the *Baltimore Patriot*, 1840.; ——— *A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of William Henry Harrison*. Philadelphia, 1836.; ——— *The Life of Wm. Henry Harrison*. W. Marshall & Co., Philadelphia, 1840. Second edition.)

⁵ b. Charlton, N. Y., March 26, 1784; admitted to the bar in 1807; justice of the peace in 1808; member of the state assembly in 1812 and 1813; elected as a Democrat to the Thirteenth and to the nine succeeding congresses (March 4, 1813-March 3, 1833); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1832 to Twenty-third congress; served as speaker during the second session of the Sixteenth congress and during the Nineteenth congress; d. Sept. 8, 1854.

⁶ Vid. Charles R. King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*. 6 vols. New York. 1894. VI, 565-567; 569-571 for communications to Edwards, as well as Ninian W. Edwards, 525-528, and cf. Washburne, 178, 222, 178-80, 221. (King was appointed by Washington to Court of St. James, 1789, and by John Quincy Adams, 1825.)

⁷ Vid. Washburne, 376, 497.

⁸ Native of Connecticut. Removed to Illinois and practiced law at Kaskaskia in 1819. Moved from Kaskaskia to Alton where he died August 6, 1869. Was appointed United States senator by Edwards, November 12, 1830, to fill vacancy caused by the death of John McLean. Baker filled this office only until his successor, John M. Robinson, was elected, December 11, 1830. (Vid. Washburne, 551, 557, 558, 559, 583, 586, 591, 592, 596, 597, 584n, 583-4n, 586-7, 566n.)

For Governor William H. Harrison.

Elvirado
Randolph County
Illinois Territory
Sept. 2, 1812

Sir,

Governor Hammond writes me that on the night before last he received by express from Fort Madison intelligence of the capture of Chicago by the Indians on the 16 ult.

Col. Bissel also received a letter from Lieut. Hamilton containing the above account, stating our loss at 60 killed and 20 men and women taken prisoners and giving assurances that three different nations of Indians contemplate further attacks in 10 or 15 days.

I am organizing detachments from the militia of this territory to rendezvous on our Northern frontier for its protection.

I am informed by a letter received by this mail that from the vilest of motives a report has been industriously circulated in Kentucky that I have been constantly keeping a party of soldiers around my house to guard me. Such baseness and depravity must surely consign to merited contempt those unprincipled calumniators when it is known that I have never had a single individual in any such service. That not a single occurrence has ever happened that could justify or palliate such a statement and that every other part of the territory in the west exposed to danger has received much more immediate protection than that in which I reside.

I have been industrious to penetrate and defeat the designs of the Indians. In the former I have been so far successful that I have found every opinion that I have given justified by facts which have been subsequently developed. And I have the consolation to know that from the means I adopted not a life has been lost nor any depredations committed.

Since these measures went into execution on as exposed a frontier as any that belongs to the United States, I have acted with promptness and decision, and if success be not a sufficient test of the propriety of my measures I have no hesitation in saying that *I am capable* of demonstrating them to have been judicial. I was not unapprised of misrepresentations with a view to defeat my measures and to render me unpopular in the territory by an opposition party, too feeble and contemptable to injure me here. But I had no idea till I read the letter alluded to that they had extended their influence to Kentucky—But whatever may be the consequences, I will neither be persuaded out of measures which I think right nor deterred from passing them.—Hitherto I have had nothing to discourage me here, for no Gov. of any state or territory however authorized has been able to raise more volunteers in proportion to the population or in a shorter time than I have done. Although I openly professed to have no legal authority to call them into service. Excuse this ugly [scribble or scratch] if you please. I will not again offend in like manner.

Yr. friend
N. Edwards.

For John W. Taylor.

Shepherdstown, Virginia
August 8, 1824

Dear Sir,

You will recollect that in the course of my examination I refused to answer three or four questions, among which was one or more concerning my authorship of the A. B. publications. The committee took time till after dinner on the same day to consider upon the propriety of these questions, and finally decided in my favor. Anticipating this event I had told several of my friends that I should offer to answer the whole of those questions. Accordingly when informed of the decision of the committee in my favor, I offered to answer them and declared expressly "that I had no objection to being examined

upon any matter or thing upon which I had ever been concerned that had the slightest connection with Mr. Crawford.”⁹

These offers are well recollected by some of my friends. I am persuaded they have not escaped your recollection. Will you have the goodness to let me know what you recollect upon the subject—I pledge you my honor, that no use shall be made of any letter you may choose to write me, without your previous consent—indeed, I do not anticipate any circumstances that could induce me ever to ask such consent. I merely wish to know what is your recollection upon the subject.

I shall invalidate Noble’s¹⁰ testimony. So help me God it is not true. Never unless it was jesting did I ever deny to anyone my authorship of those publications and as to praising Mr. Crawford’s vigilance and integrity and management of the public finances, it is the last thing I could have been expected to be proved against me. There is nothing like despair in my disposition and I feel convinced that time will free me from all those accusations.

I am very sincerely your friend
Ninian Edwards

If you should be so obliging as to write to me direct your letters to this place. My health is so bad I shall not be able to travel homewards for sometime come. Excuse this paper.
N. E.

For Rufus King.

Washington City
Dec. 30, 1820

Dear Sir,

I can not resist the desire which I feel to show you, that I would disdain to take any ground with closed doors which I would not firmly maintain on any proper occasion elsewhere, and therefore I take the liberty to inclose for your perusal

⁹William H. Crawford, Feb. 24, 1772-Sept. 15, 1834, senator, cabinet member, secretary of the treasury, 1816-1825, and presidential candidate. Charged by Edwards with having corruptly favored certain banks in the panic of 1819. Cleared of charges by a congressional investigation.

¹⁰James Noble, Dec. 16, 1785-Feb. 26, 1831, lawyer, member of first Indiana State house of representatives in 1816 which elected him to the United States senate; reelected in 1821 and again in 1827; and served from Dec. 11, 1816 until his death.

the original draught of a letter which I have felt it my duty to address to the President of the U. S.

I also inclose a handbill of which I was the (avowed) author. This I have accidentally found among my papers. It was written in reply to a publication by the party opposed to Judge Cook¹¹ whose object was to draw myself and that gentleman into a controversy upon the [word illegible] question on which we had, I am sure, honestly differed. It has been said by some and probably it is thought by others, that I was bound for the sake of consistency to have opposed him—but I have uniformly declared, and most truly, that all the men in the Govt. could not have influence with me to induce me to desert him on that account, and the harder I am pressed on this ground, the more I will rebound, unless I should lose that elasticity which he thinks it has been my good fortune to possess.

Dependent on the patronage of [word illegible] and determined never to seek any on my own account, I have no motive to sacrifice my independence and am determined to pursue an independent course regardless of consequences. I have always done so, and never have been one day out [of] office since I was of age, and have never concealed a single political opinion which I entertained, many of which were unpopular. I have never once been defeated in my own case, but [enough]. I beg pardon for troubling you with a subject of so little interest to any one but myself.

I am with great respect

Sir

Yr. Mo. Obdt. Servt.

Ninian Edwards

To prevent misapprehension I ought probably to say that it is the Secretary of the Treasury whom I suppose to be too much inclined to give an undue proportion of appointments to a minority in Illinois. You will please to return the

¹¹ Daniel Pope Cook, b. Scott county, Ky., practiced law in Kaskaskia 1815, judge of western court; appointed first attorney general of Illinois and served from March 15 to October 15, 1819; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1818 to Fifteenth Congress; elected to Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Congresses (March 4, 1819-March 3, 1827); unsuccessful candidate for election in 1826 to Twentieth Congress; directed in 1827 by President Adams to proceed to Cuba and report on political condition; d. Oct. 16, 1827.

enclosed after you have had full leisure to read them, if indeed, you should be disposed to give yourself that trouble at all. (In great haste.)

N. E.

Every effort will now be made to induce the Senate to consider the nominations of [Foake] and Smith as still being before it. I can not say how this should be, but the President of [the] U. S. told me that it had been the practice to consider all nominations not acted upon, as rejected. Mr. Crawford was to see Mr. Gaillard¹² upon the subject. The case will be very embarrassing if it should be necessary to make new nominations.

N. E.

For Rufus King.

April 26, 1822.

Dear Sir,

Though, at all times, adverse to dealings in professions of friendship, yet, a deep sense of your kindness to me, in my late attack in the Senate, renders me very desirous of removing any possible misapprehension on your part, in regard to my feelings toward you.

I am aware, sir, those circumstances which occurred at the first session I had the honor to serve with you, were in some measure calculated to produce impressions in your mind, which I have long wished to remove. I am also very sensible that from the infirmities of my nature (which I deeply deplore) I may not at all times have manifested all that respect, which is so justly due to your private and public character, your long public services,—and your present standing. If this has ever been the case, I am sincerely sorry for it, and I trust you will forget and forgive it. I do nothing more than justice to myself when, I state to you, that I have, on various

¹² John Gaillard, b. Sept. 5, 1765; educated for legal profession in England; member of South Carolina's State house of representatives; served in State senate in 1804; elected as Democrat to the United States senate to fill vacancy caused by death of Pierce Butler; reelected 1806, 1812, 1818, and 1824 and served from December 6, 1804 until his death; chosen President *pro tempore* of Senate on Feb. 28 and April 17, 1810, April 18, 1814, and again upon death of Vice President Gerry, and served from Nov. 25, 1814 to March 4, 1817; again chosen on March 6, 1817, June 25, 1820; Feb. 1, 1822, Feb. 19, 1823, May 31, 1824, and March 9, 1825; d. Feb. 26, 1826.

occasions, most willingly, afforded the humble testimony of my appreciation of the wise, enlightened, and liberal cause which you have pursued in the Senate. Nor have I omitted any opportunity of endeavoring to inspire others with a proper degree of gratitude for your agency on measures of the [last] importance to them.

My object however, at this time, is to call your attention to the latter part of the letter herewith sent you, which I accidentally laid my hands on this morning. I became acquainted with Mr. Elmandorff¹³ in Kentucky. We traveled together to this place. He was not your political friend. I could have had no motive to counterfeit feelings that were not real. Please to inclose his letter back to me.

Such is the sensibility and delicacy with which, I regard this communication, that I shall be grateful, if equally agreeable to you, that no further reference should be made to it, by either of us.

I am, I assure you with the
Sincerest esteem and respect
Sir
Yr. Mo. Ob. Ser.
Ninian Edwards

For Rufus King.

Feby. 22, 1824

Dear Sir,

I have this day received information of one of the most malicious and pitiful attempts to injure me, that ever was resorted to by persons, even professing regard for their own reputation.

An attack was made upon me in regard to my conduct as a Judge on the first circuit I ever performed in that capacity. The attack was promptly met and repelled. The authors themselves so far from insisting upon it, became and have continued to be my warm friends and supporters. This attack

¹³ I have been unable to identify this gentleman. He does not appear in any of the standard American biographies, nor in any of the directories or dictionaries of the members of congress.

I am informed has been procured from Ky. and abandoned as it has been even by its own authors is now to be used against me. Wherefore I beg leave to submit the inclosed statement to your consideration.

With great respect,
Yr. Mo. Ob. Sv^t.
N. Edwards

For Rufus King.

Feby. 22, 1824

Dear Sir,

As I understand, from various sources, that my nomination is to be opposed in the Senate where I cannot be, to defend myself, and not being able to anticipate the objections that may be made to me, I beg leave to advert a few circumstances which I trust will be sufficient to evince the standing, which it has hitherto, been my good fortune to maintain.

When a very young man I emigrated to Kentucky, where I was, in a little more than twelve months, elected to the legislature from one of the oldest counties in the state, and continued to serve several sessions in the legislature.

I practiced law, if not with some reputation, at least, with great success.

At the age of 27 years, while absent from the state in Philadelphia, the Judiciary system was changed, and without my knowledge of the fact, or any participation in relation thereto, I was appointed a Judge of the circuit and genl. court.

It is true that when I commenced the discharge of my duties as a circuit Judge, the decision with which I acted, rendered me, for a short time, somewhat unpopular. This, however, soon wore off. Those who assailed me, soon became, and have continued to this day, my sincere friends and warm supporters.

In consequence of a question having been made, in regard to my popularity I became a candidate the succeeding year, being 1804, for an elector to choose a President and Vice President of the U. S. There were 18 candidates in the district.

The election was warmly contested, several of the candidates being disposed to try their strength with me for congress [?]. I was elected by about 1,000 votes of a majority, and, in the circuit, in which I presided as Judge, with uncommon unanimity, having lost no votes in one of the counties, but one in another, and not more than about ten in anyone.

This I take it, was a pretty good proof of my standing with the people, who had the best opportunity of witnessing and judging of my judicial conduct.

About three years after I commenced my judicial duties, a vacancy occurred in the office of 4th Judge of the Court of appeals, of which, I knew nothing, till after I had been brought forward by a most imposing interest, for that appointment, which was conferred upon me, though the youngest man of eleven Judges of the General Court Bench.

The office of Chief Justice of Kentucky having afterwards become vacant, I was appointed to that station, from that of 4th Judge, without a dissenting voice. And this is the office which I held in Kentucky when I was appointed Gov. of Illinois. Is it possible that I could have risen this rapidly under such circumstances, if my official conduct had not been approved by those who knew the most about it?

These facts the gentlemen from Kentucky must have a general recollection of, and I think I hazard nothing in saying that they do know as well as any fact of the kind could be known, that, in the large section of the state in which I acted as a circuit Judge, my popularity continued to be *unrivalled*, until I removed from that quarter. That I am still regarded there, not only, with respect, but with affection. I have no doubt Judge Bibb,¹⁴ now in the city, who has resided there, and the Hon. Mr. Henry¹⁵ of the H. R. [House of Representa-

¹⁴ George Mortimer Bibb, b. Oct. 30, 1776; began practice of law in Virginia; appointed to bench of court of appeals in 1808; elevated to chief justiceship in 1809; resigned in 1810; elected to United States senate in 1811; member of state house of representatives in 1817; appointed chief justice of Kentucky in 1827; resigned in 1828 to become United States senator, serving six years; chancellor of Louisville court of chancery in 1835; appointed by President Tyler as secretary of the treasury in 1844; d. April 14, 1859.

¹⁵ Robert Pryor Henry, b. Nov. 24, 1788; admitted to bar 1809; commenced practice of law in Georgetown, Kentucky; prosecuting attorney in 1819; served in War of 1812; elected as Clay Democrat to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Congresses, and served from March 4, 1823 until his death August 25, 1826.

tives] who now resides there, would afford the most satisfactory evidence.

As to the estimation in which I was held in Kentucky, when I left that state and the reputation with which I had discharged my official duties, I might refer to sundry documents in the Department of State. I content myself, however, with referring you to copies of Mr. Clay's letters in the possession of Mr. Edwards¹⁶ of Connecticut. Mr. Clay practiced the law before me during the whole time, that I was a Judge of the General Court, 4th Judge of the court of appeals, and Chief Justice. No one could have been better informed upon the subject, and I refer to him particularly, because he is so well known to the Senate. I should suppose, from my early acquaintance with Genl. Jackson, and his proximity to my residence in Kentucky, that he cannot be altogether ignorant of my then standing.

I continued to be Gov. of Illinois Territory between nine and ten years, during which time, my appointment was several times renewed, and I had the good fortune to give satisfaction to every administration under which I served, and to no member of either administration, more than to Mr. Crawford as will appear by *his* letter, in the hands of Mr. Edwards of Connecticut.

That my conduct has received the approbation of the people of Illinois, is remarkably evinced by the uncommon unanimity with which I was elected to the Senate [of] U. S. at the close of my administration.

It would be well for those who are disposed to rake up old charges against me that were promptly expelled, and abandoned, if they could produce so many unequivocal verdicts of acquittal in their own cases.

Having just experienced an abatement, of a severe fever that has lasted for several hours and being oppressed with

¹⁶ Henry Waggaman Edwards, b. October 1779; member of Continental Congress; federal judge for district of Connecticut; elected to Congress in 1819; remained until 1823 when he was appointed to the Senate; at the next regular election he was elected to the Senate in his own right; remained in office until 1827; d. July 22, 1847.

a severe headache, I trust this communication will be received with every allowance that is due to my situation.

Very respectfully

Yr. Mo. Ob^t. Sv^t.

N. Edwards.

N.B.

So far from having been a candidate for the office of Chief Justice of Kentucky, to which I was promoted from that of 4th Judge of the court of appeals, I expressly communicated to the Gov., through Judge Bibb, that owing to my then state of health, I did not wish the appointment.

N.E.

For Col. Elijah C. Berry.

Belleville, July 27, 1829

Dear Sir,

I wrote you a day or two ago that I would certainly be in Vandalia on the 1st day of the ensuing month. The situation of my poor child will prevent it. Hopeless as her case has been, she seems evidently better, and I want to try the effects of a cautious tonic course for a few days. This I cannot trust to anyone else and therefore I have concluded to delay my visit to Vandalia a week or so longer. When is the last moment that I can get there in time to make arrangements about my taxes? It is not convenient, in consequence of advances which I have made to this county, to pay them all, and I am willing that all those lands which I have passed redemptions should be advertised—all in my own name or the names of any of our family, but I am particularly anxious to pay the taxes on all the lands purchased either in my own name, or by Messrs. [?] Shaw, Lee, Mills [?] and for me, at the ten last sales and none others. These shall certainly be paid, and if I know the amount I would at the moment furnish

it to you. I therefore hope it will not be necessary to advertise them.

With great respect, I am
Sir

Yr. friend and Obt. Ser^t.
Ninian Edwards

For David J. Baker.

Belleville

Dear Sir,

Presuming that you have reached home I beg leave to tender you my sincere congratulations upon the credit you have acquired both at Washington City, and throughout the state in the discharge of the duties of the status which it was my good fortune to have had the opportunity of conferring upon you. No man could have been more fortunate in giving satisfaction to the people of the state, with whom you have laid such a foundation of popularity as I trust will hereafter be equally advantageous to you and them. With me they almost universally rejoice in your recent appointment regarding it as a proof of the estimation in which you are held by the present administration, and not doubting that its duties will be discharged in a manner equally creditable to yourself and useful to the public.

Having, I think, made up my mind to retire from the political arena, I feel the less difficulty in assuring you that for more than four years past you have been a great favorite with me, and have uniformly had, as you now have, my most ardent wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

Will you have the goodness to ascertain whether my lots in Kaskaskia have not been sold for the taxes within the last year or two, and let me know what is due upon them.

Please to present my best regards to Mrs. Baker. I shall never forget her beautiful and judicious letter.

Yrs. truly,
Ninian Edwards

In addition to the previous correspondence, the Illinois State Historical Society has recently purchased an Edwards' letter which is of much interest and which is directed to Governor Scott of Kentucky. The letter follows:

Elvirado
Randolph Cty
Ill Ty
Augt 4.1812

Sir

Last night I received a great deal of information from different quarters concerning that which I had the honor to transmit with my last letter to you—

The combination of indians appears to be universal, thousands that belong to it could attack the settlements of this territory and Missouri in six or eight days and all come by water—Many of them are now employed in making sweet corn at their villages and by all our correspondents we are warned that the critical moment is approaching, as the indians have for some time past contemplated making an attack as soon as their corn should be ripe.

They propose to make simultaneous attacks at four different points—one of which will certainly be on the Towns or settlements on the Mississippi—both sides of which are certainly in great danger.

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Sir
Yr Mo Obedt Svt
Ninian Edwards

A CATALOGUE OF ILLINOIS NEWSPAPERS IN THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By THOMAS O. MABBOTT and PHILIP D. JORDAN.

PREFACE.

Scott, when compiling his admirable revision and amplification of James', *A Bibliography of Newspapers Published in Illinois Prior to 1860*,¹ about 1910, studied practically all the important public collections. But he did not report on the papers preserved in the New York Historical Society, perhaps because the western papers in the Society were then for the most part not listed or indeed accessible. However, a rearranging of the Society's newspapers in recent years has revealed that while poor enough in files and runs of Illinois papers, its collections include perhaps the largest series of single issues ("titles") outside the state.

First of all there are here preserved all the papers from which George Rowell compiled his *Newspaper Annual* for 1873—a specimen of practically every important, and most of the unimportant, papers printed in Illinois at the end of 1872 and the beginning of 1873. In addition, there is a small series of newspapers which have come into the possession of the Society during the many years of its activity—including the collection of one of the compilers of this article, whose papers, on deposit at the Society, are marked with the initials T.O.M.

An examination of this material has been in the main very gratifying; showing the high proportion of accuracy in the parts of Scott's work based, of necessity, on tradition

¹ Franklin William Scott: *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI, Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Illinois State Historical Library and Society. Springfield. 1910. This work was an amplification and revision of: *A Bibliography of Newspapers Published in Illinois Prior to 1860*, by Edmund J. James and Milo J. Loveless. Publication No. I of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society. Springfield. 1899.

and sources other than files—where complete accuracy is hardly to be hoped for from even the most careful scholar. But the discovery of several hundred hitherto unlisted newspapers makes it worth while to compile a catalogue as a supplement to the library lists of Scott.

Although Scott listed only to the year 1879, it seemed to us best to catalogue all the nineteenth century papers in the collection, especially since only about half a dozen are later than 1880. We have arranged the papers alphabetically by towns, and by the first significant word of title within the towns. To each separate "title" or paper represented by a specimen in the New York Historical Society is given a number. Under this the file, or single number, preserved there, is described. The titles are given in full; then the page reference to Scott's discussion of the title; then the exact dates of all specimens in the collection (a superscript *m* indicates a mutilated paper), and the volume and number of the earliest issue, and any other issues of which the numeration seems interesting. Absence of these indicates non-occurrence or mutilation of the paper. Then follows a brief note containing first, any information adding to or correcting the statements in Scott about the paper. Really new information is set off in a differing font of type; mere correction or addition of an initial or a Christian name is printed in regular type. Second, we have added the motto borne by the paper. That these mottoes are often high-sounding nonsense must be admitted, but they are not without significance to the student of *Kulturgeschichte*. The frequency of reference to home interests is not to be overlooked, and the Biblical and patriotic sentiments, even the two or three purely humorous legends, are informative.

After the Scott page reference will be found, in many instances, an asterisk. This indicates that Scott did not locate an issue in 1910. Now even if this asterisk does not appear, the *issue* in the Society may be unlocated. And it should be recalled that certain newspapers not in public collections in 1910 may have been acquired since then; while in some

instances Scott located papers only in the collection of the old New York State Library, destroyed in the Capitol Fire, or among the odd numbers at the Chicago Historical Society, now "misaid." But a rough indication of the accretion to our actual facts from the New York Historical Society collection is given in this way.

Finally, we have inserted, without numbers, information on a few papers, mostly recent accessions, in the New York Public Library (NYPL), the new New York State Library (NYSL), the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the British Museum, or from other sources. These are selected notes, mainly on new titles.

We have been greatly assisted in compiling this catalogue by the checklist made by Mr. Charles Washburn at the New York Historical Society, and have received much courteous assistance there, especially from the librarian, Mr. A. J. Wall, and Miss Dorothy Barck of the staff. We have also to thank Mr. Joseph Gavit, senior librarian of the New York State Library, at Albany, and Miss Annie A. Nunns, assistant superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison, for information about the collections in those institutions. We are also much indebted to Miss Georgia L. Osborne, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society and editor of this Journal, for generous assistance and for permission to publish this catalogue in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*.

T.O.M.

P.D.J.

Hunter College of the City of New York, Sept. 1, 1931.
Long Island University, July 1, 1931.

A CATALOGUE OF ILLINOIS NEWSPAPERS IN THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By THOMAS O. MABBOTT and PHILIP D. JORDAN.

ABINGDON

1. *The Knox County Democrat* S. 1.
1873 July 3 (iii, 48)
Motto: "The Union, the Constitution and the
Enforcement of the Laws."

ALBION

2. *The Albion Independent* S. 2.*
1873 Apr. 11 (ix, 4)
The editor was J. Ed. Clarke, and the date of
last issue is at least as late as this copy,
though S. was sure only of continuance until
1869. In later cases of this sort we use the
abbreviation "Later than S." Motto: "A
Family newspaper, especially devoted to the
mutual interests of the Proprietor and the
whole Country."

3. *Albion Pioneer* S. 2.*
1873 Feb. 15 (iv, 30, whole No. 186)
Published in 1873 at the Bumble Bee Manu-
facturing and Printing Establishment by R. S.
Thompson. S. gives date of establishment as
1868, number suggests 1870. In later instances
of the kind we abbreviate "S. begins 1868;
no. indicates 1870." Motto: "Devoted to the
interests of Edwards County. Our motto
'Progress'."

ALEDO

4. *The Democratic Banner* S. 2-3.*
1873 June 6 (v, 8)
Motto: "The Independence of the States, sub-
ject only to the Constitution—The Will of the
People, subordinate only to the Will of God."

5. *The Aledo Weekly Record* S. 2.*
1863 June 30, Aug. 4 (vi, 52, etc.)

ALGONQUIN

6. *The Citizen* S. 3.*
1873 Ap. 24 (ii, 16)
The publisher was George E. Earlie alone,
this copy is illustrated, and later than S.

ALTON

7. *Alton Banner* S. 8.*
1873 Feb. 8 (vi, 39)
In German; the publishers, H. Meyer & Co.
8. *Alton Weekly Telegraph* S. 4.
1873 Mar. 21 (xxxviii, 1)
Alton Daily Telegraph
1873 May 24 (xii, 305)
Motto of weekly: "The Union, the Constitu-
tion, and the Enforcement of the Laws."

AMBOY

9. *The Amboy Journal* S. 9-10.
1873 Feb. 8 (vii, 44)

ARCOLA

10. *Douglas County Democrat* S. 11.*
1873 Feb. 28 (ii, 21)
Motto: "Devoted to Home Interests and
Democratic Principles."
11. *The Arcola Record* S. 11.*
1873 Feb. 21 (vii, 29)
The editor was J. M. Gruelle. Motto: "A
Home paper—devoted to the interests of a
live town, a thrifty people, and a rich agricul-
tural district."

12. *Shelton's Weekly* S. —!*
- 1873 May 21 (i, 17)
- Established apparently in 1873 by T. J. Shelton, published by Shelton and Gruelle, perhaps as successor to the "Rock" published earlier by Shelton. (S. 11*) Motto: "A Christian Paper—devoted to the discussion of the living issues of the age."*

ASSUMPTION

13. *The Assumption Press* S. 12.*
- 1873 Jan. 10 (i, 17)
- Editor, John P. Marnel. Motto: "Upward and Onward."

ATLANTA

14. *The Atlanta Argus* S. 13.*
- 1873 Jan. 25 (v, 38)
- Co-editor, Frank B. Mills. Motto: "Devoted especially to the interests of the city of Atlanta, and the towns surrounding."

AURORA

15. *Aurora Beacon* S. 13.
- Weekly issue 1873 Apr. 23 (xxvi, 17, whole no. 1781)
- Semi-Weekly 1873 Feb. 19 (xxvi, 8, whole no. 1703)
- (The NYS has May 31, Oct. 5, 1855)
16. *The Aurora Herald* S. 15.
- 1873 May 24 (vii, 51)
- Republican* S. 14.
- (The NYS has Jan. 8, 1858)
18. *Aurora Volksfreund* S. 15.
- 1873 Jan. 25 (v, 4)

BARRY

19. *Barry Adage* S. 17.*
- 1873 Feb. 1 (ii, 13)
- The publisher, *Henry C. Cobb.*

BATAVIA

20. *The Batavia News* S. 18.
1873 May 9 (v, 2)

BEARDSTOWN

21. *Beardstown Herald* S. 19.*
1873 May 29 (i, 39)
22. *The Central Illinoian* S. 19.
1873 May 29 (xvi, 36)
Note exact title.

BEECHER

23. *Osten Illinoisian* S. —!
1880 Apr. 30 (ii, 2) T. O. M.
*The paper was evidently begun in 1879, though
not mentioned by Scott.*

BELLEVILLE

24. *The Belleville Weekly Advocate* S. 20-21.
1873 Jan. 10 (xxxv, 15)
25. *The Belleville Democrat* S. 23.
1873 Jan. 23 (n. s. x, 23)
The editors were Wm. Denlinger and A. B. Russell.
26. *Illinois Republikaner* S. 24.*
1873 March 5 (ii, 54)
A daily, published by Union News and Job Printing Co.
27. *Wöchentlicher Stern des Westens* S. 24.
1873 March 25 (xiii, 36)
28. *Stern des Westens*
1873 May 20 (viii, 269) daily
Scott's date of foundation is apparently calculated from the numeration of the copy of the daily in the University of Illinois collection, the weekly was probably founded 1860.

29. *Belleviller Zeitung* S. 22.
 1873 Apr. 3 (xxv, 14)
 Weekly edition of the *Belleviller Zeitung* and
Illinois Republikaner.

BELVIDERE

30. *The Belvidere Northwestern* S. 25.
 1873 Mar. 21 (vii, 9)
 31. *The Belvidere Standard* S. 25.
 1873 Mar. 18 (xxi, 51)

BENTON

32. *The Benton Standard* S. 26.
 1873 Apr. 3 (xx, 40)
 The editor was *J. S. Barr* at this period.

BLOOMINGTON

33. *Der Bloomington Anzeiger* S. 30.*
 1873 June 14 (vi, 48)
 34. *Bloomington Weekly Democrat* S. 30.*
 1873 Jan. 2 (v, 39)
S. S. Parke and *Louis L. Burr* were editors
 and proprietors.
 35. *McLean County Deutsche Presse* S. 30.
 1873 Apr. 26 (iii, 6)
 36. *The Weekly Leader* S. 29.
 1873 (Mar. 19 (v, 15)
The Daily Leader
 1873 May 31 (v, 84)
 37. *The Weekly Pantagraph* S. 28.
 1863 June 10 (xvii, 27)
Bloomington Pantagraph
 1873 Weekly Feb. 14 (xxvii, 12)
 Daily June 10 (xviii, 75)
 The editors in 1863 were *C. L. Steele*, *E. S. Carpenter*, and *F. J. Briggs*. *Motto*, 1863:
 "Always open to conviction—never subject to
 dictation."

38. *Bloomington Republican* S. 29.*
1873 Mar. 8 (vi, 19)
Published by Moore and Holmes. Motto:
"Devoted to the interests of McLean County."
39. *The Illinois Trade Journal* S. —!*
- 1873 Jan. 18
- Published every Saturday by the Illinois Trade Journal at \$3.00 a year, the paper bears no numeration; it may be a successor to the "Illinois Trade Review" mentioned, S. 31, or that name may be an error for this.*

Braidwood

40. *The Braidwood Journal* S. 33.*
 1873 May 10 (i, 22)
The Braidwood Monthly S. —!
 According to a brief prospectus published in
 the "Elgin Informer" for April 1877, this
 little paper was published monthly at 50 cents
 a year by H. H. Parkinson.

BRIGHTON

41. *The Brighton Advance* S. 33.
1873 Apr. 1 (ii, 48)

BUNKER HILL

42. *Bunker Hill Gazette* S. 34.
1873 Mar. 27 (viii, 13)
Motto: "Devoted to Home Interests."

BUSHNELL

43. *Bushnell Weekly Record* S. 34.*
1873 May 10 (vi, 7)

CAIRO

44. *The Cairo Bulletin* S. 37.
1873 Mar. 12 (Weekly)
Apr. 1 (Daily)

45. *Camp Register* S. 36.*
 1861 June 16
 Published at Camp Defiance. Two copies were printed on a small sheet of paper, which could be separated, and the two single leaves printed on both sides distributed. The specimens in the Society's collection consists of two un-separated copies. The contents are purely military.
46. *The Cairo Commercial* S. 37.*
 1873 June 10 (i, 47)
47. *The Cairo Gazette* S. 36 and 37.*
 1873 Mar. 3 (n. s. iii, 3)
 From the numeration it seems clear that this was regarded as a revival of the earlier Gazette, and one wonders if the supposed title "Paper" does not arise from a misunderstanding.
48. *The Cairo Sun* S. 37.
 1873 Feb. 1 (iii, 44) weekly
Cairo Evening Sun
 1872 Sept. 22 (ii, 152) daily
 1873 Jan. 20
 Note that weekly and daily issues were contemporaneous. Motto: "A newspaper devoted to the interests of Cairo and Southern Illinois."
- Monday Leader* S. 37.
 NYS has another copy of the issue of Apr. 17, 1865, besides that mentioned by S. in the local public library at Cairo.

CAMBRIDGE

49. *Henry County Chronicle* S. 38.*
 1862 May 13 (iv, 28) T. O. M.
 1873 Apr. 2
 Motto (1862): "A county Journal devoted to

literature, arts and politics."

Motto (1873): "Independent in Everything—
Neutral in Nothing. Home First—The World
Afterward."

50. *The Prairie Chief* S. 38.

1873 Feb. 21 (vi, 285)

B. W. Seaton was already editor. Motto:
" 'Tell them to obey the laws and support the
Constitution.'—Douglas."

CAMP POINT

51. *The Camp Point Journal* S. 38.*

1873 Mar. 13 (i, 6)

CANTON

52. *Fulton County Ledger* S. 39.

1873 Apr. 11 (xxiii, 19)

53. *Canton Weekly Register* S. 39.

1862 Aug. 12 (xiii, —)

1864 Sept. 26 (xv, 47)

Canton Register

1874 May 8 (xxv, 28) T. O. M.

1878 Nov. 29 T. O. M.

Motto in 1862: "A Family paper, devoted to
politics, news, markets, education, the agricul-
tural, mechanical, and mercantile interests,
internal improvements, etc."

CARLINVILLE

54. *Carlinville Democrat* S. 42.

1872 Dec. 7 (Semi-weekly, iii, 31)

1873 Feb. 27 (Weekly, xvii, 27)

- 54a. *Macoupin Enquirer* S. 41.*

1873 Feb. 20

CARMI

55. *Carmi Weekly Times* S. 44.*

1873 July 18 (i, 52)

CARROLLTON

56. *The Carrollton Gazette* S. 44.
 1873 Apr. 26 (xxvii, 44)
 Edited by "G. B. Price's Sons."
 57. *Carrollton Patriot* S. 45.*
 1873 Mar. 20 (x, 12)
 Published by Lee and Lusk.
 58. *People's Advocate* S. 44.*
 1842 Mar. 5^m

The paper is badly mutilated, but the date is earlier than that assigned by Scott for the beginning of the paper.

CARTHAGE

59. *Carthage Gazette* S. 46.
 1873 Apr. 9 (viii, 43)
 60. *The Carthage Republican* S. 45.
 1873 Apr. 9 (xx, 994)
 The editor was J. M. Davidson.

CASEY

61. *The Casey Weekly Times* S. 46.*
 1873 May 22 (i, 43)

CENTRALIA

62. *The Centralia Democrat* S. 47.*
 1872 Nov. 19 (ii, 94)
 Motto: "Pay the Printer."
 63. *Centralia Sentinel* S. 47.*
 1863 Dec. 10 (i, 29)
 1873 Apr. 3 (x, 514)
 Editors, 1873, Cy. D. Fletcher and L. G. Willcox. Motto: "Education, the Cheap Defense of Our Nation."

CHAMPAIGN

64. *Champaign County Gazette* S. 48.
 1873 Apr. 23 (xxii, 26)

65. *The Liberal Democrat* S. 48.*
1873 Feb. 22 (i, 26)
66. *The Champaign Union* S. 48.
1873 Feb. 13 (n. s. ix, 482)

CHARLESTON

67. *The Charleston Courier* S. 50.*
1872 Nov. 14 (viii, 41)
68. *The Charleston Plaindealer* S. 49.*
1873 Apr. 24 (x, 49)
Motto: "Oldest Paper in Coles County."

CHATSWORTH

69. *The Chatsworth Palladium* S. 50.*
1872 Dec. 14 (ii, 2)

CHEBANSE

70. *The Chebanse Herald* S. 50.*
1873 Feb. 22 (v, 7)
Edited by Thomas S. Sawyer
71. *The Independent* S. 50.*
1873 Feb. 20 (i, 21)
Published by J. D. DeVeiling.

CHENOA

72. *The Chenoa Times* S. 50.*
1873 Jan. 16 (vi, 22)
Editor and proprietor was C. R. Spore.

CHESTER

73. *Chester Tribune* S. 52.*
1873 May 14 (i, 29)
Co-publisher was C. D. Wassell.
74. *The Valley Clarion*
1872 Dec. 26 (vi, 1)

CHICAGO

75. *The Advance* S. 88.
 1873 Feb. 27 (vi, 266)
 Motto: "Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before."
Amerika S. —.*
A paper of this title, weekly and daily, founded about 1872, and soon absorbed by Skandinaven is indicated by the numbering of the issue of that paper for 1873 in the NYHS collection. It seems to have been Swedish.
76. *The Appeal* S. 130.*
 1876 November (i, 11)
 1880 Apr. 15 (v, 8)
 The British Museum has vol. iii, 1-14, 1878.
 Motto: "To the law and to the Testimony."
Army and Navy Gazette of Chicago S. —!.*
The NYPL has vol. i, no. 1, Aug. 1866, of this quarterly paper, issued by Isaac R. Hitt and Co., 65 Clark Street, in connection with their pension claims business.
77. *The Balance* S. 110.*
 1873 April (ii, 4)
78. *The Bright Side and Family Circle* S. 95.*
 1873 Feb. 22 (v, 8) This is the weekly issue.
 Motto: "For all eyes and all kinds of weather."
Bureau S. 96.
 The British Museum has the first eleven numbers, 1869.
79. *The Chicago Courier* S. 89.
 1870 April 1 (v, 6)
 Motto: "Devoted to the interests of Commerce, Finance, Literature and Education."

80. *The Christian Cynosure* S. 92.
 1873 Jan. 30 (ii, 68)
 Published by Ezra A. Cook and Co. Motto:
 "‘In secret have I said nothing.’—Jesus
 Christ."
81. *Chicago Daily Democrat* S. 53.
 1853 May 12 (xi, —)
82. *The Daily Democratic Press* S. 63.
 1853 May 14 (i, 204)
 1854 Jan. 31, Mar. 10, 16, May 13
 1855 Jan. 19
Deutsch--Amerikanische Monatshefte S. 81.*
The British Museum has a file, 1864-1867,
edited after 1865 by R. Lexow.
83. *The Drovers Journal* S. 115.
 1873 Feb. 22 (i, 7)
Free West S. 55.
 NYSL has May 31, 1855.
84. *Die Freie Presse* S. 107.
 Weekly 1873 Apr. 3 (ii, 33)
 Daily 1873 June 4 (iii, 91)
Great Campaign S. —.
 Wisconsin HS has file, 1876; see the Anno-
 tated Catalogue, Madison, 1911, p. 37.
85. *Gamla och nya Hemlandet* S. 74.*
 1873 Apr. 1 (xix, 13)
 Motto: "Politisk Republikansk Tidning for
 Svenske Nationaliteten i Fiorente Staterna."
Herald of the Prairies S. 58.*
 NYSL has Apr. 10, 1848, Aug. 8, 25, 1849.
86. *The Daily Hotel Reporter* S. 112.*
 1873 Apr. 30 (ii, 118)
 Motto: "Devoted to the interests of American
 and Foreign Hotels, Travel, etc."
87. *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* S. 62.
 Weekly 1873 Apr. 9 (xxvii, 17)
 Daily 1873 June 2 (xxvi, 131)

88. *The Interior* S. 102.
 1873 Jan. 2 (iv, 143)
 1876 Mar. 16
 The editors were Benjamin W. Dwight and
 James H. Trowbridge.
89. *The Inter-Ocean* S. 110.
 1873 Jan. 3 (n. s. i, 242); June 3
 1874 June 20
 Motto: "The Republican Newspaper."
90. *Chicago Evening Journal* S. 57.
 1862 Aug. 16 (xxi, 189) T. O. M.
 1872 Oct. 9 Extra with first account of the fire.
 Oct. 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 30; Nov. 2,
 8, 11 (suppl), 14, 18 (suppl), 20, 21, 22, 23.
91. *The Chicago Journal of Commerce* S. 79.
 1873 Jan. 2 (x, 43)
92. *Katholisches Wochenblatt* S. 76.*
 1873 Feb. 5 (xiv, 5)
 Motto: "Zur Hebung Kirchlichen Sinnes
 und Wandels."
93. *Kneip Zange* S. 111.*
 1873 Jan. 11 (i, 6)
 The editor was Dr. A. C. Levell.
94. *The Evening Lamp* S. 96.
 1873 Mar. 8 (iv, 10)
95. *The Chicago Ledger* S. 111.*
 1873 June 28 (i, 16)
 1878 May 25 T. O. M.
 Motto 1873: "A family literary journal";
 1878: "The Cheapest, Best Paper in the
 United States."
96. *Chicago Legal News* S. 97.
 1873 Jan. 18 (v, 17)
97. *Leif Erikson*
 1889 Jan. 19 (i, 1)
 Motto: "Honor to whom Honor is due."

98. *The Chicago Evening Mail* S. 103.*
 1873 May 1 (iii, 220)
 The Chicago Weekly Mail
 1873 Jan. 9 (i, 36)
99. *The National* S. 108.*
 1873 June 15 (iii, 3)
 Motto: "Each helping, all are secure."
100. *The New Covenant* S. 62.
 1873 Feb. 27 (xxvi, 9)
101. *Chicago Weekly News* S. 127.*
 1881 Jan. 6 (xviii, 12) T. O. M.
102. *The Newspaper Union* S. 108.*
 1873 June 28 (iii, 7)
103. *Northwestern Christian Advocate* S. 67.
 1873 Jan. 29 (xxi, 5)
104. *The Northwestern Church* S. 72.
 1862 April 1—Oct. 1 (vi, 1-13 n. s.)
 Published twice a month on the 1st and the
 15th. Motto: "Evangelic Truth and Apostolic
 Order."
105. *Nya Svenska Amerikaneren* S. 87.*
 1873 Apr. 21 (i, 1)
106. *Nya Verlden* S. 108.
 1873 May 12 (v, 20)
 Published by *Chaiser and Anderson*.
 Občanské Listy
 Published in St. Louis and Chicago, 1872 f,
 in Polish, printed in St. Louis. One issue in
 the Collection of New York Historical Society.
107. *Our Fireside Friend* S. 112.
 1873 Jan. 4 (iii, 1)
 Motto: "News, Romance, Literature, Arts,
 Sciences and General Information."
108. *Chicago Evening Post* S. 84.
 1871 Oct. 6, Nov. 11, 20, 25, 28, also extra, Oct. 9
 1873 May 2
 Weekly 1873 Jan. 16

109. *The Prairie Farmer* S. 54.
1873 Feb. 15 (xiiv, 7)
Motto: "Farmers, write for your paper."
110. *The Chicago Price Current* S. 87.*
1870 Apr. 8, 15, May 20 (x, 12, etc.)
Chicago Pulpit Extra S. 113.
British Museum has no. 1, 1872.
111. *The Chicago Railway Review* S. 93.
1871 Oct. 19
1873 Apr. 5 (vi, 10)
112. *The Real Estate and Building Journal* S. 93.
1873 Apr. 5 (x, 15)
Real Estate Record S. —.*
Wisconsin HS has Mar. 1, 1864 (i, 5)
Published by Josiah Boyd and George W. Hill.
113. *Religio-Philosophical Journal* S. 84.
1873 Mar. 8 (xiii, 25)
1874 May 23
1884 Feb. 9, May 10. T. O. M.
114. *The Restitution* S. 109.*
1873 Feb. 6 (xxi, 6)
Motto: "The Restitution of All Things which
God hath spoken by the Mouth of all her holy
prophets since the world began."
115. *Chicago Republican* S. 85.
1868 May 29 (iii, 308) T. O. M.
Saturday Evening Herald S. 124.
British Museum has Feb. 23, 1878.
116. *Skandinaven og Amerika* S. 87.
Weekly 1873 Jan. 14 (vii, 34)
Daily 1873 May 19 (v, 296)
The editors were John A. Johnson, John An-
derson, Victor F. Lawson, and the paper bears
a double numbering, that of Amerika being i,
23 and i, 234.

117. *The Standard* S. 61.
1873 Apr. 3 (xx, 28)
The proprietors were Leroy Church and Edmund Goodman.
118. *The Sun* S. 98.
1873 May 1 (v, 1)
119. *Chicago Times* S. 66.
Weekly 1863 June 30 (viii, 40); Sept. 15, 22, 29;
Oct. 6; Nov. 24; Dec. 1, 8;
1864 Jan. 5; Feb. 16; Apr. 5, 26; May 3; Sept. 6;
Dec. 6, 13.
1873 Jan. 8
Daily 1870 Mar. 30; Apr. 6, 13
1871 Oct. 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31;
Nov. 1, 2, 3, 13, 19, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29
1873 May 1.
1875 Oct. 13
1876 Aug. 30
1879 July 30, etc.
120. *The Chicago Daily Tribune* S. 60.
1854 Feb. 11 (viii)
1865 Apr. 8, 9, May 9.
1871 Oct. 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31;
Nov. 1, 2, 3, 5, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27,
28, 29
Dec. 2, 4
1872 Feb. 15; Oct. 9.
1873 Mar. 12; June 2, 3
1877 Dec. 16
Weekly 1873 Mar. 19
121. *Voice of the Fair* S. 85.
1865 Apr. 27-June 24 (i, 1-22)
The dates are slightly irregular, the printers were Rounds and James. Motto: "The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what our brave men did here."

- Virbote* S. 125.*
 NYPL has a file, 1874-1907.
122. *The Western Catholic* S. 94.*
 1873 July 19 (v, 46)
Western Merchants' Price Current, etc. S. 78.*
 Wisconsin HS has Jan. 4, 1867.
123. *The Western Rural* S. 80.
 1873 Jan. 18 (xi, 18)
 1879 Sept. 20. T. O. M.
 1882 Dec. 30
 Motto: "Excelsior."
- Western Tablet* S. 64.
 NYSL has Dec. 23, 1854.
124. *The Workingman's Advocate* S. 80.
 1873 Mar. 8 (ix, 15)
 The NYPL has a file, 1864-1877.
- CLINTON
125. *Clinton Public* S. 151.
 1873 Feb. 27 (xvii, 9)
126. *Clinton Register* S. 151.
 1873 Feb. 8 (ii, 27)
 The editors were W. L. Glessner and C. C. Stone.
- COLLINSVILLE
127. *Collinsville Argus* S. 151.*
 1873 Feb. 8 (ii, 27)
128. *The Liberal Democrat* S. 151.
 1873 Jan. 30 (i, 17)
- CRESTON
129. *The Creston Times* S. 154.*
 1873 Mar. 8 (i, 47)
 The editor's name was Bickford.
- DALLAS CITY
130. *Dallas City Democrat* S. —.*
 1873 May 9 (vii, 21)

Edited by *W. B. Loring*, this paper seems to differ from the titles listed by Scott of similar form.

DANVILLE

131. *Danville Weekly Argus* S. 155.*
1873 Feb. 19 (ii, 3)
Published by *Charles R. Miller* and *J. M. Conklin*.
132. *The Danville Commercial* S. 155.
1873 Jan. 9 (vii, 42)
Published by *J. & P. Harper*.
133. *The Danville Times* S. 155.
1873 Jan. 25 (v, 49)

DECATUR

134. *Decatur Weekly Magnet* S. 157.
1873 Feb. 12 (xv, 1)
The Daily Magnet
1873 May 1 (vi, 19)
Co-editor was *W. H. Addis*.
135. *The Decatur Local Review* S. 158.
1873 May 15 (i, 11)
The editor was *A. Wuensch*. Motto: "Devoted expressly to the interest of Macon County."
136. *Decatur Republican* S. 158.
1873 Feb. 27 (vi, 32)
137. *Decatur Tribune* S. 159.*
1873 Jan. 30 (i, 46)

DEKALB

138. *DeKalb County News* S. 160.
1873 Feb. 26 (vii, 4)
Motto: "Home first; the world afterward."
- DeKalb Weekly Times* S. —.*
In the N. Y. State Library Collection is the issue of Sept. 7, 1860 (i, 35) published by *G. D. R. Boyd* and *C. H. Perrigo*.

DEHAVAN

140. *The Delavan Advertiser* S. 160.*
1873 Jan. 9 (iii, 37)
141. *Delavan Independent* S. 160.*
1873 Jan. 15 (iv, 12)

DIXON

142. *The Dixon Monitor* S. 162.*
1858 Sept. 18^m (i, 9) T. O. M.
The editor was Charles Meigs, Jr. Motto:
"Devoted to Republican interests and the
prosperity of Lee County."
143. *The Rock River Farmer* S. 162.*
1873 Mar. (v, 3) monthly
D. B. Raymond was the associate editor.
Motto: "Progress with Prudence, Practice
with Science."
144. *The Dixon Sun* S. 162.
1873 Feb. 12 (v, 33)
Eugene Pinckney was the editor.
145. *Telegraph and Herald* S. 161.
1873 Feb. 27^m (New Series 170; whole number
1668)

DUQUOIN

146. *The DuQuoin Tribune* S. 163.*
1873 Mar. 6 (ix, 51)

DWIGHT

147. *The Dwight Star* S. 164.*
1873 Mar. 27 (v, 42)
C. L. Palmer was the editor. Motto: "Devoted
to local and county interests and general in-
formation."

EARLVILLE

148. *Earlville Gazette* S. 164.*
1873 Feb. 14 (vi, 7)

Charles B. Signor was the editor. Motto:
"There is good in all—Let us strive to see it."

149. *The Saturday Transcript* S. 165.*
1873 Jan. 4 (New Series 1)
Published every Saturday by J. T. Payne,
responsible publisher. \$2.00 a year. The paper
of this title described by Scott may be differ-
ent from this.

EAST ST. LOUIS

150. *People's Gazette* S. 165.*
1873 Mar. 8 (ix, 10)
Published weekly by the People's Gazette
Association, Vital Jarrot, pres., L. M. St.
John, treas., E. W. Wider, sec.
151. *The East St. Louis Gazette* S. 165.
1873 Feb. 1^m (viii, 7)
Motto: "Official Journal of the City."

EDWARDSVILLE

152. *Edwardsville Spectator* S. 166.
1822 Apr. 2, 20, 27; June 8, 22; Aug. 3, 17; Sept. 7,
21 (iii, 147, etc.)
153. *Edwardsville Republican* S. 168.
1873 Apr. 24 (iv, 44)
154. *The Edwardsville Intelligencer* S. 168.
1873 Mar. 27 (xi, 21)
The editor was J. R. Brown.

EFFINGHAM

155. *The Effingham Democrat* S. 169.*
1873 June 5 (xi, 1)

ELGIN

156. *The Elgin Advocate* S. 171.
1873 Apr. 19 (iii, 16)
157. *The Elgin Gazette* S. 170.
1873 Mar. 15 (xviii, 39)

158. *The Informer* S. 171.*
1877 Apr. (ii, 4) T. O. M.

ELIZABETHTOWN

159. *The Hardin Gazette* S. 172.*
1873 Feb. 28 (iii, 9)
Motto: "A home paper for the people, devoted to the interests of Hardin County."

ELMWOOD

160. *Elmwood Chronicle* S. 172.*
1873 Jan. 23 (viii, 46)
Alpheus Davison and Jos. Kennard Davison were the editors and proprietors.

EL PASO

161. *The El Paso Journal* S. 173.*
1873 Jan. 9^m (viii, 36)

EUREKA

162. *The Woodford Journal*
1873 Jan. 3^m (vi, 1)
The editor was E. Lowry.

EVANSTON

163. *The Evanston Index* S. 174.
1873 July 12^m (ii, 6 whole number 58)
Motto: "Let us all work together to beautify and build up Evanston."

FAIRBURY

164. *The Fairbury Independent* S. 175.*
1873 Apr. 11 (11, 49)
165. *Fairbury Journal* S. 175.*
1873 Jan. 4 (vii, 33)
Otis S. Eastman was the editor. Motto: "A weekly newspaper of political, literary, scientific, commercial, agricultural and local intelligence."

FAIRFIELD

166. *Wayne County Press* S. 176.*
1873 Jan. 16 (viii, 3, whole number 367)
167. *Fairfield Weekly Democrat* S. 176.*
1873 Feb. 20 (v, 28)

FARMER CITY

168. *Farmer City Journal* S. 178.
1873 Jan. 9 (i, 8) (This issue misdated "1872")
Motto: "Zealously oppose the encroachment
of capital when combined against labor."

FLORA

169. *Southern Illinois Journal* S. 179.*
1873 Jan. 22 (ii, 41)

FORRESTON

170. *Forreston Journal* S. 179.*
1873 Feb. 8 (vi, 42, whole number 202)

FRANKLIN GROVE

171. *Franklin Reporter* S. 180.*
1873 Feb. 8 (iv, 23, whole number 179)
The editor was D. H. Spickler. Motto: "In-
dependent in everything—neutral in nothing."

FREEPORT

172. *Freeport Bulletin* S. 180.
1873 Mar. 6 (xvii, 4)
H. Clay Bray was the local editor.
Freeport Daily Fair Journal S. —.*
Wisconsin H. S. has Sept. 27 and 28, 1860 (i, 2
and 3)
Published by Judson and McCluer.
173. *Freeport Weekly Journal* S. 180.
1873 May 20 (viii, 4, new series; xvii, 806, old
series)
Freeport Journal (daily)
1873 Mar. 5 (xvii, 47)
Motto: "A faithful herald of a noisy world."

174. *The Freeport News* S. 181.*
 1873 Aug. 2 (ix, 8)
 The co-editor was S. F. Aspinwall.
Freeport Northwest S. —.*
 Wisconsin H. S. has Mar. 1, 1866 (i, 29), published
 by McCall and Atkins.
Wideawake S. —.*
 Wisconsin H. S. has Aug. 18, 1860 (i, 1), published
 by R. W. Hulbert and O. Ingersoll.

FULTON

175. *The Fulton Weekly Journal* S. 182.*
 1873 Jan. 31 (xix, old, xiv, new, 35)
 Motto: "Devoted to home news, agriculture,
 politics, and general intelligence."

GALENA

176. *Galena Commercial Advertiser* S. 184.*
 1873 Jan. 16 (x, 1)
 Motto: "An independent journal, devoted to
 the agricultural, horticultural and mineral in-
 terests of the northwest."
 177. *Weekly North-Western Gazette* S. 183.
 1847 July 2 (xiii, 35) T. O. M.
 NYSL has Apr. 3, 1841.
Galena Evening Gazette S. 183.*
 1873 Apr. 3
Galena Weekly Gazette
 1873 Jan. 14
 178. *Spirit of the Press* S. 184.*
 1873 Feb. 21 (ii, 21)

GALESBURG

179. *The Galesburg Free Press* S. 185.*
 1873 Jan. 30 (xx, 8)
 180. *Daily Register and Republican* S. 186.*
 1873 May 1 (iv, 18)

181. *The Republic* S. 186.*
1873 Jan. 11, Feb. 25 (i, 3, 16)
The publishers were Graves and Prior.

GALVA

182. *Galva Journal* S. 187.
1873 Feb. 7 (i, 1)
The editor was Wm. J. Ward.

GENESEO

183. *The Geneseo Republic* S. 188.
1873 Apr. 4 (xvii, 45)
One of the editors was George A. Hobbes.

GENEVA

184. *The Kane County Republican* S. 189.*
1856 Nov. 20
1873 Mar. 22 (xxii, 14)
Motto (1856): "A family paper—devoted to politics, news, choice literature, temperance, agriculture, poetry, etc."

GILMAN

185. *The Gilman Star* S. 190.
1873 Feb. 22 (iv, 6)

GOLCONDA

186. *The Golconda Herald* S. 191.*
1873 Apr. 10 (xvi, 24)
Motto: "A home paper for the people, devoted to the interests of Pope County."

GRAYVILLE

187. *The Grayville Independent* S. 192.
1873 Apr. 4 (xv, 3)
The editor was J. Ed. Clarke. Motto: "A family newspaper, especially devoted to the mutual interests of the proprietor, and the whole county."

188. *The Grayville Weekly Republican* S. 192.*
 1873 Jan. 24 (i, 35)
 The editor was Jonathan Stuart.

GREENFIELD

189. *The Locomotive* S. 192.*
 1873 Feb. 13 (iii, 25)
 The publisher and proprietor was W. E. Milton.

GREENUP

190. *The Greenup Mail* S. 193.*
 1873 Jan. 23 (ii, 12)
 Motto: "Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may."

GREENVILLE

191. *The Greenville Advocate* S. 194.
 1873 Feb. 26 (xvi, 5)

GRIGGSVILLE

192. *The Griggsville Reflector* S. —.*
 1873 Jan. 4 (ii, 26)
The proprietors were F. K. Strother and B. L. Strother, the paper was apparently established in 1871. Motto: "Devoted to the industrial pursuits of Griggsville and of Pike County."

HARDIN

193. *Calhoun County Democrat* S. 194.*
 1873 Apr. 26 (ii, 3)

HARRISBURG

194. *The Harrisburg Chronicle* S. 195.
 1873 Jan. 10 (xiii, 34)
 1873 Jan. 24 (xiii, 36)
195. *Saline County Register* S. 196.*
 1873 Jan. 9 (iv, 41)
 The editor was Francis M. Pickett.

HARVARD

196. *Harvard Independent* S. 196.
1873 Feb. 12 (viii, 7, whole number 7)
One of the editors was A. O. M. Leland.

HAVANA

197. *The Democratic Clarion* S. 197.*
1873 Feb. 28 (iv, 5, whole number 162)
Selah Weadon was the sole editor and proprietor.

HENNEPIN

198. *The Putnam Record* S. 198.
1873 Jan. 11 (v, 23)
Motto: "Magna est veritas, et praevalebit."

HENRY

199. *Reformed Missionary* S. 199.
1870 Dec. (i, 12) T. O. M.
1871 Feb. (ii, 2) T. O. M.
Begun Jan. 1870. Motto: "'A Sower went forth to Sow.'—Math. 13:3."
200. *Henry Republican* S. 198.
1873 Mar. 27 (xxi, 39)

HILLSBORO

201. *Hillsboro Democrat* S. 200.*
1873 Jan. 22 (vi, 4)
Motto: "White Men Are Yet Capable of Governing This Country."
202. *Hillsboro News Letter* S. 200.*
1873 Jan. 10 (iii, 10)
Chas. L. and Emma T. Bangs were the publishers.
203. *The Illinois Free Press* S. 200.*
1860 Jan. 10 (i, 1) T. O. M.
The paper was "published at Hillsboro and Litchfield"; the date of establishment being slightly later than that given by S.

HOOPESTON

204. *North Vermilion Chronicle* S. 201.
 1873 Apr. 24 (ii, 17)
 G. W. Seavery was one of the editors and proprietors.

HYDE PARK

205. *Hyde Park News* S. 202.*
 1873 Feb. 5 (i, 17)

JACKSONVILLE

206. *Illinois Patriot* S. 203.
 1834 July 12 (iii, 25) T. O. M.
 207. *The Morgan Journal* S. 204.
 1859 Oct. 20 (xvi, 18) T. O. M.
 208. *The Daily Journal* S. 204.
 1873 May 7 (viii, 23)
 1873 Aug. 21 (viii, 114)
Weekly Jacksonville Journal S. 204.
 1873 May 15 (xxix, 49)
 209. *Illinois Sentinel* S. 205.
 1873 June 5 (xii, 19)
 Gershom Martin was the editor and John C. Paradise was the proprietor.

JEFFERSONVILLE

210. *The Wayne County Central* S. 206.*
 1873 Mar. 23 (i, 11)
 Motto: "‘With Charity to All; and Malice Toward None.’—A. Lincoln."

JERSEYVILLE

211. *Jersey County Democrat* S. 206.
 1873 Jan. 17 (viii, 44)
 Motto: "‘Devoted to Home Interests.’"
 212. *Jerseyville Republican* S. 207.*
 1872 Feb. 2 (vii, 4)

JOLIET

Democratic Cudgel

S. —!

Title taken from a bookseller's catalogue.

- 213.
- The Joliet Sun*

S. 208.*

1873 June 5 (i, 5)

Sun Printing Company. C. H. Weeks, president, and E. B. Hayward, secretary and manager. It seems to have been established in May, 1873.

- 214.
- The Joliet Republican*

S. 208.

1873 Mar. 22 (new series x, 46)

Jas. Goodspeed and O. T. Wharton were the editors and proprietors.

- 215.
- The Joliet Record*

S. 208.*

1873 May 16 (ii, 37)

Thompson and D. C. Henderson were the publishers.

JONESBORO

- 216.
- The Advertiser*

S. 209.*

1873 May 1 (iii, 38)

1873 July 10 (iii, 48)

Motto: "Independent in All Things, Neutral in Nothing."

- 217.
- The Jonesboro Gazette*

S. 209.

1873 May 17 (xxiv, 9)

T. F. Boulton was the editor and proprietor.

KANKAKEE

- 218.
- The Kankakee Gazette*

S. 210.

1873 Feb. 13 (xx, 12; whole number 981) weekly

1873 June 25 (x, 40) daily

Motto: "A Weekly Republican Journal—Devoted to Politics, General and Local News, Literature and Agricultural Interests."

- 219.
- Kankakee Herald*

S. 211.

1873 Feb. 15 (i, 20)

M. L. Henry was the editor and publisher.

KASKASKIA

Republican

S. 212.

NYSL has May 4, 11; Nov. 6; Dec. 7, 14, 1824;
Jan. 4; Feb. 1, 8; Mar. 15, 31; Apr. 22, 1825.

KEITHSBURG

- 220.
- The West End Kerana*

S. 214.*

1873 Jan. 31 (ii, 21)

T. Clancey was the editor. Motto: "Devoted
to Local Interests."

KEWANEE

- 221.
- The Kewanee Independent*

S. 214.*

1873 Mar. 5 (iii, 9)

Chauncey Bassett was the publisher.

KINMUNDY

- 222.
- The Kimmundy Independent*

S. 215.

1873 Mar. 28 (vi, 51)

Edward Freeman and W. H. Freeman were
the editors.

KNOXVILLE

- 223.
- Knox Republican*

S. 216.

1873 May 7 (xvii, 34)

LACON

- 224.
- Lacon Home Journal*

S. 216.*

1873 Mar. 26 (xxxiii, 41)

Motto: "With Malice toward none, with
Charity for all."

- 225.
- The Illinois Statesman*

S. 217.*

1873 May 15 (vi, 20)

Motto: "Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of
Liberty."

LAMOILLE

- 226.
- LaMoille Gazette*

1894 Apr. 27 (v, 23) T. O. M.

The publisher was J. H. Showalter.

LANARK

- 226a. *The Brethren at Work* S. 218.*
1876 Oct. 28 (i, 6) T. O. M.
Motto: "Behold I bring you glad Tidings of
great Joy, which shall be unto all People."
—LUKE 2, 10.

LASALLE

227. *The LaSalle County Press* S. 219.
1873 Mar. 15 (xvii, 40)

LEBANON

228. *The Lebanon Journal* S. 221.*
1873 Jan. 18 (vii, 2)

LENA

229. *Lena Star* S. 221.
1873 Jan. 31 (vii, 5)
Motto: "Devoted to the best interests of the
Northwest."

LEWISTOWN

230. *Lewistown Union* S. 222.*
1873 Feb. 14 (ix, 34)
A. Hyde was one of the editors and proprie-
tors.
231. *The Fulton Democrat* S. 222.
1873 Feb. 28 (xviii, 36)
1878 Aug. 1 (xxiv, 7) T. O. M.
232. *Fulton County Ledger*
1882 Literary Supplement, without date. T. O. M.

LEXINGTON

233. *The Lexington Enterprise* S. 223.*
1873 Apr. 5 (i, 13)

LINCOLN

234. *Central Illinois Weekly Statesman* S. 224.*
1873 Mar. 28 (v, 51)

235. *Lincoln Tri-Weekly Times* S. 224.*
 1873 Mar. 1 (i, 53)
 Jas. F. Freeman was the proprietor of this paper, which apparently was established in 1872.

LOUISVILLE

236. *The Louisville Ledger* S. 228.*
 1873 Feb. 21 (v, 29)
 Motto: "Democracy and Free Trade."
 237. *The Voice of the People* S. 228.*
 1873 Jan. 1 (ix, 18)
 Motto: "Hew to the Line—Let the Chips Fall Where They May."

LOWELL

238. *Genius of Liberty* S. 229.
 1842 Mar. 19^m
 The paper seems to have been continued at Michigan City, Mich. NYHS has Aug. 10, 1843, published at that place.

McLEANSBORO

239. *The Golden Sun* S. 230.*
 1873 Jan. 31 (ii, 5)
 Motto: "'With Malice Toward None; With Charity For All.'—Abraham Lincoln."

MACOMB

240. *Macomb Eagle* S. 231.*
 1873 Jan. 4 (xvii, 5)
 Charles H. Whitaker was the editor and proprietor.
 241. *Macomb Journal* S. 231.
 1873 Jan. 16 (xviii, 14)
 B. E. Hampton was one of the editors.

MAGNOLIA

242. *The Magnolia News* S. 232.
1873 Jan. 30 (ii, 9)
Motto: "Devoted to the Interests of Putnam
County."

MAJORITY POINT

243. *Cumberland Democrat* S. 232.*
1873 Jan. 10 (xiv, 27)

MARENGO

- 243a. *The Marengo Republican* S. 233.
1877 Mar. 31 (ix, 48) T. O. M.
Motto: "Where Liberty Dwells, there is my
Country."

MAROA

244. *The Maroa Weekly News* S. 235.*
1873 May 17 (ii, new series, 20)
Motto: "For the Right."

MARSEILLES

245. *Marseilles Advertiser* S. 235.*
1873 Feb. 5 (ii, 5)

MARSHALL

246. *The Marshall Weekly Messenger* S. 236.
1873 May 22 (ix, 5, whole number 411)
247. *Clark County Herald* S. 237.
1873 Jan. 24 (vi, 4, whole number 231)
Motto: "A Weekly Family Journal, Devoted
to News, Literature, Poetry—Republican in
Politics."

MARTINSVILLE

248. *Martinsville Express* S. 237.*
1873 Jan. 24 (ii, 12)
Motto: "A Weekly Journal, Devoted to the
Interests of the People of Martinsville and
Surrounding Country."

MASON CITY

249. *Mason City Independent* S. 238.
1873 Apr. 18 (vi, 41)
250. *Mason City Journal* S. 238.*
1873 Apr. 24 (iii, 17)

MATTOON

251. *Mattoon Commercial* S. 239.*
1873 Apr. 19 (ii, 40)
Rufus Sumerlin and Sons. *Adolph Sumerlin*
was the editor.
252. *The Mattoon Gazette* S. 239.*
1873 Feb. 28 (iii, new series, 29)

MENDOTA

253. *Mendota Bulletin* S. 240.*
1873 May 16 (xii, 20)

METROPOLIS CITY

254. *The Massac Journal* S. 241.
1873 Apr. 19 (vi, 27)
Ben O. Jones was the publisher.
255. *Metropolis Weekly Times* S. 242.*
1873 Mar. 6 (vi, 45)
Will A. McBane was the proprietor. Motto:
"Independence—Enterprise."

MILLINGTON

256. *Millington Enterprise* S. 243.
1873 Feb. 20 (i, 8)
Motto: "Devoted to Home Interests."

MINONK

257. *The Minonk Index* S. 243.*
1873 Jan. 16 (iii, 6)

MOLINE

258. *The Moline Review* S. 244.
1873 Mar. 14^m, May 2 (iv. —; 18)

MOMENCE

259. *The Momence Reporter* S. 245.
1873 Feb. 27 (iii, 30)
Motto: "Politics, Literature, and Local Interests."

MONMOUTH

260. *The Monmouth News* S. 246.
1873 Apr. 25 (xxvii, 27)

MONTICELLO

261. *The Piatt Independent* S. 247.
1873 Jan. 15 (viii, 8)
James M. Holmes was the editor and proprietor. Motto: "Devoted to the Interests of Piatt County."

MORRIS

262. *Herald and Advertiser* S. 247.
1873 Apr. 19 (xviii, 37)
263. *The Liberal Reformer* S. 247.*
1873 Feb. 19 (i, 27)
Joseph W. Simpson was the proprietor.

MORRISON

264. *The Morrison Independent* S. 248.*
1873 May 3 (i, 40)
Motto: "Devoted to Politics, Literature, Science, Art, General News and the Best Interests of Whiteside County."
265. *The Whiteside Sentinel* S. 248.
1873 June 19 (xvi, 34)
Motto: "Devoted to Home Interests, Agriculture, Literature, Politics, and General Intelligence."

MOUND CITY

266. *Mound City Journal* S. 249.
1873 Mar. 29 (ix, 18)

267. *Pulaski Patriot* S. 249.*
1873 Jan. 23 (ii, 32)
Fieldon R. Waggoner was one of the editors.

MT. CARMEL

268. *Mt. Carmel Register* S. 250.
1873 Feb. 6 (xxix, 39)
269. *Mt. Carmel Democrat* S. 251.*
1872 Dec. 19 (viii, 17)
William H. Evans was one of the editors and proprietors.

MT. CARROLL

270. *Carroll County Mirror* S. 251.*
1873 Apr. 25 (xv, 31)
John M. Adair was the proprietor.

MT. STERLING

271. *Brown County Democrat* S. 254.*
1873 Apr. 17 (new series v, 4)
G. M. Russell was the editor and proprietor.
Motto: "Devoted to the Interests of Brown County, and the Collection of Local and General News."
272. *Illinois Weekly Message* S. 254.*
1873 Apr. 3 (ii, 11)

MT. VERNON

273. *Mt. Vernon Free Press* S. 255.*
1873 Apr. 24 (viii, 15, whole number 379)
274. *Mt. Vernon News* S. 256.*
1873 Jan. 28 (ii, 22)

MURPHYSBORO

275. *Murphysboro Argus* S. 257.*
1872 Jan. 24 (iv, 36)
Garner was one of the editors.

NAPERVILLE

276. *The Naperville Clarion* S. 258.*
1873 Jan. 16 (x, 23)

NASHVILLE

277. *The Nashville Democrat* S. 259.*
1873 Jan. 18 (ix, 18)
278. *The Nashville Journal* S. 259.*
1873 Apr. 9 (ii, 12, whole number 532)

NAUVOO

Colonie Icarienne

NYPL has the issue of Aug. 10, 1854.

279. *Hancock County Journal* S. 261.*
1872 Nov. 12 (iii, 4) weekly issue
In German.

NEW ATHENS

280. *New Athens Era* S. 262.*
1873 Jan. 11 (iv, 37)
Motto: "Energy and Enterprise—A Sure
Guarantee of Success."

NEWTON

281. *Newton Weekly Press* S. 263.*
1873 Jan. 31 (vii, 49)

NEW WINDSOR

282. *The New Windsor Times* S. 263.*
1873 Feb. 28 (i, 4)
Motto: "Devoted to Home Interests."

NOKOMIS

283. *The Nokomis Gazette* S. 263.
1872 Sept. 28 (ii, 1)
T. J. Pickett was one of the editors.

OLNEY

284. *Olney Ledger* S. —.*
1873 Mar. 21 (i, 31)
Edited by H. H. Lusk. This is apparently the paper established in 1872 when Lusk bought the *Journal*.
285. *The Olney Weekly Times* S. 266.
1873 Apr. 28 (ix, 17)
Barnard and Hanna were the editors and proprietors.

ONARGA

286. *The Onarga Review* S. 267.*
1873 May 10 (i, 16)

OQUAWKA

287. *Oquawka Spectator* S. 267.*
1873 Apr. 10 (xxvi, 12, whole number 1312)
Motto: "The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws." It may be of interest to record that the Patterson family file of this notable old paper is now deposited in the library of Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois.

OREGON

288. *Oregon Journal* S. 269.*
1873 Mar. 5 (vii, 44, whole number 352)
289. *The Ogle County Reporter* S. 269.*
1873 Apr. 24 (xxii, 35 whole number 1123)

OTTAWA

290. *Central Illinois Wochenblatt*
1873 Jan. 10 (v, 38)
Edited by J. J. White. Motto: "Organ der Deutschen in Central Illinois."
291. *The Ottawa Free Trader* S. 270.
1873 Mar. 29 (xxxiii, 34)

292. *The Ottawa Republican* S. 270.
1873 Mar. 13 (xxi, 39)

PALATINE

293. *Palatine Advertiser* S. —.*
1868 May 15 (i, 1) T. O. M.
Published by Sapp & Richardson, who planned to issue it for three monthly issues only, as an advertising venture. It was printed at Woodstock.
294. *The Herald* S. 271.*
1873 May 23 (i, 22)
George E. Earlie, editor; and F. E. Holton, the local editor.

PANA

295. *The Pana Gazette* S. 273.*
1873 Jan. 11 (viii, 17)
296. *The Pana Palladium* S. 273.*
1873 Feb. 22 (iv, 19)

PARIS

297. *The Prairie Beacon and Valley Blade* S. 275.*
1873 Apr. 25 (ix, 43)
298. *Shoaff's Gazette* S. 274.*
1873 May 14 (i, 12)
Published by James Shoaff & Son. This seems to be a title borne for a short time by the paper described in Scott as the *Edgar County Gazette*, and the *Paris Gazette*.

PAXTON

299. *The Ford County Journal* S. —.*
1873 Feb. 1 (i, 25)
Edited by Thomas Wolfe, apparently founded 1872. Perhaps a later title of the paper called by Scott the Liberal.
300. *The Paxton Weekly Record* S. 275.*
1873 Jan. 2 (viii, 42, whole number 406)

PECATONICA

301. *The Peconica News* S. 276.*
1873 Feb. 8 (i, 8)

PEKIN

302. *The Pekin Register* S. 277.*
1873 Feb. 5 (xvii, 13)
Geo. V. Kent was the editor.
Pekin County Register S. 277.*
1873 Mar. 20 (i, 94)
S. mentions no daily under his only title
"Tazewell Register."
303. *Tazewell County Republican* S. 277.
1873 Feb. 28 (xiv, 14)
Motto: "A Journal for the Family Circle—
Devoted to the Interests and Enjoyment of
Its Readers."
304. *Pekin Weekly Bulletin* S. 277.
1873 Mar. 15 (ii, 33)
Motto: First: "The Welfare of Pekin and
Her Citizens"—Second: "An Amendment to
the Constitution Making All Public Officers
Elective Through the Suffrage of the People."

PEORIA

305. *Peoria Deutsche Zeitung* S. 279.
1873 Jan. 8 (xxi, 1083) weekly
1873 May 4 (xxi, 323) daily
306. *Demokrat* S. 280.
1873 Apr. 24 (xii, 49) "Wöchentliche Peoria D."
weekly.
1873 May 2 (xiii, 211) "Tagliche D." daily
307. *Peoria Weekly National Democrat* S. 281.
1873 Apr. 24 (viii, 33)
Motto: "A Nation May Be Governed and Yet
Be Free."

308. *Peoria Daily National Democrat* S. 281.
1873 June 5 (viii, 236)
1878 Apr. 1, 17^m (xiii, —)
309. *The Peoria Advertiser* S. 281.*
1873 Apr. 3 (iii, 4)
Elderman & Reynolds were the publishers.
Motto: "Truth and Independence; Honor and
Honesty."
310. *The Peoria Daily Transcript* S. 280.
1873 Jan. 30 (xviii, 5) weekly
1873 June 2 (xviii, 129) daily
1873 June 3 (xviii, 130) daily
311. *The Peoria Review* S. 281.
1873 Jan. 10 (iv, 55) daily
Est. 1870.

PERU

312. *The Peru Herald* S. 282.*
1873 Jan. 11 (xiv, 39)
H. M. Gallagher was the proprietor.

PETERSBURG

313. *Petersburg Republican* S. 283.
1873 Jan. 17 (v, 29)
Motto: "To Be, Rather Than to Seem."
314. *Petersburg Democrat* S. 283.*
1873 Feb. 8 (xiii, 46)
E. F. McElwain was the publisher. Motto:
"State Sovereignty—National Union."

PITTSFIELD

315. *The Old Flag* S. 284.*
1864 Jan. 14 ((i, 5) T. O. M.
1873 May 1 (x, 19)
316. *The Pike County Democrat* S. 285.
1872 Dec. 5 (xv, 29)

PLANO

317. *The Plano Mirror* S. 285.*
1873 Jan. 9 (x, 2)

POLO

318. *Ogle County Press* S. 287.
1873 Feb. 15 (xvii, 3)

PONTIAC

319. *Pontiac Free Trader* S. 288.*
1873 Jan. 3 (iii, 29)
Published by McGregor & Johnson; editor,
E. M. Johnson.
320. *Pontiac Sentinel* S. 288.
1873 May 1 (xvi, 43)

PRAIRIE CITY

321. *Prairie City Herald* S. 288.
1873 Jan. 24 (iii, 12)

PRINCETON

322. *Bureau County Herald* S. 290.*
1873 Jan. 22 (ii, 35)
323. *Bureau County Republican* S. 289.
1873 Feb. 13 (xvi, 7)
324. *Bureau County Tribune* S. 290.
1873 Feb. 1 (i, 26)
Publishers were C. L. Smith and P. D. Win-
ship.

PROPHETSTOWN

325. *The Prophetstown Spike* S. 290.*
1873 Mar. 21 (ii, 30)

QUINCY

326. *The Quincy Argus* S. 290.
1838 Dec. 1 (iv, 12)
Edited by I. N. Norris and J. J. Brodley; the
proprietors were Karnes and Bassett. Scott
does not cite this title before the next year.

327. *The Evening Call* S. 293.*
1873 Feb. 21 (iii, 195)
328. *The Christian* S. 293.*
1873 May 29 (ii, 22)
This is a differing title from that given by
Scott who cites the Gospel Echo and Christian.
Motto: "‘We Also Believe and Therefore
Speak.’—Paul."
329. *Quincy Commercial Review* S. 293.
1873 Feb. 27 (i, 27)
Motto: "Devoted to the Commercial and
Manufacturing Interests of Quincy."
330. *The Daily Quincy Herald* S. 291.
Tri-Weekly 1873, Mar. 1, May 15 (xxiii, 160, 224)
Weekly 1873 Feb. 15 (xxxviii, 22)
331. *Quincy Daily Journal*
1883 Dec. 1 (i, 71) T. O. M.
332. *Quincy Tribune* S. 292.
Weekly 1873 Jan. 29 (xx, 21)
Daily 1873 Apr. 1 (xiv, 273)
Western Patriot S. —.*
NYSL has Apr. 24, 1856 (iii, 36), published by
D. S. Morrison and Co.
333. *The Quincy Whig* S. 291.
1873 Mar. 1; May 29 (xxi, 264; xxii, 41)—both are
daily issues.
The publisher was Geo. W. Wood.

RICHMOND, (McHenry Co.)

- 333a. *The Richmond Gazette* S. 296.*
1877 Jan. 9 (ii, 3) T. O. M.

RICHVIEW

334. *Moudy's Democrat* S. 296.*
1873 Jan. 9 (ii, 25)
Scott thought this paper came to an end in
1872.

ROBINSON

335. *The Robinson Argus* S. 297.*
1873 June 30 (ix, 34)

ROCHELLE

336. *The Rochelle Independent* S. 297.*
1873 Feb. 5 (i, 23)
The editor was Ed. T. Ritchie.

ROCK CITY

337. *The Rock City Gazette* S. 305.*
1873 Feb. 1 (iii, 12)

ROCK FALLS

338. *Rock Falls Progress* S. 298.
1872 Dec. 13 (iii, 16)
Motto: "Devoted to Local Interests."

ROCKFORD

339. *Rockford Forum* S. 298.
1846 June 24 (iv, 17)
340. *Rockford Weekly Gazette* S. 300.*
1873 Jan. 16 (viii, 3)
1877 Dec. 20 T. O. M.
341. *The Rockford Journal* S. 301.*
1873 Feb. 22 (vii, 15)
The editor was H. R. Enschedé.
342. *Rockford Register* S. 299.
Weekly 1873 Jan. 25, Feb. 22 (xviii, 4; xix, 8)
Daily 1873 Apr. 25 (i, 95)
The last is edited by Charles J. Woodbury & Co.

ROCK ISLAND

343. *Rock Island Daily Argus* S. 303.
Weekly 1873 Mar. 1
Daily 1873 June 2
Rock Islander S. 303.
In the Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Christian Advocate*,
Oct. 9, 1860, we have found the obituary of

the editor of this paper in 1859; also that for a time he conducted a daily paper in connection with it.

344. *The Weekly Union* S. 304.
1873 Feb. 15 (n. s. vii, 7)

ROCK RUN (see Rock City)

RUSHVILLE

345. *The Schuyler Citizen* S. 307.
1873 Mar. 27 (xvii, 4)
Motto: "‘Whatever Is Morally Wrong, Cannot Be Politically Right.’—Thomas Jefferson."
346. *The Rushville Times* S. 307.
1873 Feb. 1 (xvii, 5)

ST. CHARLES

347. *The St. Charles Transcript* S. 309.*
1873 Jan. 24 (ii, 48)

SALEM

348. *Salem Advocate* S. 310.*
1873 Jan. 16 (xvi, 3)
Motto: "‘Legislate as Little as Possible—Leave all the rest to the boundless energies of a free people.’—Jefferson."

SANDWICH

349. *Sandwich Gazette* S. 311.
1873 Feb. 21 (ix, 12)
NYSL has June 23, 1863.
People's Press S. 311.
NYSL has Sept. 17, Oct. 1, 1857.

SAYBROOK

350. *Saybrook Banner* S. 312.*
1873 Mar. 20 (i, 13)

The editors were Van Varis and Sabin. Motto: "Devoted to the Interests of the Farmer, the Laboring Man, the Mechanic and the Merchant."

SENECA

351. *Seneca Weekly Journal* S. —.*
1873 Apr. 4 (ii, 4)

The editors and proprietors were *Albert Burton* and *Irving Carrier*. Motto: "Independent."

SHANNON

352. *Shannon Gazette* S. 313.*
1873 Jan. 11 (ix, 33)

SHAWNEETOWN

353. *Gallatin County Gazette* S. 315.*
1873 June 20 (iii, 3)

354. *Shawneetown Mercury* S. 315.*
1873 Apr. 2 (xiii, 36)

This confirms the statement of Scott against that contradictory account mentioned in his footnote.

355. *Illinois Republican* S. 315.
1841 Apr. 3 (i, 9)

The publishers were S. D. Marshall and *A. Coulter*.

SHELBYVILLE

356. *Shelby County Leader* S. 316.
1873 Feb. 13 (xi, 32)

The publishers were Trower & Marshuz.

357. *Shelby County Union* S. 317.*
1873 Feb. 6 (x, 34)
Motto: "The Union, the Constitution, and the
Enforcement of the Laws."

SHERIDAN

358. *The Sheridan News Letter* S. 318.*
1873 Jan. 24 (ii, 40)
Motto: "Home First—The World After-
wards."

SOUTH CHICAGO

359. *South Chicago Eagle* S. 319.*
1871 Nov. 23 (i, 24)
A Local Newspaper for Hyde Park, Thornton
and Calumet. Official Paper of the Calumet
and Chicago Canal and Dock Co.

SPARTA

360. *The Sparta Plaindealer* S. 320.*
1873 Mar. 15 (vii, 51)

SPRINGFIELD

361. *Die Illinois Freie Presse* S. 325.
1873 Mar. 13 (ii, 10)
The publisher was Eugen Notze.
362. *The Journal* S. 321.
1838 Nov. 10^m
Illinois Journal
Weekly 1873 Jan. 29 (xiii, 215)
Daily 1873 May 10 (xxv, 208)
1878 May 11 T. O. M.
363. *The Olive Branch* S. 324.*
1860 Dec. — (v, 12)
Edited by S. W. Harkey. Motto: "Glory to
God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good
Will Toward Men."

364. *Illinois State Register* S. 322.
 Weekly 1873 Feb. 20 (xxxvii, 49)
 Daily 1873 Apr. 26 (xxv, 94)
 1878 May 10 T. O. M.
365. *Daily Sangamo Monitor* S. 325.*
 1878 May 11 (i, 245) T. O. M.

STERLING

366. *Sterling Gazette* S. 327.
 1868 Aug. 1; Supplement to Aug. 15(?) (xi, 20,
 etc.)
 1869 Mar. 27; Nov. 27
 1870 Oct. 8
 Motto: "Home First. The World Afterward."
367. *Sterling Standard* S. 328.
 1873 Apr. 24 (vi, 17)
 The editor was Theo. H. Muck. Motto: "A
 Little Farm Well Tilled; A Little Paper Well
 Filled."

STREATOR

368. *Streator Monitor and Vermilion News* S. 329.*
 1873 Jan. 16 (iv, 13)
 The editor was Fred. D. Dalton.

SULLIVAN

369. *The Sullivan Plaindealer* S. 330.*
 1873 Mar. 14 (ii, 3)
 Motto: "Do Good to All—Speak Evil of
 None."
370. *Sullivan Progress* S. 330.*
 1873 Mar. 6 (xvi, 15)
 The editors and proprietors were *Shutt &
 Tower*. Motto: "Westward the Star of Em-
 pire Takes Its Way."

SYCAMORE

371. *City Weekly* S. 332.
1873 Apr. 17 (i, 29)
Republican and Sentinel S. 331.
The NYSL has May 29, 1861; May 27, 1863.
DeKalb County Sentinel S. 331.
The NYSL has Mar. 1, 1861 (vii, 9)—Scott notes
the title only under DeKalb County Republican.
372. *The True Republican* S. 331.
1873 Apr. 2 (xvi, 24)
The publisher was Henry L. Boies.

TAMAROA

373. *Tamaroa Watchman* S. 332.
1873 Feb. 28 (ii, 47)
It is to be noted that the publisher was still
L. E. Knapp early in 1873, which would indi-
cate the change of ownership mentioned by
Scott occurred later than his date of 1872.

TAYLORVILLE

374. *Christian County Democrat* S. 333.*
1873 Feb. 6 (v, 21)
Edited by W. T. Martin and W. S. Moore.
375. *The Illinois Republican* S. 333.
1873 Jan. 2 (ix, 27)
Published by Squire & Bros. Motto: "De-
voted to the Interests of Central Illinois."

THOMSON

376. *Thomson Courier* S. 334.*
1873 Jan. 11 (vi, 12)

TILTON

The Prairie Chicken

S. 361b.

There is a file of this paper in the New York Public Library. When Scott sought it no one could locate it, but it is now kept among the rare magazines in the Reserve Division, where we have examined it. It was one of the small journals established for the benefit of the U. S. Sanitary Commission. It was issued for 12 numbers only, dated Oct. 1, 1864, to Sept. 1, 1865. The printing was done by D. S. Crandall, of the Champaign County Union. It contains a few previously unpublished writings of Mrs. C. S. Kirkland.

TONICA

377. *The Tonica Weekly Local*
1873 Jan. 23 (ii, 9)

S. 335.*

TOULON

378. *The New Era*

S. 336.*

1873 Apr. 9 (ii, 2)

Motto: "Democratic in Politics; Neutral in Nothing."

379. *The Starke County News* S. 335* and 336.*

1858 Jan. 21 (ii, 50)

1865 Mar. 16; Dec. 22 (n. s. viii, 3)

1866 Sept. 7

1868 July 24 (n. s. i, 29)

1873 Jan. 31 (n. s. xiii, 4)

From the numbering it can be seen that the paper came to be thought of as a single unit. The mottoes include, 1858: "Devoted to the Interests of Starke County"; 1865, "'We must preserve the Union and let slavery take care of itself.'—Lincoln."

TROY

380. *The Weekly Bulletin* S. 337.
1873 June 28 (i, 19)
Motto: "Independent in All Things; Neutral
in Nothing."

TURNER JUNCTION

381. *Turner Junction News* S. 337.*
1873 Feb. 19 (iii, 7)
Motto: "Universal Freedom."

TUSCOLA

382. *Tuscola Gazette* S. 337.*
1873 May 22 (i, 35)
The editor was P. B. Lester.
383. *Tuscola Saturday Journal* S. 337.*
1873 Mar. 29 (ix, 1)

URBANA

384. *The Urbana Republican* S. 339.
1873 Feb. 13 (iv, 33)

VANDALIA

385. *The Fayette Democrat* S. 343.*
1873 Jan. 22 (xiii, 12)

VIRGINIA

386. *The Jeffersonian* S. 347.*
1873 Mar. 7 (iii, 50)

WARREN

387. *The Warren Sentinel* S. 348.
1873 Apr. 10 (vii, 36)
Motto: "A Weekly Journal Devoted to Home
Interests."

WARSAW

388. *The Warsaw Bulletin* S. 349.
1873 July 12 (viii, 50)

389. *Warsaw Courier* S. 349.*
 1873 Jan. 14 (ii, 41)
 In German.
390. *The Warsaw Signal* S. 348.
 1842 Sept. 3 (iii, 9; whole no. 113)
 1845 Feb. 10 (n. s. i, 50; whole no. 165)
 The printers of the 1842 issue were Th. Gregg
 and P. W. Skinner.
- Western World* S. 348.*
 The NYPL has several issues, 1841-1842.

WASHBURN

391. *Washburn Reveille* S. 349.*
 1873 Apr. 24 (iii, 45)

WASHINGTON

392. *The Washington Herald* S. 350.*
 1873 Apr. 3 (v, 36)
 This described itself as a Weekly Journal devoted to the general interests of the merchant, the mechanic, the farmer, and the fireside, and had the motto "Home News and Interest First—the Rest of the World Afterwards."

WATERLOO

393. *Waterloo Advocate* S. 350.
 1873 Feb. 27 (xiv, 32)
 The editor was J. F. Gotshall. It was a weekly local newspaper, devoted particularly to the interests of Monroe County. Motto: "Union, Harmony, Concession, Every Thing for the Cause; Nothing for Men."
394. *Waterloo Times* S. 351.*
 1873 Feb. 7 (i, 14)
 The publisher was T. C. Brown.

WATSEKA

395. *The Watseka Republican* S. 351.
 1873 Feb. 19 (xvii, 21)

396. *Iroquois Times* S. 351.*
1873 May 3 (iii, 18)
The editor was Matthew A. Peters. Motto:
"Devoted to the Interests of Watseka and
Iroquois County—An Advocate of Liberty.
Progress and Independence."

WAUKEGAN

397. *The Waukegan Weekly Gazette* S. 352.
1873 May 24 (xxiii, 37)
398. *The Patriot* S. 353.*
1873 Jan. 4 (xxviii, 1)
Motto: "Devoted to the Interests of the
People of Lake County."

WENONA

399. *The Wenona Weekly Index* S. 354.*
1873 Mar. 6 (ix, 4)
400. *The Wenona Tribune* S. 354.*
1873 Apr. 17 (ii, 16)
The proprietor was J. W. Burroughs—Scott
supposed the paper to date from 1875.

WEST CHICAGO

401. *The Union Park Advocate* S. 354.
1873 Aug. 30 (ii, 28)
Motto: "A Journal of Local Intelligence.
Literature and Commerce."

WHEATON

402. *Wheaton Illinoian* S. 355.*
1873 Feb. 26 (xii, 9)
Motto: "Universal Freedom."

WILMINGTON

403. *Wilmington Independent* S. 356.*
1873 June 5 (old s. xi, whole no. 574; n. s. i, 17)
Motto: "Devoted to the Interests of the City
of Wilmington and Will County."

WINCHESTER

404. *Winchester Independent* S. 358.*
 1873 Apr. 5 (iii, 32)
 The editor was Thomas H. Flynn. Motto: "A Weekly Paper Devoted to the Interests of Winchester and Scott County and to the Dissemination of Liberal Principles."
 405. *The Winchester Times* S. 357.*
 1873 Apr. 26 (viii, 33)
 The editor was W. E. Milton. Motto: "Home First—the World Afterward."

WOODSTOCK

- 405a. *The New Era* S. 360.*
 1876 Dec. 14 (iv, 3) T. O. M.
 The editor was Wm. D. Ringland. Our Motto: "By courage—not by craft."

WYOMING

406. *The Wyoming Post* S. 360.*
 1873 Mar. 8 (i, 30)

YORKVILLE

407. *Kendall County Record* S. 361.*
 1873 June 5 (x, 23, whole no. 470)
 Motto: "Malice Toward None; Charity For All."
 408. *The Yorkville News* S. 361.*
 1873 Apr. 1 (ii, 1)

A CENTURY OF METHODISM IN CARLINVILLE, ILLINOIS.

By EVERETT R. TURNBULL.

THE CIRCUIT RIDER.

The spread of Methodism was due almost entirely to the efforts of the circuit riders. The frontier life developed a hardy race of men and the pioneer preacher was no different from the other settlers in his every day life. They were mostly unlettered, rough, uncouth men and the circuit rider was no exception. They lived the same life, suffered the same hardships and dangers but they had a vision of eternity and a consuming desire to tell the story of free salvation wherever a family could be found. No cabin was too remote; no road too long and dangerous; no storm too violent; no night too dark for the circuit rider. Often the circuit was five hundred miles long and roads, as we know them, were unknown. Their way was frequently across the trackless wilderness; streams were forded, and the only guide was the sun by day and the stars by night.

¹“They proved their truth by their endeavor. They yielded scores of martyrs; nameless and unknown men who perished at the hands of savages or by sickness or in flood and storm. They had to face no little danger from the white inhabitants themselves. In some of the communities most of the men might heartily support them, but in others where the vicious and lawless element were in control, they were in constant danger of mobs. On the other hand those who had experienced religion were no believers in the doctrine of non-resistance at the core. They were thoroughly healthy men and they fought as valiantly against the powers of evil in matters physical

as in matters moral. Some of the successful frontier preachers were men of weak frame, whose intensity of conviction and fervor of religious beliefs supplied lack of bodily powers, but as a rule the preacher who did the most was a stalwart man as strong in body as in faith. One of the continually recurring incidents in the biographies of the famous frontier preachers is that of some particularly hardened sinner who was never converted until, tempted to assault the preacher of the word, he was soundly thrashed by the latter and his eyes thereby rudely opened through his sense of physical shortcoming to an appreciation of his moral iniquity."

The circuit rider cared little for his personal comfort and his family was equally hardy.² It is told of one that on one circuit he could find no cabin for his family so he cleaned out an abandoned stable, installed his family therein, left them entirely to their own efforts and cheerfully started out on his four hundred mile circuit. On his rest days he was compelled to cultivate a piece of ground to supply food for his family as the meager pay was barely sufficient to furnish them with clothing.

Such was the life of the circuit rider but he was sustained by the unfaltering faith that was in that itinerant of olden time whose circuit was Palestine, Greece, Macedonia, Rome, and any other place where he could find an audience:

"For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

HOW METHODISM CAME TO CARLINVILLE.

In 1803 the Western Conference, which embraced all the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains, appointed "a regular preacher for Illinois." He was attached to the Cumberland (Ky.) District. For the next seven years one minister was all that was needed, but the pioneer settlers continued to

come and with them came the circuit riders. The first sermon preached in what is now Macoupin County was in the fall of 1820.

³“Rev. Parham Randall, a Methodist Minister, preached at the house of Richard Chapman, who with his wife was a member of that denomination, the first sermon ever delivered in the county. Mr. Chapman and his wife gladly offered their house for the services. Mr. Randall’s home was southeast of Edwardsville, twenty-five miles away. It was late in the season, and the weather was cold; but with the bravery of a Christian soldier, he braved the discomfort and came to found a society of the faithful in that infant colony. Services were held at Mr. Chapman’s at stated times for several years.”

Mr. Chapman lived in Dorchester township.

²From 1824 to 1831 Indiana and Illinois formed the Illinois Conference. The Mississippi Circuit included the territory now in the counties of Greene, Jersey, Scott, Macoupin and parts of Madison and Morgan. Only one minister was assigned to the circuit.

Macoupin County was organized in 1829 from what was known as “The attached part of Greene County,” over the protest of Peter Cartwright, who said, “God has set apart that region as a reservation for geese and ducks.”

In 1831 Peter Cartwright was Presiding Elder of the Sangamon District and Stith M. Otwell was riding the Lebanon Circuit. The town of Carlinville was organized in 1829 as the seat of justice. People began to come and we can well imagine the redoubtable Peter saying; “Mr. Otwell, a town has been started and there is no minister; arrange for preaching services immediately.” During the summer of 1831 Mr. Otwell made a plan for a mission and presented it to the annual conference which met October 4th, at Indianapolis, Indiana. The plan was accepted and Mr. Otwell was appointed to the “Macoupin Mission.” Three years later the name was changed to “Carlinville Circuit.” Conference closed the 10th and immediately preparations were made to take charge of

the new appointment. ' With their few belongings in a hired wagon and a buggy for the family, in company with Mr. Otwell's father and Mrs. Otwell's ten year old brother, they began the journey to the "Frog Pond Kingdom." There had been much rain and the roads were very bad. The first night was spent at a farm house, and with hopes of speedy arrival, the start was made the second morning; however, they were delayed several hours at Macoupin Creek until a canoe could be found to ferry their goods. After crossing the flooded stream they came up the hill and through the woods to the cabin of²⁵ Ezekiel Goode where they arrived just as the sun was setting. The circuit rider had arrived in Carlinville.

STITH MEAD OTWELL.

He was born in Jackson County, Georgia, August 2nd, 1805. In his diary he said:

⁶ "Soon after I entered my sixth year, A. D. 1811, my father emigrated to the then Territory of Illinois, the greater portion of which was uninhabited by civilized men."

The war with England began soon after and he wrote:

⁵ "Had the war continued one year longer, it is altogether probable I should have joined the army; and then, a thousand chances to one if it had not been the means of destroying both body and soul in hell."

He preached his first sermon at Robert's Camp Grounds in September, 1826, and the same month was received on trial by the Illinois Conference in session at Bloomington, Indiana. He was assigned to the Eel River circuit and left home October 20, 1826. Then came years on the Bloomington circuit October 20, 1827, and Corydon, October 17, 1828. During the latter conference year he was united in marriage to Miss Mary B. Day at New Albany, Indiana. The date of the wedding was in August, 1829. The year of 1830 he was in charge of the Lebanon (Ill.) circuit. The years of 1831-32 were spent on the "Macoupin Mission." During 1832

⁵ "His health, which had been seriously injured by the labor and exposure of the preceding year, failed. Often, in returning from his appointments, he would have to alight from his horse and lie down on the ground to rest, and when at home he would hardly have life enough to talk or sit up. At Conference he asked for a location, but received superannuation, which relation he continued to sustain as long as he remained an inhabitant of the earth. Brother Otwell lived some time in Carlinville, and afterwards made a home near the town, where he remained until death. His health remained very poor, but he continued to serve the church by preaching and by all means in his power, with all the strength and ability he had. During one of the years of his superannuation, he acted as agent of the Board of Trustees of McKendree College, and took some very long tours, and aided the Institution by the faithful exercise of his best ability."

In 1833 he acted as secretary of the Illinois Conference.

He was primarily a minister but also took an active interest in the affairs of the town and county. In 1833 he was appointed one of five agents

³ "to borrow a sum of money not under five nor exceeding seven thousand dollars, at a rate of interest not exceeding eight per cent per annum, for a term of years not under six nor over ten, to be applied to the erection of a Brick Courthouse."

For several years he was treasurer of the Conference Missionary Society. He was a typical circuit rider. Personal comfort was never allowed to interfere with duty:

⁵ On the 13th of March, 1843, in the midst of very severe weather, he left home to attend to some temporal business. Having been much exposed during his absence, to snow, sleet, winds and cold, he returned home on Monday, the 20th, quite unwell. He attended the meetings in progress in Carlinville that day, and Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, and he preached and labored with the mourners day and night, and

above his strength. Feeling quite unwell, he did not go to meeting Saturday night.

He knew the end was near. He told Mrs. Otwell:

“Always before, when I thought myself near death I had doubts and fears, but now, thank the Lord, I have none.”

The end came March 29, 1843. At the last Mrs. Otwell said:

“He looked steadfastly upward and smiled most sweetly, and beckoned with hand toward the back and foot of the bed, and we thought he saw the angels that had come to bear his ransomed spirit home. And so he was released from the mortal prison, and left me alone.”

“Bro. Otwell was of a slender, delicate physical structure and as some of his fields of labor were in comparatively new and sickly parts of the country, he must have suffered much in itinerating and preaching, yet he never murmured, and rarely spoke of his affliction unless drawn from him by his sympathizing friends and brethren. Our lamented brother was a good English scholar and he had pursued the Latin language and higher branches to some extent. He was studious. Having been reared by Methodist parents and brought up “in the nurture and admonition of the Lord” and “trained in the way he should go,” he embraced religion when very young; nor did he backslide, but maintained an irreproachable standing in the church of his choice all through life.”

²“He suffered much in the work of the ministry, yet he never murmured, and rarely spoke of his afflictions. Having embraced religion when very young, and having maintained an irreproachable standing in the church of his choice, all through life his mind had become deeply imbued with the spirit of piety, and it shone out with increasing luster in all his various relations. He was thirty-eight years of age when he died, having lived twenty-six years in honorable standing in the church and seventeen in the ministry. He was gentlemanly and dignified in his deportment, and a man of indus-

trious, economical and business habits. Being very amiable and affable, and a consistent Christian, he was as extensively beloved as he was known."

"He was a good preacher. His style was correct and chaste, simple and strong. His gestures were good, and in his preaching generally there was a pathos and solemnity, an emphasis in the intonations of his voice, and the manner of his delivery, that failed not to secure the attention and affect the heart. His preaching was practical, doctrinal, and sometimes polemical. Indeed, he was faithful in endeavoring to fulfill his ordination vow, to edify the church, and to drive away error in doctrine, and evil in practice from her borders. He was a good pastor, and hence attended to as many of the interests of the church as he possibly could. He was very active in the missionary, Sunday-School, and temperance causes and he was a good nurse for the young converts, the babes in Christ."

"He was a handsome man, slender, but dignified, and would command respect in any company. He had a great deal of personal magnetism. He was an intelligent gentleman, and a good preacher, persuasive in manner, but faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God."

"He was one of nature's noblemen, a very devout Christian. After he ceased travelling he settled in Carlinville and engaged in the dry-goods trade. He was a sweet-spirited, pure-minded man, very useful in his local capacity, and very skillful in handling the Word."

Such was the founder of the Methodist church in Carlinville. May his virtues be remembered as long as the church exists.

THE EARLY YEARS IN CARLINVILLE.

The first night in Carlinville the Otwell family were guests at the cabin of Ezekiel Goode. Cabin life when visitors were present is best told by the circuit rider:

² "Our nights were spent, not in two but in one room log-cabins, each generally constituting our evening meet-

ing-house, kitchen, nursery, parlor, dining and bed room—all within the dimensions of sixteen feet square, and not unfrequently a loom occupying one-fourth of it, together with spinning wheels and other apparatus for manufacturing their apparel—our congregation requiring our services till ten or twelve o'clock; our supper after dismissal, not of select, but of just such aliment as our hospitable entertainers could provide; corn cakes, fried bacon, sometimes butter, with milk or herb-tea, or some substitute for coffee.

We have sometimes sat in a large fire-place occupying the entire end of a log-cabin, and plucked from the smoke of the chimney above us pieces of fried or smoked venison, or jerk, the only provision the place could afford us."

"Our lodgings were on beds of various qualities, generally feather beds, but not unfrequently fodder, chaff, shucks, straw, and sometimes only deer skins, but always the best the house afforded, either spread on the rough puncheon floor before the fire (from which we must rise early to make room for breakfast operations), or on a patched up platform attached to the wall, which not infrequently would fall down, sometimes in the night, with its triplicate burden of three in a bed. Such incidents would occasion a little mirth among us but we would soon fix up and be asleep again."

⁴ There were only six cabins in the town, all occupied, and the only available place to live was the unused school house. This was eighteen by twenty feet with a large fire-place with a stick and clay chimney and a rock hearth. This was the home of the Otwell family for the first week. The floor was of rough boards which about half covered the floor space and Mrs. Otwell refused to stay alone on account of the numerous wolves which she was afraid would come up between the boards. At the end of the week a school teacher arrived and the family again moved into the Goode cabin where they lived six weeks until a cabin could be built.

Mr. Goode's cabin was twenty by twenty feet. It held the two families in comfort besides being the county surveyor's office, the post office, and before the Otwells left, there was a small stock of dry goods for sale. ⁶ Mr. Otwell bought ground at the southeast corner of West and North Streets and commenced work on the first parsonage. ⁸ The trees were felled and the logs cut on the site of the present church. ⁴ "The building was covered with clap-boards. A stick and clay chimney half way to the roof completed the fire-place. The cracks were then chinked but the weather turning bitterly cold, they could not be daubed until the next summer. We took possession of our house between Christmas and New Year's. We did not need a window to give us light, for that came to us through the roof, the floor, down the wide mantled chimney, and between the logs on every side of the room."

"The winter was unusually cold and the snow that fell in quantities drifted in upon us, often covering everything and deadening the coals in the fire-place. It was nothing strange in the mornings to waken and find that nature had provided our bed with a beautiful white covering of snow, more beautiful, however, to the sight than to the touch. Sometimes when the wind came from the east the room would soon be filled with smoke. When I could bear it no longer the door would be thrown open, the burning sticks be pitched out of doors upon the snow, and the room allowed to clear of smoke. Soon the stinging cold would drive us to gather up the blackened chunks and seek to rekindle the fire. I used to wrap our little boy in a shawl and sit for hours by the fire to keep him comfortable. It was a great deal that winter to do the necessary work for the family, our great effort being to get warm, for I can't remember ever being really warm the winter through, except when at one of the neighbor's.

Our bill of fare that winter was cornbread and venison, with some sugar and coffee that we had brought with us. The flour we had brought had been used before we moved into the new house. As for butter, milk, or vege-

tables, we had none, and fruit was not seen in the place for years after we came. When a girl I had listened to missionary sermons, and my heart was stirred with thoughts of the poetry of self-sacrifice, the delights of such a life, and I thought that being a missionary, one would necessarily be very good. But come to try the reality, the goodness vanished away, leaving nothing but the saddest of prose."

In 1881 she wrote a letter to her oldest son and said:

"When they talk of these things I hope they will compare the parsonage of those days and its comforts with the one of the present."

The first sermon was preached during November, 1831. Mr. Otwell stood in the east door of the⁷ tavern of Lewis English. The tavern stood on the west side of South Broad Street and the square. It had three rooms; a large one in front for a bar-room and two smaller in back for kitchen, dining-room, bed-room, etc. ⁸ The audience consisted of four women and four children; the women were Mrs. English, Foss, Goode and Otwell. J. S. Otwell was one of the children. Outside were gathered about twenty men and boys, swearing and making arrangements for a horse race which they proceeded to run while the service progressed.

"Mr. Otwell did not continue to hold services there, but appointed prayer meetings at Mr. Goode's, meantime searching throughout the country for preaching places. Carlinville being the only town laid out, of course all was new, but he succeeded so well, that at the close of the Conference year he had twenty-eight or thirty appointments. These he reported to the Conference as a Circuit, to which he was returned."¹¹ The Carlinville Circuit was about 200 miles long and included parts of Greene, Jersey and Madison Counties. During that year his health failed so from the effects of exposures the previous winter that often, while traveling the Circuit, he would be compelled to alight from his horse and lie down upon the ground to rest. The next fall he was not able to do effective work, and Rev. Elihu Springer was sent to the place."

That the reader may have some idea of the severity of that winter the following statements are taken from another source:

⁹ "On the 10th (Dec.) the Ohio could be crossed by the heaviest teams. The Mississippi was reported frozen over solid for 130 miles south of the mouth of the Ohio and there was skating in New Orleans."

Dec. 15th the Sangamo Journal said—"We are now taking our cold at the rate of 22 degrees below zero."

"The severe cold and high floods of 1832 resulted in wide spread distress. Seed corn was frostbitten, and corn from the south was \$3 a bushel, a prohibitive price. Large areas of farming land went uncultivated that season."

The preaching places in Macoupin County were located as follows:

³ "At James Cave's (now Palmyra), Jesse Peebles' (now Chesterfield), Samuel Kellars' (named Forks of Macoupin, near Road's Point) Otter Creek (now Girard). Services were held at the home of Mr. Bird England. "Dry Point," preaching at Wm. Huddleson's house. At Staunton, preaching was commenced at the residence of Hosea Snell. Afterward services were held in the school house.

The first camp meeting held in this county was in the month of August, 1832, in the ¹⁰ woods belonging to James Cave, near where the village of Palmyra now stands. The whole neighborhood assisted in preparing the ground; they cut down the trees, split the logs for seats, and made a stand for the ministers from the same rude material. The camp meeting began on Friday, and continued five days. Revs. Peter Cartwright, N. Cloud and Owens assisted."

The first year Rev. Otwell received \$100 for his work, which was paid by the mission. With this amount he was expected to live and keep his family. The second year he was paid by the members and received \$20. During

the second year a part of the time he was engaged in keeping a store."

The first regular preaching place was the court house. It stood in the present square and was:

³ "To be built of hewn logs, 18 feet by 24. The logs to face one foot on an average; the house to be two stories high. The lower story to be eight feet between floors and the second story to be six feet below the roof; to have one door below, with one window below and one above; door to be cased and to have a good strong plank shutter; the windows to contain twelve lights or panes of glass, eight by ten; two good plank floors, to be jointed and laid down rough; roof to be double covered with boards; weight poles to be shaven; cracks to be lined on the inside with shaven boards and crammed on the outside with straw or grass, well mixed together."

The total cost was \$105.66 2/3. The furniture consisted of benches and bar which cost \$23 more. When the weather was warm enough to meet without a fire regular services were held in this court house until the church was built.

THE FIRST CHURCH.

1834-1846.

⁸ June first, 1832.

⁴ "Mr. Otwell opened the doors of the Methodist Church, and Mother Tennis, Thomas C. Kendall, William Brown and Nancy Reader Brown, his wife, and Mary B. Otwell, gave their hands; and thus the first Methodist society in Carlinville was formed. From that small beginning it has increased in numbers, and has never been without the usual church ordinances."

In 1833 Carlinville had about two hundred inhabitants.

¹¹ In 1834 there were 339 Methodists recorded in the county. June 23, 1834, the trustees purchased a lot on the northeast corner of ¹² Plum and North Streets and soon after

built a church. The wording of the deed is interesting. It shows that William Miller and Benjamin F. Edwards conveyed to

“Stith M. Otwell, William Miller, Jarrot Dugger, John Andrews and David Dupee, Trustees in trust—(lot described)—they shall erect and build or cause to be built thereon a house or place of worship for the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and in further trust and confidence that they shall at all times hereafter permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the said church as shall from time to time be duly authorized by the general conference of ministers and preachers of sd Methodist Episcopal church or by annual conferences authorized by the general conference to preach and expound God’s Holy Word therein, and in further trust and confidence, that as often as any one or more of the trustees herein before mentioned shall die or cease to be a member or members of the said church according to the rules and discipline as aforesaid then and in such case it shall be the duty of the stationed minister or preacher (authorized as aforesaid) who shall have the pastoral charge of the members of the said church to call a meeting of the remaining trustees as soon as conveniently may be and when so meet, the sd minister or preacher shall proceed to nominate one or more persons to fill the place or places of him or them whose office or offices has (or have) been vacated as aforesaid as the discipline directs and provides in such case (see discipline of Methodist Episcopal Church of the year 1828, Page 162.)”

The building was thirty-one by forty-one feet. It had large logs for sills. ¹³ The siding was of short, thick, rough, hand-made weather boarding which was fastened by large square headed nails. ⁸ The principal workman was William L. Cardwell and the building was almost entirely paid for by Stith M. Otwell and Jarrot Dugger. This church was sold

July 24, 1847, to Milo Graham who remodelled it into a dwelling house. To quiet any doubts about the validity of the title from the trustees on account of the wording of the original deed as above shown, Miller and Edwards gave Mr. Graham a quit-claim deed to any interest that might revert to them. Mr. Graham sold the property to Ferdinand Taggart, who, in turn, sold it to J. B. Keeler. Mr. Keeler removed the old hand-made weather-boarding and replaced it with the present weather-boards. He completely refinished it inside so that nothing remains of the original building but the sills and frame.

While the little congregation was able to build a church the minister was not given an exorbitant salary as will be noted from the following incident mentioned in the early history of the church. Elihu Springer was the minister when the church was built but—

¹¹ “When the time drew near for him to go to conference he found himself without the wherewith to buy himself a suit of clothes, having received but a very few dollars from his charge. It therefore became necessary that he and his wife should fall back on their own resources to supply the necessity, and that was that they should go back to their former home and work for the wool and the flax and his wife spin, weave, and color the cloth of which to make the suit of clothes.”

THE SECOND CHURCH.

1846–1855.

¹² The first record of this church is where the trustees, Samuel Kellar, Jarrot Dugger, John A. Halderman, Ruel Wright and Abram S. Walker bought from the trustees of the Baptist church their building on South Broad Street. The lot on which it stood is now a part of the school ground. Benjamin Newman was the pastor in charge and the Carlinville circuit numbered 313 members. (This included the county.) The building was a small brick structure little if any larger than

the frame building formerly used. ²⁷ The bricks were furnished by Phelps, Taggart and Walker and were made at their yard which was on the north side of the square, east of North Broad street on the present site of the Burgdorff Building and the Anderson Bank.

¹⁴ June 28, 1852, the railroad was built to the town. This naturally brought more people and business. That year the church was separated from the circuit and made a station. There were seventy-two persons in the congregation. ¹⁴ The census of 1853 showed 790 inhabitants in the town. It is evident that the building was becoming too small to accommodate the congregation as we find in the conference minutes of July 16, 1853, the names of a committee appointed to estimate the cost of a new church. No report of the committee is recorded but there must have been a satisfactory report as the minutes of June 10, 1854, show the following:

“Question—Has the preacher been faithful in his pastoral work?

Answer—The preacher answers by saying that during the past quarter he has been almost constantly employed in raising subscriptions to build a new church and for this reason has not been able to bestow the usual attention to the pastoral work.”

At the next quarterly in August the trustees made a report in writing as to the old and new churches and the parsonage. The report was not recorded but the old church was ¹² sold in 1856 to M. D. Ramey and H. B. Grubbs, two of the trustees.

At this point it is well to call attention to the record of the two ministers who built the church and increased the membership. The first was W. S. Prentice and the latter L. C. Pitner.¹⁶ There was a saying at the time “Prentice to build a church; Pitner to fill it.” Notice how well the saying was fulfilled in this instance.

THE THIRD CHURCH.

1855-1882.

Fortunately through the vigilance of Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Mayfield, the trustees are in possession of the specifications, contract and subscription list for this church. ¹² The building stood on the southwest corner of South Broad and First South Streets. The contract was signed August 15, 1854, and the building was ready for occupancy June 1, 1855. The contract was signed by J. C. Black and W. A. H. Loveland, contractors, and Wm. S. Prentice, pastor and John A. Chestnut, trustee.

The building was of brick forty by sixty feet, with a twenty-four foot ceiling and thirteen inch walls. The roof was wood shingles. In the center inside was an eight foot chandelier. There was a gallery in the east end. Under the gallery was a lobby; entrance to the auditorium was by two doors near the north and south walls. There was a small room in the northeast corner of the lobby that was used for the library and it was a very busy place for a few minutes before Sunday-School began. In the west was a raised platform with the pulpit in the center while the choir occupied the southwest corner.

The church was dedicated September 23, 1855, by Bishop Jayne. There being a debt, collections were taken morning and afternoon and a total of \$1,983.10 was raised. On watch night revival meetings were started and the result appears in the pastor's report March 8, 1856, as follows:

"During the last quarter the station has been blessed with one of the most powerful and extensive revivals ever known in this place. The Divine influence pervaded all classes and extended far into the country. Two hundred and fifty professed to be converted and one hundred and eighty-two on probation and thirteen by letter united with the church. The classes were reorganized and eight formed. The classes are well attended by the converts who generally seem to be growing in grace. May the Head of the Church lead them all into full salvation."



M. E. Churches, Carlinville, Illinois

This report was made by Rev. L. C. Pitner.

The *Carlinville Free Democrat* of March 11, 1858, had the following in a review of the activities of the town:

“In 1855 the new Methodist church was built by subscription at a cost of \$8,000. The building is an acknowledged honor to the people of Carlinville and particularly to the Methodist Society.”

The subscription list contains thirty-one names and a total of \$3,425. This was not quite half the cost but the quarterly conference record of April 18, 1859, showed the church property free from debt. This was a remarkable record as there were only ¹⁴ nine hundred and thirty-six persons in the town in 1854 when the contract for the building was signed.

The 38th Illinois Annual Conference met in Carlinville on Wednesday, Sep. 11th, 1861, and closed Saturday, the 14th. Bishop Edward R. Ames presided and Rev. James Leaton was Secretary. The minutes show 168 members of the conference. Of this number ten are listed as Chaplains in the Army. The “Committee on the State of the Country” presented a set of resolutions filled with patriotism and emphatically endorsing the National Government. Copies were sent to the *Central Advocate*, the *Missouri Democrat*, the *Chicago Times* and the President of the United States. From the minutes we learn that this church had 183 members, forty-four probationers and four local preachers. The Sunday-School had twenty-five officers and teachers, 150 scholars and 336 volumes in the library. The church was valued at \$8,000, the parsonage at \$800 and the sum of \$201.80 was paid towards the various church enterprises. The minister’s salary was \$630 which included rent and traveling expenses. The *Carlinville Free Democrat* at that time did not believe in publishing local news, evidently thinking that everybody in town knew what was going on and that it was a waste of printer’s ink to use space that could better tell National Politics, stories, etc. The only references to this conference were:

Sep. 5, 1861:

“Conference commences its session at Carlinville on the 11th inst. It will continue during the week.”

Sep. 9, 1861:

“Peter Cartwright was appointed Presiding Elder for this Division of the Conference.”

The above item would indicate that Peter Cartwright was more than local news.

For the next four years the minutes of the quarterly conference were signed by him in the trembling writing of an old man. When his term expired Sep. 4, 1865, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the quarterly conference:

“Whereas, The present is probably the last official visit of our venerable and esteemed Presiding Elder, Rev. Peter Cartwright, D.D., his term of service as Presiding Elder now expiring on the district, we therefore regard it as fitting that we as a quarterly conference should give some expression of our feeling, and our views touching the character and habits of our ‘honored father in Israel.’

Therefore, 1st, Resolved, That we approve the ministerial and official course of Dr. Cartwright as our Presiding Elder during the last four years, and that now retiring from the District, he carries with him our affectionate sympathy and our prayers for his happiness and usefulness to the close of his life.

Resolved, 2nd, That while his advanced age and growing feebleness admonish us that we may no more ‘See his face in the flesh’ we will nevertheless remember his Godly and fatherly counsels and strive to meet him in Heaven when life’s trials are over.”

“The above resolutions being put by the secretary were unanimously carried.

S. T. Mayo, Secy.”

We are indebted to the files of the Carlinville Free Democrat for an interesting item that was not recorded officially:

“The present year is the centennial anniversary of the Methodist Church in America. Exercises appropriate to the interesting occasion were conducted at the Methodist Church in Carlinville on Sunday last by Rev. Dr. Adams of Jacksonville, Elder Pitner, and others. An effort was made to raise one thousand dollars in this place for denominational purposes. We believe that nearly, perhaps quite, that amount was subscribed.”

This appeared in the issue of Jan. 11, 1866. The next week the paper reported that more than \$900 had been raised.

The issue of Feb. 1, same year, carried a generous offer that is only hinted at in the minutes of the conference:

ANDERSON FEMALE SEMINARY.

“We are extremely gratified to learn that a movement has been initiated for the establishment of a Seminary in this city for the education of young ladies. C. H. C. Anderson Esq., who is, by the way, one of our most useful and public spirited citizens, presents to the Methodist Church ten acres of ground, south of Geo. Holiday’s residence valued at \$2,000, on which it is designed to erect a building for the purpose named. An official meeting of the Church was held on last Monday morning, and a committee composed of C. H. C. Anderson, S. T. Mayo and W. B. Dugger, was appointed to open subscription books and see what amount of money can be obtained for the enterprise. This is a move in the right direction, and we hope the committee will receive a generous response from every citizen in Macoupin County.”

The meeting referred to above was not a meeting of the quarterly conference, therefore no record appears. That some action had been taken is shown by the action of the quarterly conference of March 17, 1867:

“On motion of Bro. C. W. Weer, A. S. Ruark and Bro. Keeler were appointed a committee to confer with the Trustees of Anderson Seminary to see what proposals would be made to the church in relation thereof.”

The April 18, 1867, issue of the *Carlinville Free Democrat* contains a cut of the proposed seminary. It showed a four story building 142 ft. by 210 with an ell 40 by 120 for a gymnasium and other athletic sports. No other reference has been found. The offer of Mr. Anderson remained open during his lifetime. About that time Blackburn College was actively engaged in a building program which amounted to \$35,000 and this evidently was the cause of the failure to build the seminary.

The church building was given extensive repairs in 1875 and the services were held in the court room once each Sunday; Sunday-School was held at nine o'clock A. M. in the court house; all other meetings were abandoned except what could be held in private homes.

THE FOURTH CHURCH.

1882.

The membership had grown to the extent that the church was crowded for room and the flourishing Sunday-School filled the building to overflowing. Noting the condition, Mrs. N. H. Robertson offered to give the sum of eight thousand dollars towards a new building if the congregation would raise enough to complete the work during the current year. This caused the official board to take steps to meet the offer. Feb. 25, 1881, ¹² the old church was sold to the city for two thousand dollars and remodeled into an opera house.

"Grantors reserved the right to use the building until Nov. 1, 1881, and to remove the seats or benches, pulpit and all furniture therein—also the bell and fixtures."

The trustees, John I. Rinaker, J. M. Valentine, A. C. Snyder, Milo Graham, William Phelps and Ferd Taggart, then bought ¹² lots just across the street east, southeast corner of South Broad and First South Streets in March, 1881. Rev. J. R. Reasoner was employed as architect.

The corner stone was laid Sep. 13, 1881. Dr. Hurd, President of Blackburn University was the principal speaker. ²² His

remarks were an account of the influence of Wesley and the Methodist Episcopal Church in going to the frontier civilization with the message of the Gospel. The contents of the corner stone are:

Copy of Bible.

Revised New Testament.

Discipline of M. E. Church.

Methodist Almanac and Year Book.

N. W. Christian Advocate.

Central Christian Advocate.

Christian Advocate.

Catalogue of Blackburn University 1880-1881.

Democrat, weekly and semi-weekly.

Enquirer.

The Signal.

Names of business firms in city, except saloons.

Names of mechanics in city.

Names of manufacturing firms in city.

Lawyers.

Physicians.

Mayor and City Council.

Principal and teachers of public school.

Stewards, trustees and class leaders of M. E. Church.

Officers, teachers in Sunday-School.

All pastors of churches in city.

Short history of M. E. Church containing an account of its organization, different pastors and presiding elders, the erection and cost of its four different houses of worship.

Names of those who up to the present date have subscribed to the new church with the amounts they subscribed.

Constitution and by-laws of the Society of Macoupin County for Medical Improvement with list of members, revised April, 1880.

The building was the composite style of architecture. The dimensions are eighty-six feet, six inches by sixty-six feet. The spire was one hundred feet high. This was removed some years later and the present roof made. The auditorium is

sixty-four by fifty-three feet and the ceiling twenty-nine feet, nine inches. It was originally lighted by gas and there were two large chandeliers in the center.

At the top of the arch over the organ there was a key-stone with the inscription "God is Love; Jesus only; look and live." This was obliterated when the room was re-decorated. The seats are of walnut and butternut and were made in Carlinville by Harvey Phelps at a cost of \$750. The lumber was furnished by George E. Braley. The trees were all cut in Macoupin County. The auditorium seats five hundred and sixty, the north room two hundred and twenty and the gallery eighty; total capacity eight hundred and sixty. There was an iron fence around the property but this was removed many years ago.

¹⁵ A pipe organ was installed at a cost of \$1,200, the money for which was raised by A. C. Snyder and George Valentine and the Young Ladies Aid Society.

The church was dedicated September 17, 1882, by Dr. B. C. Ives of Syracuse, N. Y. ²² He took for his text "The Glorious Gospel of Christ." There being a debt of \$4,500 the dedication ceremony was not performed until this had been pledged. Dr. Ives called for contributions and in a few minutes the sum of \$5,013.43 was raised. After the dedicatory ceremonies, short talks were made by two former pastors, J. B. Woolard, 1839, and W. F. Short, 1864-66, each of which was well received. Dr. John Logan delivered the historical address. He said: "This is the fourth house of worship this society has had in Carlinville, and from the beginning of the building of this house, everything has moved along with so little friction or dissatisfaction, under the management of the pastor, Brother W. D. Best, and the Building Committee, the whole enterprise was so nicely consummated to the entire satisfaction of everybody in the community. It was indeed a time to be happy and rejoice, other Christians were liberal and rejoiced with us. To God be all the Glory, now and forevermore."

John Logan, M. D."

Dr. Logan came to Carlinville in 1833 and immediately united with the church. He died Aug. 24, 1885. He had seen and worshiped in every building the trustees ever owned and was an official member for nearly, if not quite, fifty years.

September 29th Rev. W. A. Smith was appointed to this charge. His report reads in part:

"During the winter 1882-83 a gracious revival, lasting nearly eleven weeks, carried on by the pastor, resulted in about 150 conversions and 123 accessions to the church on probation besides several by letter. This was the first revival meeting held in the new church and was signally owned of God in the salvation of many. W. A. Smith was continued as pastor with W. S. Prentice, P. E., during the conference year of 1883-84. At the close of this year the Illinois Annual Conference held its sixty-first session in this place. A reception was tendered the Conference the evening of Sep. 16th, 84 at the M. E. Church and the next morning was held the opening session of conference. Bishop E. G. Andrews, D. D., of Washington, D. C., presiding. Twenty-three years had passed since the former session of conference in this place, and we had a most pleasant and profitable time."

"Dr. Hurd, of Blackburn, delivered the address of welcome to the conference and Rev. W. N. McElroy responded for the visitors. Wed. morning was taken up with a love feast and the administration of the Sacrament by Bishop Andrews; the afternoon was devoted to the Home and Foreign Missionary Societies under the leadership of Mrs. W. A. Smith. Mrs. S. S. Hunter made the report for the local society.

"Sunday 21st, Bishop Andrews preached on the subject "Universal and Particular Providence of God."

"It was the opinion of many that it was the most profoundly logical discourse ever delivered in the city."

Sunday afternoon the Centennial sermon was preached by James Leaton. Conference ordained eight as deacons, seven as elders and received twenty-one on trial. After passing resolutions thanking the citizens for the courteous and kind treatment received, conference adjourned.

For several years the affairs of the church moved along in the ordinary way. Nothing of importance occurred until June 21st, 1892. On that date the last tie connecting the present congregation with the past was severed. Mary B. (Otwell) Wright was carried from the church to the cemetery. She was born August 2nd, 1807, in Lexington, New Jersey, and soon after was taken by her parents to Ohio where she resided for several years. Later they moved to Indiana and while living in New Albany she was married to Stith M. Otwell in August, 1829. Her daughter Emma Day Wright paid the following tribute to her memory:

“Of her childhood and girlhood we know but little. She was not much in society in consequence of having many household duties devolving upon her, such as manufacturing cloth and all the work connected therewith, for she was not a stranger to the labor thereof. Her education was limited, but having been blessed by nature with an extra large fund of judgment, she directed her mind to those things that were good and beneficial.

To her husband she was a helpmate, sharing with him all his various trials, deprivations, and labors. Praying for him when away on his work, she would see to the home and care for the little ones God had given them, never missing an opportunity to encourage the timid, warn the erring, or comfort the distressed.

Being bereft of her husband in 1843, she was left to care for five helpless children, which in that early day was no small task. Her first thought for them in that hour of bereavement was their eternal interests, so at her earliest convenience the children were taken to a camp meeting, where two of them (Justinian and Mary) were earnest seekers for salvation.

Later on (1845) she was married to Ruel Wright, an estimable Christian man, the father of four children, who needed the care of a mother. In this marriage relation she became the mother of four children, increasing the family to thirteen. When the youngest was but one year



Mrs. Mary Byram Otwell Wright

old their father died, leaving his widow with this large family to provide for, educate, and start in life—all of which was well done, considering the opportunities.

Though not possessed of much of this world's goods, it was her privilege and joy to give of that to God's cause. Various trees in her orchard were set apart for Him, and it seemed almost that the largest and best fruit grew upon the 'preacher's trees.'

The spiritual welfare of her children was far more to her than earthly gain, her constant prayer for them being: 'Lord, whatever the cost in this life, save the souls of my children.'

The evening of her life was beautiful. When talking of Heaven and all it meant to her she was the happiest. When sick her face would light up with joy as she said: 'Maybe He is coming now.' June 20, 1892, the messenger came, and with Him she 'entered in through the gates of the city.' "

She died at the home of the daughter who wrote the above article, in Pleasant Plains, Illinois, with whom she had made her home during the last years. Thus passed from mortal sight one who had aided largely in laying the foundations of the church in Indiana and Illinois and whose life and labors brought renown to its early history.

In 1911 the south wall of the church was extended and additional room provided for the organ and choir. Two rooms were also built for the use of the pastor and choir. This addition was built by Mrs. Mary J. Anderson, the entire expense being borne by her.

August 6, 1929, was the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the City of Carlinville. An important feature was the unveiling of a boulder in the church yard to mark the spot where Abraham Lincoln stood when he spoke in 1858. As a preliminary the following petition was presented to the trustees for action:

July 26, 1929.

“To the Board of Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Carlinville, Illinois:

Acting for the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Carlinville, we are respectfully asking permission from the Board of Trustees of the Church, to locate a boulder with a tablet on it, in the church yard where Abraham Lincoln spoke on August 31, 1858. We want to do this before the time when the celebration of the centennial occurs in the year 1929.

We respectfully ask your prompt response. We think it fitting that this place shall be marked as a place of historic interest in the City of Carlinville.

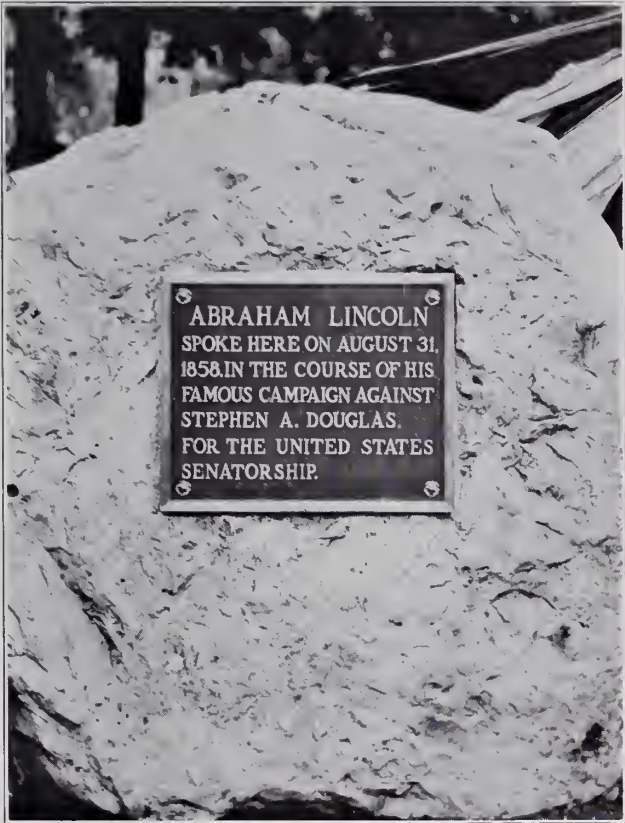
Theo. J. Surman, President,
The Chamber of Commerce.”

The prayer of the petitioners was granted, every vote being in the affirmative. The boulder was found near Bunker Hill by the contractor while excavating for the hard road. Its weight is estimated to be about 7,000 pounds. It stands on a concrete base four feet deep. It was placed near the street so any passer-by can read the inscription without delay. The unveiling was done by three men and three women who were present when Lincoln made the speech. On the boulder is a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

“Abraham Lincoln spoke here on August 31, 1858 in the course of his famous campaign against Stephen A. Douglas for the United States senatorship.”

The only member of the church present on that historic occasion was Mrs. Millie Rodgers who died recently. Mrs. Rodgers was baptized and taken into the church during the L. C. Pitner revival meeting in 1855-56.

This is the last outstanding event in the life of the church. The present Board of Trustees is composed of Everett R. Turnbull, President, James E. McClure, Secy-Treas., Mrs. Mary McNeil, Mrs. Ruth Ibbetson, William B. Otwell, Jesse Peebles, Robert J. Herrick, Paul Woods and Arthur Boyle.



Lincoln Memorial Boulder, Carlinville, Illinois

THE PARSONAGES.

The earliest reference to a parsonage is in a deed from John A. Halderman to S. T. Mayo, Oct. 3, 1851, which conveyed a piece of ground

¹²“to and for the use of the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal church at Carlinville for a parsonage or for such other purpose as they may choose either for use or sale. Which property is to become the property of the trustees aforesaid upon payment by them or any person or persons for them to sd. Mayo, his heirs, executors or address the sum of \$356.15.”

Having taken charge of a parsonage the quarterly conference, July 29, 1855, voted that

“The board of trustees of the church property now and at all times hereafter in being are appointed and declared trustees of the parsonage property also.”

This is the lot east of the Lutheran church now owned by Mr. Franklin Meyer. A house was erected and used until it was sold. Nov. 10, 1867, S. T. Mayo gave the trustees a ¹²quit-claim deed to the property and five days later the trustees sold the property.

The quarterly conference of Jan. 6, 1868, approved the sale and directed the trustees to purchase

“the property known as the ¹²Fricke property on First South street, said property to be occupied as a parsonage, Bro. Anderson agreeing to take the property at the end of three or five years at the price paid by the trustees, they giving one year's notice to him of their desire not to retain the same.”

When the lots were purchased there was a small two room house which was inadequate and in 1878 the parsonage was turned around and moved back and the present two story front built by the ladies of the church at a cost of \$1,441.55. As time went on the house needed constant repairs, all of which were taken care of by the ladies until 1926 when it was decided that a general remodeling was needed. Accordingly

under the resolution of July 29, 1855 the trustees assumed charge and called on the congregation to advance the necessary funds. This was done at a dinner given by the Aid Society and \$4,173.73 was subscribed. Work was immediately started and all the money was rapidly paid to the treasurer. A special committee secured a residence for the new minister in the Standard Addition which was donated by Mr. C. W. Clark without cost to the church. After the work was completed the following was incorporated in the records of the trustees' minute book:

This report would be incomplete if reference were not made to the services rendered by Mr. E. R. Turnbull, president of the Board of Trustees, and to Mrs. E. A. Ibbetson and Mrs. Jesse Peebles, special committee appointed to co-operate with him. The secretary had opportunity to know something of the time and the effort these good people gave to the work of remodeling the parsonage. They could not have taken more interest in it if the property had been their own. The originality and taste that they exhibited and the splendid business methods they practiced resulted in the task being completed at the minimum of cost and the maximum of convenience and completeness.

J. C. McClure,

Feb. 16. 1927.

Secretary-Treasurer.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

1836.

When Jarrot Dugger brought his large family to Carlinville he perceived the necessity of some religious teaching other than at the preaching service. He, therefore, organized the Sunday School in 1836 and was the first superintendent. His two oldest sons, Joseph and Ferguson, taught classes. From that far away time to the present the Sunday School has been a very effective part of the church activities. The quarterly conference minutes begin with Dec. 20, 1852, the year the circuit was changed and Carlinville made a station.

The first record shows an active Sunday School in existence. Dec. 10, 1854, fifty copies of the Sunday School Advocate were ordered for the use of the school. July 29, 1855 the number of scholars was one hundred and fifty and there were seven hundred volumes in the library. This is the first mention of the library but it was used until long after the present church was built. The writer took books every week for many years. The number of books varied with the annual reports, being sometimes as low as 250. The issue of the Carlinville Free Democrat of March 14, 1867, published the following:

“We remind our readers of the concert to be given, under the supervision of Mr. Moore, by the scholars of the M. E. Sunday School this evening at the church. The funds are to be devoted to the purchase of an additional library for the school. It is hoped the effort of the young folks will be appreciated, and that the concert will be largely attended.”

For several years items similar to the above with changes in the name of the conductor, or with special features, were printed.

In 1866 occurred the Centennial Anniversary of the founding of Methodism in America. A special collection was taken and the record book contains the following:

“SENTIMENTS, JULY 4TH, 1866.

The children of the Methodist Episcopal Sunday School in Carlinville, Illinois—to the children of the Methodist Sunday School in Carlinville ONE HUNDRED YEARS TO COME.

GREETING

Children, May we be permitted to welcome you to the bright world where Jesus and the Angels live.

G. W. Woods, Superintendent.”

There is another sentiment that reads:

“I have a class of little boys from four to nine years old

—they cannot write, but want their teacher to write their names for them and the following sentiment—

May we be spending an Eternity in Heaven when little boys a hundred years hence are reading our names in the Centenary Record.

Otis Graham	Eddie Weer	Willie Boring
James Woods	Jerome Kellar	Sam Rinaker
Eddie Woods	Charles Hankins	Charles Otwell
John Nantz	Philip Barker	Victor Gore

Mary Rogers, Teacher.
July 21st, 1866."

To the best of the writer's knowledge only two of these boys are alive now. Samuel Rinaker lives in Beatrice, Nebraska, and Victor Gore in Benton Harbor, Michigan.

The teacher, Mrs. John T. Rogers, is still living in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Two extracts from the local papers will show that Christmas was a big event in Sunday School life:

December 27, 1866—

"The Methodists delighted juvenildom with a beautiful Christmas tree laden with over 150 gifts for the Sunday School children and teachers. The tasteful arrangement of the tree, its wide extended boughs exquisitely bowing with the wealth of its multifarious fruit outvieing the most pleasing displays of nature's art, the canary birds arranged in the rear and amid the varegated boughs, blending their sweetest melodies with the songs of the more charming warblers in the foreground, the multitude of children whose countenances beamed with such unalloyed delight as children only feel—all contributed to render the scene one of peculiar charm. Only pleasant memories could be carried away from such an entertainment."

And again, January 2, 1868—

"At an early hour we found the large and commodious edifice of this society densely packed with youth,

beauty, old bachelors, maidens, parents, children and some that are neither. Special credit for decorating the tree is due Mrs. C. H. C. Anderson in the matter. Santa Claus entered through the front door and two smaller Santas are seen descending through the ceiling at the rear of the room."

There were several other references to the Christmas celebrations in the old church but these two are sufficient to show the character of the entertainments and also the grandiloquence of the editor.

In the '60s and '70s there was a very large and enthusiastic County Sunday School Association. Nearly every Protestant Sunday School was a member and the annual meetings were usually held in the Methodist church. These meetings sometimes lasted two days and there was a very large attendance. Other counties frequently sent delegations. When the third church was left the Sunday School numbered about three hundred. This is the largest membership the writer has noticed but two hundred and over was common in early times.

During his lifetime it was the custom of Joseph C. Howell to give a barrel of oranges to the Sunday School for the Christmas festivities. Many of the older members will remember with pleasure that valuable addition to the joys of Yuletide.

During all time the Sunday School has been an active, efficient part of the church organization and continues so at the present time.

During its long existence the Sunday School has had many faithful and devoted servants but there is one outstanding character that deserves special mention.

There are men whose lives, by reason of long and loving service, become so intertwined with some enterprise that they are one and inseparable. Such a man was Martin Luther Keping and the Sunday School. When the time for assembling arrived the Sunday School was not complete if he was absent. When he walked along the street people thought of the Methodist Sunday School. His record is well summed up in

these words taken from the resolutions adopted by the trustees at the time of his death:

“He was not only loyal to his church, but he was useful in it. For fifty years and more he bore the burden of the Sunday School. He cared for its finances. He taught classes; he was superintendent for many years; he always collected the money for the Christmas remembrance for the children; he distributed the literature; looked after the observance of anniversaries; and at all times and on all occasions, he had the best interests of his church and of his Sunday School at heart.”

At the Christmas celebration 1881, he was presented with a copy of Tennyson's poems by the Sunday School. Christmas 1923 was given a silk umbrella to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his Sunday School membership. On his seventy-eighth birthday he received another book, *Philosophy of Power*, from the school.

For nearly fifty-six years he was a constant attendant, a record rarely if ever equalled.

THE MUSIC.

Instrumental music was introduced into the services about the time the third church was completed. A melodeon was purchased and a choir organized. Some of the older members did not favor this, thinking that the old style congregation singing was the only proper way. One, in particular, Father Moses Morgan, a veteran of the War of 1812, absented himself from services ever after because the organ was an intrusion on sacred things not to be tolerated. However, the more progressive ideas prevailed and instrumental music became a part of the service ever after. ¹⁶ On one occasion when Peter Cartwright was entertained by Dr. Halderman, he was asked his opinion of the new organ and the choir. His reply was:

“I'd as lief hear a pretty bird sing.”

The above cryptic remark must be interpreted by each reader according to his own fancy but it was well known that the valiant Peter did not like the new fangled way of singing.

In early days the choir was formed by assembling the best singers around the organ to lead the congregation in the hymns; little or no solo or chorus singing was done. Throughout all the years to the present time the church has maintained a choir. In some quarters it has been designated "the war department of the church," but be that as it may the congregation owes a debt of gratitude to the singers who have contributed so much to the enjoyment of the service and who, in times of sorrow, have given so freely of their time and talents to comfort the sorrowing.

In the '60s a very efficient choir consisting of Misses Clara Leaton, Annie Woodward, all the Mayo girls, and Messrs. James Weer, Joseph Worth and A. C. Snyder contributed largely to the interest of the services. Miss Jenny Mayo (Mrs. Conley) was the chorister. Of this choir only two are now living, Mrs. Samuel Rinaker, Beatrice, Neb., and A. C. Snyder, York, Neb. The above information was obtained from Brother Snyder who writes that he has passed his eighty-first milestone, that his hundreds of friends have nearly all passed over the river and he hopes "in due time to join them on the other side."

The choir attained its highest standard of excellence under the able leadership of Dr. W. A. Alexander who for fifteen years beginning in 1900 served as the director. During that time a magnificent library of anthems and choruses was provided.

Our church has had many faithful organists who, by their willing and devoted service, have contributed largely to its spiritual advancement, but the organist par excellence whose name will be remembered as long as the church stands, was Mrs. R. O. Purviance. Julia C. Koester (Mrs. Purviance), was appointed organist at the age of fourteen years and continued to serve in that capacity during the remainder of her life. For forty-eight years she was rarely absent and her talent and ambition were dedicated to the uplifting of the music of the church. When she was in the church for the last

time there was no music during the services and the organ was a great bank of flowers, the loving testimony of a host of friends who miss her sorely.

THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Several ladies met at the parsonage May 11, 1880, and organized the first auxiliary and, as the pastor called it:

"The youngest member and only daughter in the benevolent family of the M. E. Church."

The first officers were:

President—Mrs. N. H. Robertson.

Vice-Presidents—Mrs. Best, Mrs. Holliday and Miss Addie Miller.

Recording Secretary—Mrs. Clarissa Rinaker.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. Tappen.

Treasurer—Mrs. C. H. C. Anderson.

At the thirty-ninth anniversary Mrs. Addie M. Steward read an article about the early days and the first members. In this she said:

"The minutes show how faithful some of these dear women were. The attendance at meetings for the first few years was discouraging. The minutes read 'as usual only three present' or 'only two,' sometimes 'only four.' (Five must be present to transact business.) Once they 'took a chance' (minutes say) and spent 72c for Thank Offering envelopes to distribute at the church to the congregation, and less than twelve envelopes were returned. The most faithful ones (some of whom were always present) were Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Rinaker, Mrs. Mayo, Mrs. Tappen and Mrs. Best."

Small attendance did not dampen the ardor of these ladies. The minutes show at every meeting papers of interest on foreign conditions and reports or talks about missionary work. However, the ladies had their lighter moments. The minutes show after one meeting they adjourned to the refreshment

room and there while enjoying the repast furnished by the hostess:

“We organized ourselves into a committee to talk of plans for church work—teas, charades, sociables, candy pullings, soapbubble parties, in particular. We then dismissed and went our way feeling twas good for us to spend one afternoon of every thirty reading and talking of things which are good and right.

Mary A. Keplinger, Secy.”

Life membership may be acquired by paying the sum of twenty dollars. Fourteen have availed themselves of this privilege. A notable feature of the society is the life membership of three generations in one family. Mrs. Anna R. Burton, and her mother Mrs. N. H. Robertson in the local society, and the grandmother Mrs. Elizabeth Holliday who was a member of the old society which was a part of the General Conference. The society was presented the certificate of Mrs. Holliday by her granddaughter, Mrs. Burton. The certificate is dated Sep. 17, 1849, and is signed by Rev. Peter Akers.

Less than a year after the organization Mrs. Mayo accepted a scholarship and for nearly fifty years the annual payments were made by Mrs. Mayo and, after her death, her daughter, Mrs. J. D. Conley. This scholarship expired with the death of Mrs. Conley. Mrs. Robertson, the first president, also assumed a scholarship and this is still being carried by her daughter, Mrs. Anna R. Burton. During the entire existence of the society scholarships have been carried by the society and by individual members but none for as many years as the two named above.

When R. O. Purviance died he left the bulk of his property to the W. F. M. S. In 1922 the money, amounting to \$8,325.36, was paid by the executor. This was forwarded by the local society to headquarters. In 1927 a tract of land was purchased in Pekin, China, on which was to be erected “A Community Center.” On account of the troubles it was deemed inadvisable to start work on the buildings so the remainder of the money was invested. When the time arrives

to erect the buildings the property is to be named "The Robert O. Purviance Memorial." As an appreciation of his generosity the name of Robert O. Purviance, A Memorial Member, is now part of the permanent record of the W. F. M. S.

The above is the record of the organization of a society that has rounded out more than fifty years of activity and usefulness. The fiftieth anniversary was celebrated June 6, 1930. The charter members living at the time were Mrs. Mary A. Keplinger, Mrs. Martha A. Steward, Mrs. Samuel Rinaker, Mrs. Mary A. Rogers, Mrs. Nellie P. Mayfield-Reed, and Miss Mattie Judd. Only two, Mrs. Keplinger and Mrs. Steward were able to attend the fiftieth anniversary. The anniversary address was delivered by Mrs. Anna Burns of Wichita, Kansas, a niece of Mrs. Susan S. Hunter, one of the charter members. For the most part the records are merely routine business and uninteresting reading but the real record is not on earthly books. The thousands of dollars and the untold good done are to be found only on the pages of the Great Book of Eternity which will not be opened until the Last Day. Then, and not until then, will the members receive the reward of their labors and sacrifices and hear the welcome words:

"Come, ye blessed of the Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

YOUNG WOMEN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

"Tuesday, May 19, 1897, a meeting was held at the M. E. Church for the purpose of organizing a Young Ladies Foreign Missionary Society. Miss Bertha Kimball of Springfield presided. The following persons enrolled themselves as members:

Nellie Messick	Elsie Andel
Ida Turnbull	Jessie Fryman
Mabel Ibbetson	Clara Mayfield
Caroline Furber	Ruth Hemphill"

The average age of these girls was about fourteen years. Caroline Furber was the first President and all the others were given offices. Others soon joined and the society became ac-

tive. October 30th it was decided to take the responsibility of supporting a girl in India at a cost of fifteen dollars a year. With this burden resting upon the society it was voted to fine every absentee and each one who was tardy one cent per meeting. To impress the members with the importance of carrying out the object of the society the following motto was adopted:

“God loveth a cheerful giver,
If the gift be ever so small,
But what does He think of his children
If they never give at all.”

To raise their money they made and sold comforts and did many other things. There were ice cream parties and tea socials at which tea was served by “Geisha Girls.” The regular meetings were enlivened with a social hour at which “light refreshments” were served. In one case it is noted that said refreshments were pickles and peanuts.

In 1904 the society received the district prize for securing the largest number of new members.

Of all the methods to raise money the never-to-be-forgotten effort was the night they gave “The Circus.” More properly it was a series of side shows. All the principal attractions advertised by world renowned shows were exhibited, and some that were never seen at any other place. It was a hilarious night and when the money was counted the performers had the satisfaction of knowing that the money for another year was in the treasury.

Time ever marches on and those little girls are now dignified matrons, some of them grandmothers. Other methods of raising money are now in use and the “Circus” remains only as a bright memory of the unforgettable past. The society has increased in members and in usefulness. The first girl adopted was given the name of Ella Furber in memory of the deceased sister of the first president and the proud boast of the society to-day is that never has the name been allowed to fall by the wayside. At the present time that name is still alive in a far away land where girls must depend almost

wholly on the Christian efforts of their sisters in a more enlightened country.

WOMEN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This society was organized "for the sole purpose of help for those doing church work in America, viz., needy home missionaries."

The first President was Mrs. M. A. Ibbetson, the first Recording Secretary, Mrs. R. O. Purviance. The story of this work is best told in the words of Mrs. Purviance. The occasion was the fifth anniversary.

"Sabbath afternoon on the 12th day of August, 1888, five years ago, a few of the ever-faithful women of the M. E. Church of this city met in the audience room of the church to listen to Mrs. B. G. Potter, Corresponding Secretary of the Home Missionary Society of this conference. She spoke at some length of the Home Mission, the needs, the pleasures, and the ways and means. Especially did she appeal to our hearts in regard to the emigrants at Castle Garden, reminding us that although the work was needed in foreign lands, we should not leave the home work undone. Also of the needy condition of our ministers on the Frontier. So effective were her words that at the close of her address a Women's Home Missionary Society was formed, consisting of twelve charter members, viz., Mesdames Mayo, Keplinger, Purviance, Steward, Castle, McNeil, Furber, Gwin, Coombs, Messick, Wilkin and Ibbetson.

It would be hard to find twelve women started in any enterprise who were more helpless and more ignorant of what was required of them.

We were a society to advance missionary work in our own land but how and where and just in what way we did not know. But we went to work with a will, seeking guidance from our Heavenly Father, and ready to do anything for his needy servants and were richly blessed in the undertaking.

As money is an all-powerful motor that we must have, so for that we worked first, giving several entertainments

netting, some five dollars, some ten, some twelve, and one, our Grand Medley Concert, forty dollars. A good plan was carried out by one of our members, giving five cents to each of the members of several (Sunday School) classes which they were to use and bring in the increase from it. No one brought back less than a dollar. We filled numerous boxes for needy ministers, consisting mostly of clothing for the family. Many were the debates as to how to procure the most for the least money. One Christmas box was sent with candy and toys for the children. Perhaps we all remember a box to a man with two grown daughters that we thought ought to support themselves and upon writing we found one daughter a helpless invalid and the wife bed-ridden and the younger one the only help. How willingly we all went to work to fill two good boxes. There was a summer box for a little stranger coming way out in Colorado. A pleasant afternoon spent with needles and thimbles and scissors flying, and the hum of two machines soon completed an outfit suitable for any young person. Then came work nearer home appealing to our sympathies; two families here at home; one where the father was sick and his family needy; and another where the husband was dead and a widow with three children left with nothing to keep the wolf from the door but the mother's needle. Later came the appeal from the southland, the Freedmen's orphans needing dresses, large and small, of bright colors and somber hues; hats and caps; shoes from No. 11 to baby size.

We have made blunders, have sent delegates to conventions when there was no money in the treasury, but nothing daunted, have gone to work and raised the required amount. Truly the Lord has been with us and blessed us. We have leaned on him, and done with our might what our hands found to do."

The record of the following years, is merely a repetition of this report. What more need be said? Surely this society has justified its existence.

THE LADIES' AID SOCIETY.

This organization, from a local standpoint, is the mainstay of the church and for the trustees "a very present help in (financial) trouble." From a very early time the women of the congregation took a prominent part in the upkeep of the church property. The first recorded instance of this was in 1875 when a meeting of the trustees was called at the request of the ladies and Mrs. Mayo and Mrs. Robertson asked permission to have the seats and wainscoting newly grained and the church cleaned. This was done and paid for by the ladies. In 1878 they asked and received permission to build a new front on the parsonage. The entire cost was paid by them.

A large amount of money was raised by running the dining hall at the county fair. The ladies would go to the grounds about 4:00 o'clock a. m. and prepare breakfast for those in charge of horses and stock. The work was hard and tiresome and it required the united effort of every woman and girl in the congregation. Their efforts were amply rewarded the first few years, on one occasion nearly \$1,000 was cleared. When the need for money was not so great, the dining hall was discontinued and the annual fair and supper started. This proved very popular and is still held.

The need for a regular organization was not apparent in the early days, but as time went by it was thought such an organization should be formed. Accordingly, on October 5, 1897, the present society was formed, with Mrs. Clarissa K. Rinaker, President; Miss Nellie Johnson, Secretary, and Mrs. J. F. Messick, Treasurer. The first minute book has disappeared and no account of the meetings can be found, but the record of money collected and spent on the church property is sufficient evidence to prove the importance of the Aid Society. The present officers are Mrs. C. J. Lumpkin, President; Mrs. Clara Palmer, Secretary, and Mrs. Margaret Gage, Treasurer.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH.

The olden time pastors had disturbances to contend with that do not trouble those of today. It was customary during the early days for the women to attend church while the men gathered in the grove just across the street. (Site of the present church.) ¹⁷One Sunday the owner of a famous mule offered to bet that his mule could outpull any horse in the county. The owner of a horse promptly accepted the challenge. Arrangements were made to hitch the animals, one at a time, to a large log and the one that pulled it the greater distance was to be adjudged the winner. The log was from a tree that was cut about three feet above the ground to permit the stump to be used as one of the supports of the platform from which Lincoln spoke in his campaign for the United States Senate. The horse moved the log about a foot but when the mule pulled, his back humped up and he was unable to move it. The owner then put a two hundred and fifty pound man on the mule to keep his back straight. The mule moved the log ten feet and the crowd made so much noise that they broke up the church service.

During those times children were strictly nurtured "in the chastening and admonition of the Lord." Mrs. Wright relates:

"Once I saw a woman whose child troubled her during the preaching, rise from her place among the worshipers and, taking him without, gave heed to Solomon's advice, 'Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying.' That child is now a resident of this county, and has held many positions of trust in the county, thus showing that, for once at least, the lesson was not thrown away."

Family tradition holds that Mrs. Wright was the woman and her son, J. S. Otwell, the offender.

While filling one of his appointments, Reverend Otwell met an English lady who has since been known as "Grandma Dumville."

“She was ever a faithful attendant at the place of worship. When the time for preaching came around nothing but sickness could keep her from the meetings, and the four miles between her home and the place for the gathering was cheerfully walked, that she might have the pleasure of listening to the preached word. And often, while there, the joy of the Lord so filled her heart that shouts of praise and thanksgiving to God, would burst forth from her lips, electrifying the whole congregation.”

The Illinois Conference met in Decatur in 1857 and ¹⁶Mrs. Dumville and Mrs. Halderman were visitors. They heard the conference discussing what should be done with the “Illinois Conference Female College at Jacksonville.” For several years there had been a heavy debt upon the institution and minister after minister told how they had “bled white” their congregations until they were ashamed to ask for more money for the college. Another denomination had made an offer to purchase the college and the conference was almost ready to accept it when a most unusual incident occurred. A woman arose in the audience and asked permission to address the conference. Bishop Scott gave his consent. The astonished ministers looked and saw a quaint little old lady, very short and very broad; her dress of black was very full; over her shoulders she wore a black silk fringed shawl; on her head was a black bombazine poke bonnet; a kerchief around her neck, the ends neatly tucked inside her waist band. The woman was Mrs. Ann Dumville. She said in her quaint English dialect:

“Ye maun not sell the college. I am a poor woman, but I have in the Chestnut and DuBois bank in Carlinville, one hundred dollars. That I give to save the college to the Methodists.”

Only thirty-five words; but they changed the course of history. The preachers took courage and conference assumed ten thousand dollars of the debt; the amount being distributed

among the ministers for their charges. At the quarterly conference of February 6, 1858, the Presiding Elder told the story and the six members present subscribed \$190 towards the \$300 allotted to our church. Mrs. Dumville offered the "widow's mite" and it was accepted. Wherever the ministers went they told the story. The money was raised and the Illinois Woman's College is still one of the bright jewels of Methodism. All through the faith of a woman that probably never had \$500 at any time during her life.

¹⁶ Dr. John A. Halderman and his bride arrived in Carlinville May 1, 1843. They came from Alton in a buggy. Carlinville was the end of their wedding journey. For several years he was a circuit rider but in 1853 the health of Mrs. Halderman caused him to leave the circuit. He then practiced his profession, that of a physician, for the remainder of his life. At all times he was a faithful Christian, an active class leader and sometimes preached in the absence of the regular pastor. He died in 1862 and Mrs. Halderman followed him in 1874. When the third church was nearly completed the contractor ran out of bricks and none could be found. For some time it appeared that the building could not be finished by the time specified in the contract. Dr. Halderman, Chairman of the Building Committee, had procured several thousand bricks to build a house for himself on the ground now partly occupied by the ²⁶Wolfe building in the southwest corner of the square. His religious training caused him to put the welfare of the church above his personal comfort and he allowed the contractor to use his bricks to finish the church. By so doing his own house was delayed a year in the building. It has been noted that the church was dedicated September 23rd by Bishop Jayne. The same Bishop presided at the annual conference that year. Knowing the local conditions and the reputations of the two ministers the Bishop sent Reverend Pitner to Carlinville in the fall of 1855 to relieve Reverend Prentice. Reverend Pitner immediately started plans for a revival meeting. The record of our church shows

that 190 names were added to the membership on probation during the months of January and February, 1856. If the good doctor had followed the usual custom he would have built his own house and allowed the church to wait until bricks could be made. If this course had been followed the church would not have been completed, the revival probably would not have been held, because there was no building large enough to accommodate the crowds. The church, in all probability, would never have had the services of several of its most faithful members whose names appear in the list of converts.

The ideal life is one that works for the spiritual and physical betterment of mankind. Reverend John A. Halderman was one of the charter members and the first treasurer of the Illinois State Medical Society.

The following story was published in a New York paper many years ago:

¹⁶ THE STORY OF A HERO.

“In the year 1849 Dr. Halderman, in response to a call from the country for his professional services, found in a house of most abject poverty, a family stricken with cholera. One was dead; of the others not one was able to wait upon another. With quick decision he determined to bring all the family to a vacant house of his own in Carlinville where they could receive proper attention, an impossibility in their existing circumstances. He came to town to procure the necessary assistance. To his great surprise, no doubt, his information and intentions set the town in a panic and it was well nigh impossible to get any help. At last however, a man consented to take his wagon and team within a certain distance but not one step farther. During these preparations the Town Council had been called, resolutions censuring the Dr. adopted, and a committee appointed to inform him he would not be permitted to bring his patients into town. Dr. Halderman hearing of all this was in no way daunted, but proceeded with his plans, merely remarking that if the committee met

him he had only to hold up the dead child of the stricken family and not one would molest him. The committee did not meet him. He, with some help from the teamster, performed all offices the case demanded. The patients were well cared for in Dr. Halderman's vacant house, Mrs. Halderman cooked for them, they all recovered and not another case of cholera occurred in Carlinville that year."

"For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat;
I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink;
I was a stranger, and ye took me in;
Naked, and ye clothed me;
I was sick, and ye visited me."

The name of Halderman is high on the honor roll of this church.

Wednesday, April 19, 1865, in obedience to a proclamation of the Secretary of State, all public buildings and places of business in Illinois closed as a mark of respect for the martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. All public and private buildings in Carlinville and many homes were shrouded in mourning. A memorial service was held in the Methodist Church but the building was too small to accommodate the immense crowd that assembled. All women dressed in black to express the sorrow that had come to the nation. The service was conducted by Reverends W. F. Short, D. W. Dresser and J. B. L. Soule. The address by Reverend Soule was

"A profound and masterly analysis and exposition of the great truths and moral philosophy which shaped and guided the career of our lamented President, with an eloquent and merited tribute to his private purity and loftiness of character."

The address was published in the Carlinville Free Democrat, April 27, 1865.

¹⁸ For several years previous to the Civil War camp meetings were held in the grove east of town now known as Burton Place. The local organizer was Dr. Halderman. People

gathered from all this section of the country. The camp meeting was an event looked forward to and planned for several months in advance, as it afforded the only means for public gatherings. Every style of transportation was used and the vehicles were pulled by horses, mules and oxen. Provisions and camping outfits were brought and the people stayed during the life of the meeting. Long trenches were dug and meat of all kinds was barbecued; carcasses of beef, pork and mutton being cooked in halves. Tables were built and everybody served from them. The platform for the preachers was built under or near the large gleditschia tree that stands on the ²³ property now owned by Jesse Peebles. These meetings lasted a week and sometimes longer. Services were held all day and far into the night. The singing was the old style. The preacher read a line and the people sung it, the next line was then read and sung and so on to the end of the hymn. The only minister whose name is remembered is Peter Cartwright. His sermons were both evangelical and personal. He would point to some man in the audience and say "It is you I am talking about; come up here." If he did not come the militant Peter would sometimes go down and drag him to the front, throw him down and hold him while he prayed for his conversion. This would last until the sinner was converted or given up as a hopeless case. The war made such a change in living conditions that no camp meetings were held after its close.

¹⁹Originally there was a spring just southwest of the junction of West Main and Oak Streets. This was an Indian camping ground. Three trails crossed at this point. One came from Cahokia, crossed Macoupin Creek ²¹east of the water works and continued to the northwest; another started at the ancient Piasa, passed through the present town of Chesterfield and continued northeast past Coop's Mound; the third from East St. Louis, came through Edwardsville and followed the general course of Wood River to its source near the present village of Woodburn, thence through Brushy

Monnd township, to the ford of Macoupin Creek on the ²⁴land now owned by Edward W. Denby, thence north to where the railroad passes near the Rinaker Reservoir. From that point it turned northeast to the camping ground. This latter was the route traversed by the Otwell family in 1831.

²⁰In 1881 George Valentine graduated from the Boston Conservatory, having majored in pipe organ and piano. Upon his return home he immediately began to agitate the question of a pipe organ for the church then under construction. He interested a number of young ladies and the "Young Ladies Aid Society of the M. E. Church" was organized with Miss Laura McDaniel as President. They immediately set about the task of raising money and, with untiring energy, did whatever their hands found to do, always thinking of the new church with a pipe organ in it. When the church bought a little melodeon it was considered a wonderful addition to the music, the reed organ more so, and now a pipe organ would be a fitting climax if only \$1,200 or \$1,500 could be raised. This society had the honor of contributing the first \$100 towards the organ fund.

When the church was completed it was lighted with gas. This society bought the large chandelier that hung in the center of the auditorium and the two smaller ones on either side.

When the organ and gas fixtures had been paid for the apparently impossible had been accomplished; their dream had come true. The purpose of the society had been fulfilled and it was disbanded.

No other society in the church ever worked harder or accomplished more in a short time than this Young Ladies Aid of fifty years ago.

The members were Misses Alice and Lillian Ruark, Laura and Ida McDaniel, Nellie Mayfield, Cad Whittaker and Effie Mounts.

A few relics of the first church are still in existence. Miss Zayda Otwell has the bible used by her grandfather, Rev.

Stith M. Otwell. It is five by eight inches in size, two inches thick and leather covered. She also has two other books owned by her grandfather. "A Refutation of the Doctrine of Unconditional Perseverance" printed in 1818 and a Methodist Discipline printed in 1820. The Discipline is three by five inches and leather bound.

Another set of books used in the first church is "Adam Clark's Commentaries on the Bible," printed in 1832, and owned by Jarrot Dugger. The two volumes covering the New Testament are badly worn and show much use; those of the Old Testament are in better condition. These books are now in the possession of Mrs. E. R. Turnbull, a great-granddaughter.

At some early date Samuel T. Mayo secured one of the seats from the first church and had it made into a wood box. This remained in the family home until the death of Mrs. Conley who inherited the home property from her father. At her death the wood box was bought by Mrs. Alfred Mayfield and kept at her home until the centennial anniversary, at which time she donated it to the trustees with a bronze tablet showing that it had been given in memory of her father, M. L. Keplinger. The ends of the box were taken from one of the seats and show the style that was used nearly one hundred years ago. This is the only piece of furniture left from that church.

Space will not permit mentioning the many families actively connected with the life of the church during its century of existence in Carlinville. However, a few, who by reason of very long and faithful work, may be mentioned. John A. Chestnut was an official member during his long residence in this city. He was also a trustee and supporter of the Presbyterian Church. He gave \$1,000 towards the erection of the third church and the ground on which it stood.

Samuel T. Mayo was secretary of the quarterly conference in 1852 when the records began and was a member for several years before that. He gave the first parsonage to the trustees

and was a very liberal contributor to the third and fourth churches as well as to all the general funds. He was a staunch supporter of the Union in the trying times during and before the Civil War. When money was needed to help slaves reach Canada via the under-ground road, he furnished what was required for the trips but did not take an active part in their transportation across the country. He served more than fifty years as an official member.

Dr. John Logan was an official member the greater part of the time while a resident of the city, except the three years he was in the army as Colonel of the 32nd Infantry.

These men were all constant and faithful attendants at church services, and the quarterly conference, and were class leaders for many years.

Mrs. Mary J. Anderson was a member for about seventy years and one of the most faithful the church ever had. She was an official member from the time women were eligible to that position, until her death. It was to her generosity that we are indebted for the addition built on the south end of the church in 1911.

Mrs. Nancy H. Robertson was another long time member. She took a leading part in every activity carried on by the women of the church. Being well provided with this world's goods, she contributed \$8,000 toward the building of the fourth church, and never failed to give of her abundance to all its numerous enterprises.

The early Methodists were men of simple, trustful faith and imparted something to their children that has come down through their generations. The two patriarchs who financed and built the first church have always been represented in the congregation. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Otwell and Mr. and Mrs. Moses Eldred are the fifth generation of the family of Stith M. Otwell; those of Mr. and Mrs. Everett R. Turnbull are the fifth of Jarrot Dugger; the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Ross is the fifth generation of Mrs. Sarah E. Odell. Another example of the influence of a righteous life is seen in the children of Erastus H. Ross, a faithful

Christian citizen for fifty years and a long time member of the official board. After his death two sons have been official members and a grand-daughter is now a trustee. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Victor Hemphill and Mr. and Mrs. J. Howard Gage are the fourth generation of the Ross family in the congregation.

And now the story of the century has come to an end. Fragmentary as it is, the preparation has required much time, labor and research. The writer feels intimately acquainted with many of the patriarchs, most of whom passed away before his recollection. They were not super-men, but just ordinary people with the same questions to solve as have we. They faced and overcame their problems and were satisfied with the result without committing it to writing, thereby causing much trouble for a future historian. Some were wealthy while others had the barest necessities of life but, one and all, they hitched their wagons to the Star of Bethlehem and pressed steadily forward to their celestial homes. Their frailties and short comings have long since been forgotten and there only remains the deeds done for the welfare and glory of their beloved church. They have passed from mortal sight forever but we know that

“Somewhere back in the sunset, where the loveliness never dies,
They dwell in a land of glory with dreams in their lifted eyes,
And laughter lives all about them, and music sways the air;
They are free from all thought of sadness, and trouble, and doubt and care,
And we who have known their splendor, a beauty that brought swift tears,
Will cherish their visions alway to brighten the coming years.”

List of ministers who have served the church:

Stith M. Otwell.....	1831-32
Elihu Springer.....	1833
Levi Springer.....	1834
W. Meldrum.....	1835
G. G. Worthington.....	1836-37
J. B. Woolard	{ 1838
N. P. Heath, Assistant	
J. B. Woolard	{ 1839
William Chambers, Assistant	
James B. Corrington.....	1840-41
David Blackwell.....	1842
William Chambers.....	1843
E. G. Falconer.....	1844
Charles Holliday.....	1845
Benjamin Newman.....	1846
David Cassiday.....	1847-48
J. A. Brittenham.....	1849
Joseph Lane.....	1850
A. Bradshaw.....	1851
William Stevenson.....	1852
W. S. Prentice.....	1853-54
L. C. Pitner.....	1855
Jesse H. Moore.....	1856-57
William M. Grubbs.....	1858
James H. Barger.....	1859-60
George Rutledge.....	1861
Asa S. McCoy.....	1862-63
W. F. S. Short.....	1864-66
Preston E. Wood.....	1867-68
William Stevenson.....	1869-71
James Leaton.....	1872-73
G. R. S. McElfresh.....	1874-76
M. D. Hawes.....	1877-78
W. D. Best.....	1879-81
W. A. Smith.....	1882-84
E. D. Wilkin.....	1886-89

J. B. Wolfe.....	1890-92
George Stevens.....	1893-94
Freeman A. Havighorst.....	1895
M. W. Everhart.....	1896-98
J. A. Lucas.....	1899-1903
T. A. Cannady.....	1904-06
F. B. Madden.....	1907-08
A. B. Peck.....	1909-12
R. Y. Williams.....	1913-16
W. S. Phillips.....	1917-23
V. H. VanHorn.....	1924-25
W. G. Lloyd.....	1926-31

The following abstract of title to church property was prepared by Mr. W. D. Mayfield:

FIRST CHURCH.

B. F. Edwards and Eliza, (his wife),
William Miller and Catherine, (his wife).

“To”

Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal
Church of Carlinville,

Warranty Deed.

Conveys Lot 2 of Miller and

Consideration \$20.00

Dated June 23rd, 1834.

Edwards addition.

Recorded Oct. 22nd, 1834.

In Book “C” page 48.

Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal
Church in Carlinville.

“To”

Milo Graham.

Warranty Deed.

Lot 2, Miller and Edwards

Consideration \$70.00

Dated July 24th, 1847.

addition.

Recorded March 13th, 1848.

In Book “P” page 597.

B. F. Edwards and Eliza (his wife),
William Miller and Catherine (his wife).

“To”

Milo Graham.

Quit Claim Deed.

Conveys Lot 2 of Miller and

Consideration \$10.00

Dated Feb. 14th, 1848.

Edwards addition.

Recorded March 13th, 1848.

In Book "P" page 598.

Dower relinquished.

SECOND CHURCH.

Haskin Trabue, et al Trustees
of the Baptist Church.

“To”

Samuel Keller, et al Trustees

of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Warranty Deed.

44 feet off of the South

Consideration \$400.00

Dated Nov. 2nd, 1846.

end of Lot 110 in the O. P.

Recorded.....

In Book "P" page 129.

Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
of Carlinville.

“To”

Michael D. Ramey, Higgason B. Grubbs.

Quit Claim Deed.

44 feet off of the South

Consideration \$700.00

Dated Dec. 18th, 1856.

end of Lot 110 O. P.

Recorded April 13th, 1858.

In Book "BB" page 199.

THIRD CHURCH.

John A. Chestnut.

“To”

The Trustees of the Methodist

Episcopal Church at Carlinville.

Quit Claim Deed. Lot 110 O. P.
Consideration \$1.00
Dated Dec. 4th, 1856.
Recorded July 9th, 1864.
In Book "AH" page 254.
Dower relinquished.

John A. Chestnut.
"To"
Trustees of the Methodist
Episcopal Church.
Quit Claim Deed. Conveys Lot 111 of the O. P.
Consideration \$1.00
Dated April 4th, 1866.
Recorded April 13th, 1866.
In Book "AQ" page 65.

Trustees of the Methodist
Episcopal Church.
"To"
The City of Carlinville.
Warranty Deed. Conveys Lot 111 and 110,
except however, 44 feet off
of the South end of Lot 110.
Consideration \$2000.00
Dated Feb. 24th, 1881.
Recorded March 11th, 1881.
In Book "DB" page 100.
Homestead released.

FOURTH CHURCH.

Ann R. Fales, Henrietta R. F. Baker,
Alfred G. Baker, Executors of the
Estate of George Fales, Dec.
"To" Lots 108-109 O. P.
The Trustees of the Methodist
Episcopal Church of Carlinville.
Executor's Deed.

Consideration \$1200.00
Dated March 18th, 1881.
Recorded March 24th, 1881.
In Book "CY" page 411.

FIRST PARSONAGE.

John A. Halderman and
Jane, (his wife).

"To"

This is the land sold for

S. T. Mayo.

Warranty Deed.

parsonage. Halderman's ad-

Consideration \$60.00

Dated Oct. 3rd, 1851.

dition.

Recorded Oct. 3rd, 1851.

In Book "U" page 522.

Homestead released.

S. T. Mayo and

Elizabeth A., (his wife).

"To"

The Trustees of the Methodist
Episcopal Church in Carlinville.

Lot 2, Block 5,

Quit Claim Deed.

Halderman's addition.

Consideration \$1.00

Dated Nov. 10th, 1867.

Recorded Nov. 30th, 1867.

In Book "AQ" page 285.

Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal
Church of the City of Carlinville.

"To"

Adam Schoen.

Lot 2, Block 5,

Warranty Deed.

Consideration \$1500.00

Halderman's addition.

Dated Nov. 15th, 1867.

Recorded Dec. 18th, 1867.

In Book "AW" page 246.

SECOND PARSONAGE.

Henry Fricke and
Augusta, (his wife)
"To,"

Trustees of the Methodist
Episcopal Church.

Warranty Deed.

Consideration \$3500.00

Dated Jan. 10th, 1868.

Recorded Jan. 10th, 1868.

In Book "AZ" page 593.

Homestead released.

Conveys Lot No. 8, and 40
feet off of the East side of
Lot No. 5 and 10 feet off of
the West side of Lot No. 9
in Block No. 11 in Alice
Goode's addition to the
Town of Carlinville, Illinois.

DOCUMENTATION.

¹ Winning of the West-Roosevelt. Vol. VI, pages 175-6.

² Methodism in Ill. Leaton, pages 174-5.

³ Hist. of Mac. Co. Brink, McD. & Co.

⁴ Ill. Hist. Soc. Q Vol. XVIII, No. 3 Art. by Mrs. Wright, page 668.

⁵ Western Ch. Adv., May 21, 1843.

⁶ Lots 47-48-49-50, Jan. 20, 1832, price \$60. See Co. Rec. Book A, page 121.

⁷ Lots 1-2 Ramey's Sub. Div. Lot 91, O. Plat.

⁸ Letter of Mrs. Wright in possession of Miss Zayda Otwell, a granddaughter.

⁹ Ill. Hist. Soc. Pub. No. 14, pages 55-6.

¹⁰ Part of Section 4, Town 11, North, Range 8, West 3rd P. M.

¹¹ Local church record.

¹² See abstract of church property, page 294.

¹³ Letter from Mrs. Jennie Keeler Barr.

¹⁴ Manuscript history of J. C. Howell, 1856.

¹⁵ Letter from A. C. Snyder.

¹⁶ Mrs. Mary E. Rogers, Dr. Halderman's daughter.

¹⁷ W. H. Stoddard.

¹⁸ Mrs. Mary E. Rogers, Mrs. N. E. Johnson, Mr. John McWain, eye witnesses.

¹⁹ W. H. Stoddard, John McWain.

²⁰ Mrs. Laura (McDaniel) Crew.

²¹ N. E. Quar. Sec. 3, Brushy Mound Tp.

²² Local newspapers.

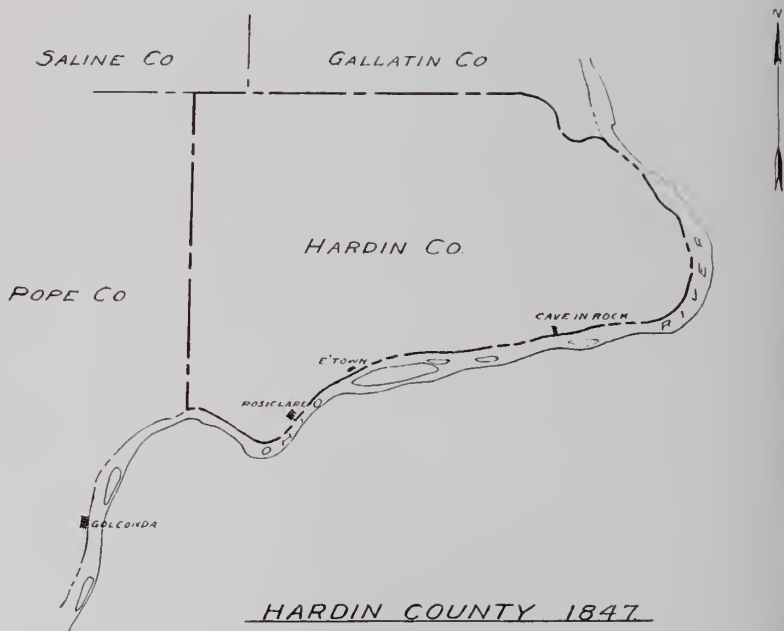
²³ Lot 1, Burton Place.

²⁴ S. E. Quar. Sec. 7, Brushy Mound Tp.

²⁵ Lots 6-7, Block 11, Alice Goode's Addition.

²⁶ Lots 88-89, West 2/3, 90, O. P.

²⁷ Lots 44-45, O. P.



Hardin County, Illinois. 1847

HARDIN COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

By JUDGE ARTHUR A. MILES.

HISTORY.

The territory now known as Hardin County originally belonged to the Illini Indians for an indefinite period, and later to the Tamaroa Indians, who by occupancy and use of soil, owned all southeastern Illinois when first visited by white men.

Evidences of Indian occupation are numerous as several of their cemeteries have been located, many of their arrow-heads, axes, vessels and tools have been found here. There are also in the surrounding country several crude forts or fortified positions of which we have no history as being built by white men.

As it was located so far inland from the first American settlements, and as so little was known about the extent of the country, the title of this particular territory was in dispute for almost 300 years.

Spain claimed all this country by Columbus' discovery of the new world in 1492; England by Cabot's discovery of North America in 1498; Spain also by discoveries and explorations by DeLeon in 1503 and De Soto in 1541; France by treaties with the Indians and explorations by Marquette in 1671 and La Salle in 1680; and Virginia through capture during the Revolutionary War by Col. George Rogers Clark in 1779.

The Connecticut Colony, the Massachusetts Colony, and the Plymouth Colony as well as the Virginia Colony had charters which they claimed covered this territory but all ceded their claims to the United States before the Northwest Territory was set up by an Act of Congress in 1787.

Illinois was formed out of the Northwest Territory in 1809 and admitted as a state in 1818, but the Government of the United States held all land as public domain until sold to settlers.

Hardin County came into its political existence on March 2, 1839, when the State Legislature cut off the Eastern part of Pope County and called it Hardin County.

The new county thus created, was in the form of a triangle, the Ohio River forming one side, Grand Pierre Creek one side and a line running in a Northwesterly direction from a point on the Ohio River near Cave-in-Rock, to the Southwest corner of Township 10 S., Range 8 East, touching the Southern boundary of Gallatin County, near the head of Grand Pierre Creek, formed the other side.

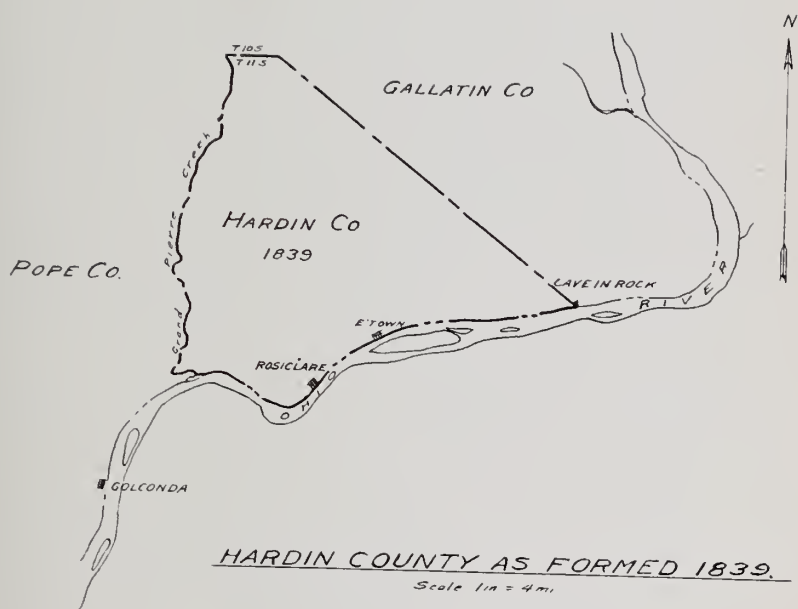
By an act of the Legislature, approved January 8, 1840, the Western boundary was changed from Grand Pierre Creek to its present location, and on February 20, 1847, territory was taken from Gallatin County, which, added to that already taken from Pope, gave Hardin its present boundaries.

Hardin County is in the Southeast portion of the state, and lies wholly within the Ozark country. Its Northern boundary, separating it from Gallatin and Saline, runs almost exactly along the crest of the mountain range. The greater part of its surface slopes Southward to the Ohio River, which forms its Eastern and Southern boundaries.

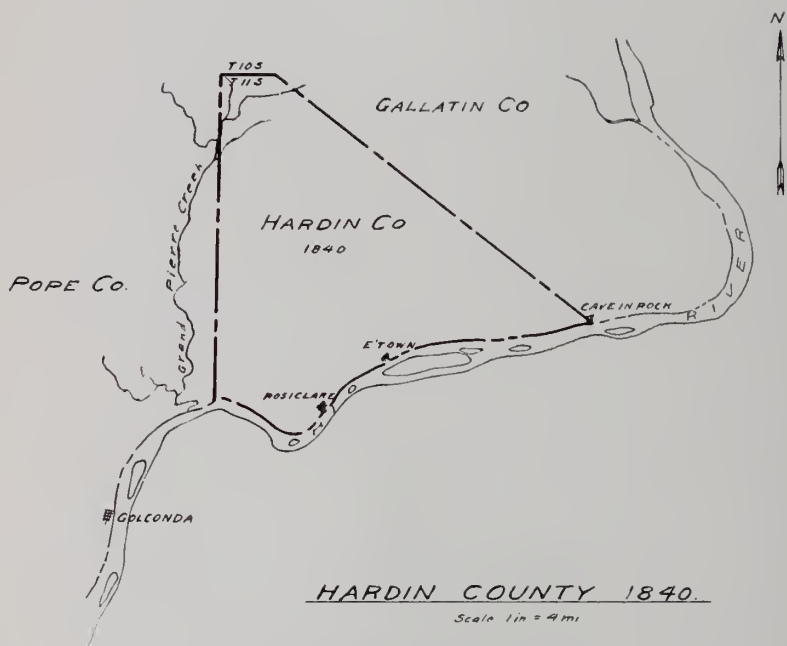
Hardin County was retarded in its growth by being situated in a bend of the river, and away from earlier built railroads.

Hardin County is a picturesque territory. Its high, rugged surface is broken by many beautiful hills and valleys. No other county in the state affords so many wonderful views and landscapes. In no other county of the State is one brought so close to nature.

The public lands in this county, which had been reserved by the Government, were opened for entry and settlement in the year 1847. This land was entered at \$1.25 per acre, and many farms are still owned in the same families who took the



Hardin County, Illinois. 1839



Hardin County, Illinois. 1840

Government patents. The land office at that time, was located at Kaskaskia, Ill., on the Mississippi River.

The first settlers reached Hardin County in 1805 and built homes along the banks of the Ohio River. They were of the bold hardy race of people long remembered for their simplicity, hospitality and endurance. Their pioneer hearths were the scenes of genuine conviviality and good humor, and many were the tales they told and the songs they sang of the wild adventures of their day and generation; of their journey through the trackless forests, their encounters with savage foes, and their legends of our glorious Revolution, then fresh in their minds.

These early settlers were both farmers and hunters because they farmed for their bread and hunted for their meat. Their farming implements were rude and scanty; plows were made with wooden mole boards and pitchforks of small forked saplings cut, peeled and dressed for the purpose. The grain was cut with reaping hooks or sickles and flailed upon a floor, then ground by hand or carried oftentimes miles across the country to a water or horse power gristmill. Their hunting equipment consisted of the rifle, the fishing-net and the trap. They obtained sugar from the Maple tree, nuts of all kinds from the forest and made much of their clothing from skins of animals shot or trapped for meat.

During the transition period, from the earliest settlements to the organization of the County government, there had been a gradual and continuous improvement and advancement in all the material interests of the county. Forests had been cleared; tools of iron and steel had been substituted for the wooden; Churches had been built; schools had been maintained; mines opened; mills built; stores established; government had been instituted; the establishment of justice ordained; the first great step toward civilization had been taken and the whole people looked to the future with hopeful expectations of blessings.

The three towns of the county in the order of their organization are as follows:

Elizabethtown, settled by James McFarland in 1808, was named for his wife, Elizabeth. It was organized as a village in 1840. Some descendants of the early settlers still live in this little city. Elizabethtown, although ordinarily quiet, has been the scene of many romances, and some of its citizens still like to tell the beautiful stories.¹

Rosiclare was settled in 1815 by a family named Roberts, and named for two daughters of an early settler of French descent. The names of these two girls were Rosi and Clare; hence the town was called Rosiclare. A Mr. Ewell taught the first school and a Reverend Stilley preached the first sermon, on the bank of the Ohio River. The village was organized in 1874 and is now the largest town in the county.²

Cave-in-Rock was settled in 1816 by Lewis Barker, or at least he was among the earliest settlers. The town was named from the beautiful and picturesque cave opening into the cliff of rock nearby. Many thrilling stories are told about this cave;³ how river pirates, making this their headquarters, preyed upon the trading flatboats that were numerous in the early days, and how bandits likewise preyed upon the early trappers and immigrants seeking a Western home. Near this town is a crossing of the Ohio River, known as Ford's Ferry. The road leading to and from this ferry is still known as Ford's Road. This road was the main highway across this portion of the country in the early days, and many of the settlers who peopled this county came over it from Kentucky and Virginia.

The other towns of the county are Eichorn, Hicks, Karber's Ridge, Lambtown and Shetlerville, all of which were thriving little villages until improved roads made faster transportation. These towns are yet substantial trading points and contain some of the best citizens of our county.

¹ Elizabethtown is the County Seat and is built up of substantial business houses and good, comfortable residences. There are also good schools and churches. Located on high ground, it has a wonderful view of the river and surrounding country.

² Although Rosiclare had its ups and downs in the early days, it now seems well established. There are several modern business houses, schools and churches, a well-equipped hospital, a Y. M. C. A. and modern theater. There are also many modern and comfortable residences. All of the streets are hard surfaced and sidewalks connect all sections.

³ How the Indians used this natural house as a place to hold their council meetings, their religious ceremonies and for protection.



Outside view of Cave-In-Rock



Panoramic view of the site of the "volcanic plug," half a mile southwest of Sparks Hill, Hardin County, Illinois

Geology:

While the written history of Hardin County dates back scarcely 120 years, yet its geological history dates back several million years. Hardin County surely has a firm foundation, as the rocks upon which the surface rests, extend downward several thousand feet, and geologists tell us that they were formed, one upon the other, through unknown ages—the older rocks being on the bottom, which in time were covered by newer rocks on top. Geologists say further that the youngest rock in Hardin County is older than the Rocky Mountains in Western America, and that the Rocky Mountains were made before the Himalaya Mountains of Southern Asia were formed and raised to the height of more than 30,000 feet. The rocks which make up the earth's crust in Hardin County are of two kinds as regards their origin; namely sedimentary and igneous.

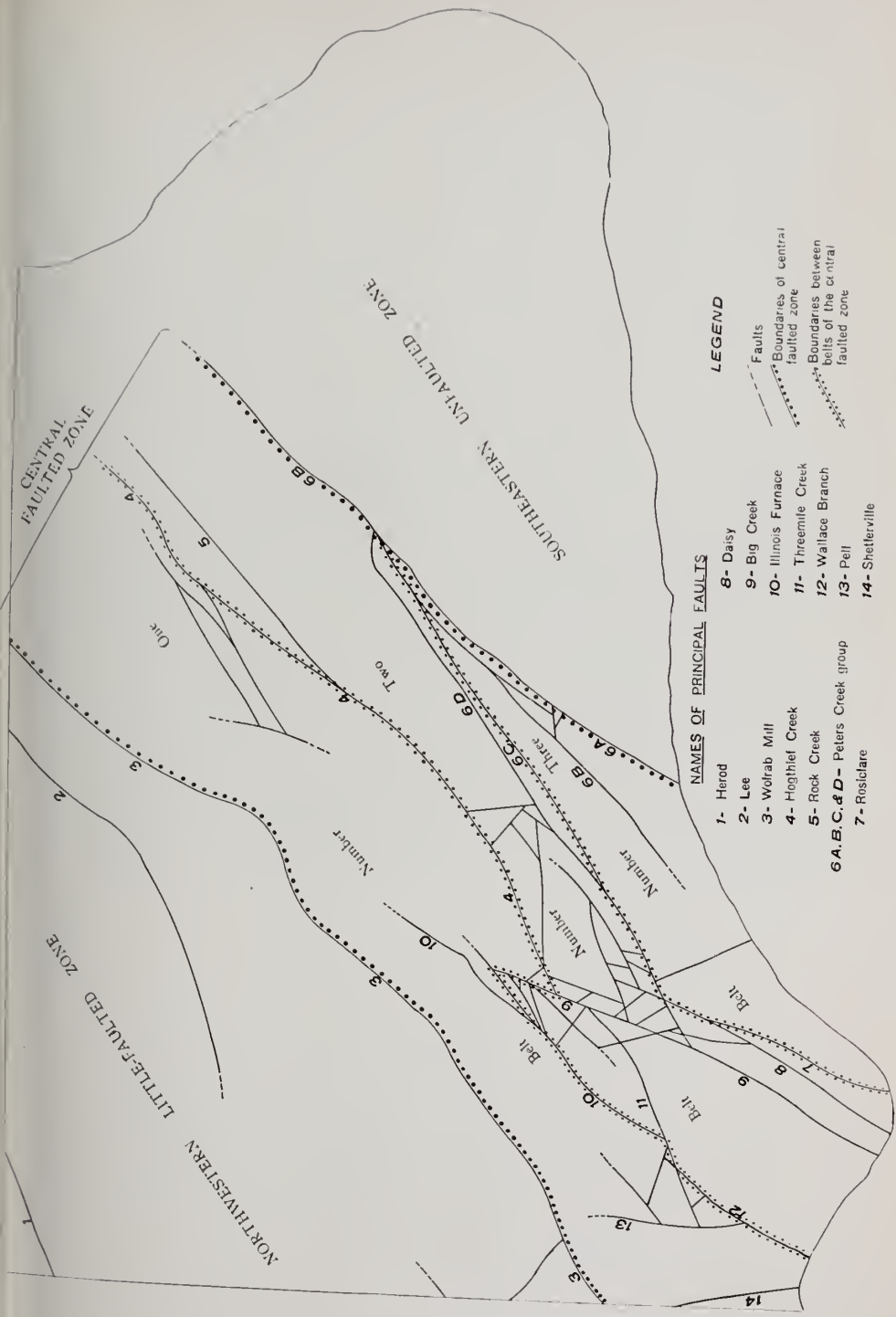
The sedimentary rocks compose by far the greater portion and are divided into three general classes: Limestone, sandstones and shales. Each class is subdivided and named the same as the trees in a forest are named. Sedimentary rocks are those formed by sediments deposited on the bottoms of large basins of water, and are made up of sand, mud, fossil shells, corals and other marine organisms. These rocks are found all over Hardin County—even on top of our highest hills—so at one time Hardin County was, without doubt, the bottom of a vast ocean. The above is not unreasonable at all, for there is an abundance of evidence. In most of the rocks exposed on the surface of Hardin County are found many kinds of sea shells. These fossils and the parts of animals and plants found embedded in the rocks are the remains of organisms that were actually living on the earth at the time the rocks which contain them were formed, and are the marks by which the geologists fixed the time of their formation, as no rock contains a group of fossils exactly like those of an older or younger formation.

The igneous rocks constitute a very minor portion of the surface of Hardin County. They were originally in the condition of molten rock or lava, that is, in a more or less liquid state at a high degree of temperature. At one time in the history of the earth, a great mass of this molten material was intruded or forced by some great internal pressure, beneath, and into the sedimentary rocks of the region. In the process of this intrusion the rocks overlying the zone of pressure were cracked, and the lava or liquid material was intruded or squeezed into these cracks, which on cooling, eventually became solidified, forming a material fully as dense and hard as the material constituting the rock through which the cracks had originally been made. The igneous rocks, which may be seen at a number of places in Hardin County, are dark in color; some nearly black and some a little greenish or of a gray tint. These igneous rocks are also of three types or classes, and likewise have been named. In the study of the igneous rocks of Hardin County, the geologists have discovered several dykes and sills; also the crater of an ancient volcano.

Minerals:

During the disturbance referred to above, and at the time when the earth's crust was broken by the internal pressure and the cracks appeared, there also occurred considerable faulting, or moving of the earth's crust up or down, which in some localities was slight, while in others equalled a thousand feet or more. The zone of faulting is about four miles wide and extends across the county from the Southwest to the Northeast. In some of this territory there is considerable crossfaulting—breaking the crust into many triangular and rectangular blocks.

Other intrusions which filled some of these cracks carried many mineral solutions, among which are fluorspar, lead, zinc, coal, silver, iron, calcite, pyrite, barite, malachite and stibnite. The most important of the minerals is fluorspar, which is chemically known as calcium fluoride and consists of calcium 51.1 per cent and fluorine 48.9 per cent. It is a non-metallic



LEGEND

- Faults
- Boundaries of central faulted zone
- Boundaries between bulks of the central faulted zone

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL FAULTS

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1- Herd | 8- Daisy |
| 2- Lee | 9- Big Creek |
| 3- Wolf | 10- Illinois Furnace |
| 4- Hogthief Creek | 11- Threemile Creek |
| 5- Rock Creek | 12- Wallace Branch |
| 6A, B, C, & D- Peters Creek group | 13- Pell |
| 7- Rosdare | 14- Shetterville |

Map showing the faults and the structural segments of Hardin County



Mill and Good Hope shaft of the Fairview Fluorspar and Lead Company

mineral and in color ranges, according to its purity, from clear or colorless through the various shades of blue, green, purple and yellow, and much of it is white. The uses of fluorspar depend on its chemical analyses. The higher grades are used in making hydrofluoric acid, opalescent glass, sanitary and enamel wares; in the production of aluminum and in the electrolyzing of lead. The lower grades are used as a flux in steel foundaries and in basic open-hearth steel furnaces. In the furnaces it liquefies the slag without increasing the temperature, and reduces the content of phosphorus and sulphur. Small quantities of fluorspar are used for other purposes. There are about 200,000 tons consumed annually in the United States. Fluorspar was discovered at Rosiclare in 1839, but as little was used at that time, mining was carried on only in a small way until in the 80's or 90's, and did not reach any considerable extent until about 1900. The greatest known deposits of fluorspar in the world today are located at Rosiclare, in Hardin County. The preparation of fluorspar for the market involves the process of mining, washing, screening, picking, crushing, jigging and grinding. Much expensive machinery is employed in the process. Lead, zinc and silver are saved as by-products.

Iron, however, was the first mineral discovered in the county, and was found a few miles north of Elizabethtown shortly after the first settlers arrived. As early as 1837 the Illinois furnace was erected, and in 1848 the Martha furnace was built. These furnaces operated from six to nine months a year, producing about nine or ten tons of pig iron per day. The metal produced was of excellent quality and commanded the highest market price, but owing to the lack of cheap transportation, they were forced to suspend operations. The Martha furnace closed in 1857 and the Illinois furnace closed in 1874. The charcoal used in these furnaces for smelting the iron ore, was made from wood cut in the forest and burned on the furnace grounds. There have been no further attempts to mine iron in Hardin County.

During the time the iron furnaces were operated north of Elizabethtown, a lead smelter was built and operated in Rosiclare, but as there was not a sufficient quantity of lead ore to keep the furnace in operation, it also was closed.⁴

Coal measures are found in Hardin County, and a few of these coal beds have been worked, but as the veins are thin, it has not been profitable to mine them to any great extent.

Along the bank of the Ohio River in this county are extensive limestone deposits, from which have been quarried many thousands of cubic yards of stone. This stone was used to rip-rap the banks of the lower Mississippi River and in the building of the great jetties at the mouth of that stream. These quarries also furnished the hewn stone which now covers the river banks and levees at Memphis, Vicksburg and other southern cities.

Geologists say we have in Hardin County at least three probable oil pools; one at Hicks dome, in the west central part, one near the Ohio River in the southern part, and one near Saline River, in the eastern part. These locations have not as yet been tested.

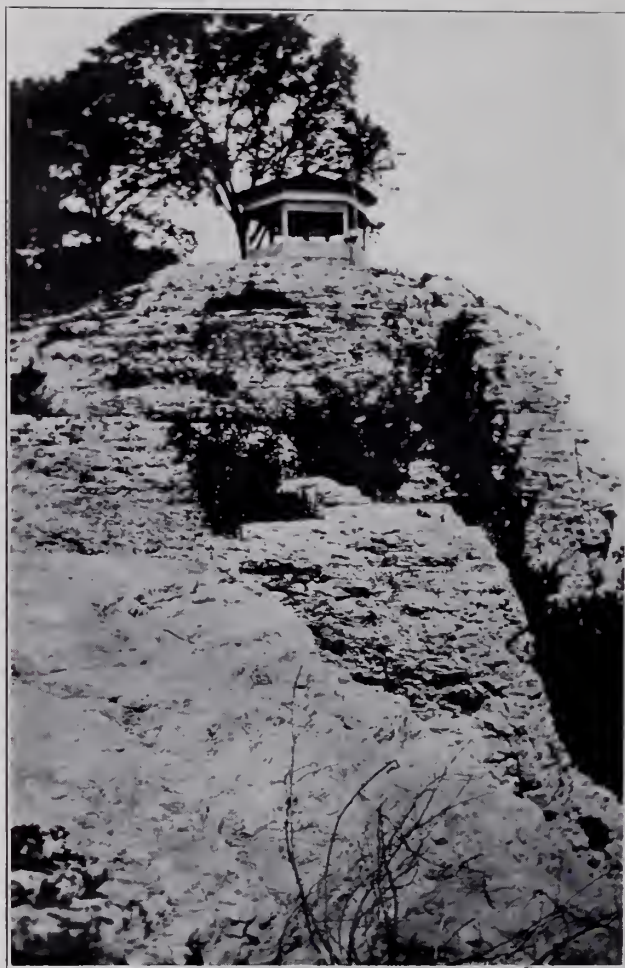
Topography:

The highest point in Hardin County is known as High Knob, which rises to an elevation of 900 feet above sea level, and is located north of Karber's Ridge, near the line between Hardin and Gallatin Counties. The surface slopes southward toward the Ohio River, where in the southwest portion of the county the elevation is hardly 300 feet, so that the average relief or elevation of the county is approximately 600 feet above sea level. There are numerous hills and ridges, reaching a height of 700 to 800 feet, between which are deep and fertile valleys.

⁴It is said by some of our settlers that iron shot from these iron furnaces and lead bullets from the lead smelters were used by our armies in the war with Mexico in 1847.



Bluff of St. Louis limestone at Tower Rock, midway between Elizabethtown
and Cave-In-Rock



Summer House Bluff, Elizabethtown, Illinois

Drainage:

The surface being rugged, is drained by many beautiful streams whose gravel bottoms and sparkling water with splendid pools here and there, have afforded pleasures of fishing and swimming to the rising generations. Some of these streams are fed by springs along the course, which keep them running during seasons of extreme dry weather.

Among the important springs is Decker Spring, from which a stream of several thousand gallons of clear, cool water gushes forth each minute. This spring is located in the central part of the county. There is also Tyner Spring, whose flow is intermittent, the water gushing forth and drying up, or flowing and ebbing, at intervals of a few minutes. This spring is located on the river bank about half way between Elizabethtown and Cave-in-Rock.

There are numerous drainage basins, the largest being Big Creek, which heads near the northern boundary and flows southward through the central part of the county, emptying into the Ohio River. This basin covers a distance of about sixteen miles. The other basins in the order of their importance are Haney Creek, Three-Mile Creek, Peters Creek, Hosick Creek and Wallace Branch.

There is a section in the northeast part of the county that slopes toward Saline River and is drained by Rock Creek, Harris Creek, Goose Creek and Beaver Creek. There are also two sections of the county that have no surface outlet for their drainage. The larger and more important section lies north of Cave-in-Rock. The other lies northeast of Shetlerville. These sections are drained by sinks, through underground passages.

Forest:

Hardin County, when settled, was covered by a wonderful forest, the hardwoods consisting of the various kinds of oak, hickory and walnut; the soft woods consisting of ash, elm and poplar. There are also several other kinds represented.

The forest has been cleared to a great extent, that the soil may be cultivated, and as some of the land is not suitable for farming, it should be re-forested with black locust or some other good tree.

At the time of settlement this forest contained many wild animals, consisting of the deer, raccoon, bob-cat and others.

Soil:

Hardin County, lying as it does, south of the Ozark range, was not touched by glaciers, and has no glacial drift. The soil is of three kinds: alluvial deposits, residual deposits and wind-blown deposits. Alluvial soil is that which has accumulated in the valleys, forming the bottom lands and was deposited by the water of the streams. Residual soil is that made up of decayed rock and vegetable matter and is affected by the character of the underlying rock. The wind-blown soil is that yellowish or grayish soil which contains no rock and is so finely grained that it is easily washed and gullied. It was deposited by winds.

Agriculture:

Some of the up-land which lies well and is properly cared for, and practically all the bottom land raises good crops. The other land is adapted to forests and orchards.

While the soil of Hardin County is adapted to grain, hay and fruit, it is also adapted to the raising of horses, cattle, hogs and poultry. Agriculture is the chief industry of our county, and although mining is carried on at several points, by far the greater number of our people follow farming as a vocation.

Education:

In the early days our schools were of the pioneer kind. The school houses were built of hewn logs taken from the forest. The desks and seats were made from the same ma-



Type of Illinois Home in 1836

terial. A large fireplace furnished the heat. Books were scarce in those days, the most familiar being the blue-back speller which was used alike by all. The three "R's"—"reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of the hickory stick," were the studies most pursued, and many of our best citizens in those days knew little of the other branches.

As the settlers grew in number, school districts were formed. The log house gave way to modern structures with good and comfortable furniture, and books became more easily obtained. We now have district schools in every community of the county, and three high schools filled to overflowing.

The sunny hills, the shady slopes and the fertile valleys, all of which are covered with bluegrass or other grass suitable for grazing, together with the cool, clear water of the streams, make this county one of the best sections of the state for dairying purposes. With orchards and small fruits added, there is no reason why this should not be a healthy and prosperous country in which to live, the people happy and contented.

General:

Today agriculture represents the largest economic question of the nation. It is an issue that affects every industry and business in the country, and one that needs the cooperation of all to find a solution. The farms provide materials for the employment of nearly one-half of the industrial workers of the nation. They furnish almost one-half of the total exports, pay one-third of the railroad freight bills and about one-fifth of the total expenses of the Government.

Farm lands and farm products suffered considerable losses during the adjustment period following the World War. These losses exceeded those of other lines of industry. Thus we see, when Congress has before it the question of putting agriculture on a paying basis, it has no small task.

This great basic industry requires constructive consideration for the economic development of this country, for in fact

agriculture is the chief industry of our nation, and any general relief to the farmers of the country will affect a great many people.

People:

Our citizens are nearly all native born white people, most of whose ancestors came from Kentucky and Virginia while the balance came from Indiana, Tennessee and a few other scattered places.

We have few families that may be termed wealthy, yet most of our people own farms or homes and live comfortably. They are friendly and hospitable, much concerned in their neighbor's welfare and contribute generously in both time and money to the relief of sickness or distress.

As a rule our citizens are God-fearing Christian people of several denominations and every community has its church and working organization. Our men as a whole are honorable, upright, hard-working, and law-abiding. Our women are religious, self-sacrificing, and are the best home-makers in the world. Our boys and girls are free, happy, and pleasure-loving, yet ambitious to succeed in every undertaking and to become independent.

We are all striving for the better things in education, religion, in living conditions, yet greed does not enter our minds to obscure our vision of a happy future. What we do not have or cannot honestly obtain we get along without, and live out our lives contented and happy, firmly believing that in the end we will receive our just reward.

CENTENNIAL ADDRESS.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ALTON.

Delivered by GILSON BROWN, June 21, 1931.

When the beautiful exercises commemorating the semi-centennial were drawing to a close on June 19, 1881, the congregation assembled adjourned to meet on June 19, 1931, for the centennial celebration of the founding of the church. The resolution was carried by the assembly in due form and we gather this week on these days identically fifty years afterwards to recount again those mighty deeds:

“Which God performed of old
Which in your younger years ye saw
And which your fathers told.”

It is a wondrous story, and we would break faith with our founding fathers if we did not dwell on these scenes.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America had been organized in 1790 in the City of Philadelphia and John Witherspoon, President of Princeton, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, had presided. The church peculiarly breathed the atmosphere of the country. If the seeds of Presbyterianism soon took root in Scotland, the soil of Pennsylvania and America responded equally well to the transplanted stock. A mighty migration struck out through Western Pennsylvania; another journeyed through Virginia and in the Southern mountains of Tennessee. The strains reunited met in Indiana and Illinois. Home missionary societies were active and the beginning of the nineteenth century saw these pioneers of the Cross carrying the gospel into the Illinois country. The

Synod of Indiana had constituted Old Center Presbytery, which comprised pretty much of Illinois. It later was called Kaskaskia Presbytery. In 1815 Samuel Giddings was the minister of the Old First Church in St. Louis. He reached across into Illinois with his missionary activities and in the present bounds of Alton Presbytery established churches at Kaskaskia, now Chester, Turkey Hill in St. Clair County; Collinsville and Edwardsville in Madison, and Greenville and Bethel in Bond.

In 1821 Edward Hollister and Daniel Gould, under the auspices of the Connecticut Missionary Society, with Deacon Enoch Long, organized a Presbyterian Society in Alton with eight members. Removals and deaths depleted the ranks, so that Enoch Long and his wife removed their membership to Edwardsville, where they remained until 1831, when, under the leadership of Thomas Lippincott, a church was organized in Alton at the home of Deacon Enoch Long on the site of the Burnap home at Main and College. Thomas Lippincott was the first resident Presbyterian minister in Illinois. Deacon Long was made an elder. The church was received into Kaskaskia Presbytery, which convened at Greenville, September 16, 1831, Alton Presbytery not being organized until April, 1837. Thomas Lippincott served as stated supply until 1832, when he was succeeded by Rev. Elisha Jenney, who preached to the church until 1835; Frederick W. Graves came out from Ohio and was installed as the first pastor in charge, continuing until 1838; Albert Hale supplied for a few months until 1839, when, certainly led by the call of the Almighty, Augustus T. Norton was installed as pastor May 9, 1839, serving for the longest period in the history of the church, until April, 1857. At this memorable installation Thomas Lippincott presided and Theron Baldwin, principal of Monticello Seminary, preached the sermon. Among "his men" Dr. Norton found some giants—Benjamin Godfrey, Major Charles W. Hunter, Winthrop S. Gilman, Isaac Scarritt, Perley B. Whipple and Lawson A. Parks. If great lawyers make great judges, perhaps great laymen make great

ministers. It certainly does not detract from the ministry of any other man to assert that the prodigious labors of Doctor Norton gave this church the standing which in the Providence of God it has still maintained. He was a strong preacher, a tireless pastor and with missionary zeal established his church on the Rock Eternal. He edited the *Presbyterian Reporter*, was prominent all over the State as a missionary, and was a tower of strength to the Presbytery. His *History of Presbyterianism in Illinois* remains as the classic in that line.

It may be of some comfort to the present pastor to know that this man of God came to the church following the terrible financial depression of 1837. His thousand dollar salary soon dropped to \$500.00, but he and the church held on, and like Jacob of old, prevailed.

His coming also followed a circumstance in which this church bore a most honorable part. In the days in Alton which tried men's souls in the heat of 1837, the record is that Frederick W. Graves had stood like a rock. The Illinois Anti-Slavery Society held a memorable meeting in Alton in 1837 and, of course, the meeting was held in the Presbyterian Church. President Beecher of Illinois College and Gideon Blackburn of Carlinville withstood to his face Attorney General Linder in an all-day meeting and the resolutions adopted showed where this church stood when the rights of free men to speak were assailed. How natural was it, therefore, that when the guard of defense for Elijah Parrish Lovejoy was selected to protect the press, housed in the warehouse owned by Benjamin Godfrey and Winthrop S. Gilman, two of her members, that Enoch Long and Winthrop Gilman should be among the defenders.

Enoch Long's father was a soldier in the Revolution, and he himself a captain in the War of 1812, naturally he was elected captain of the faithful Lovejoy Band. Well may Doctor Norton say that whatever may be said on any question that this church throughout the whole controversy was always on the side of the right, and its record was a most

honorable one. The panic and the odium heaped upon Alton, because of the Lovejoy massacre, depleted property values and the struggles in the early forties were real trials, and privation was the common lot.

In a house on the south side of Second Street, between Market and Alby, owned by Beall Howard, the Presbyterians had first worshipped, then in Lyceum Hall at Alby and Second Street. In 1833 Benjamin Godfrey built a stone church on the present site of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Here they worshipped for several years until the building was deeded to Monticello Seminary and then sold to provide funds for the school. In the late thirties the congregation removed to a frame building of more modest proportions at Third and Alby, occupying this until a new church owned by themselves was dedicated in June, 1846. This was located at Second and Market; remodeled on two occasions later and occupied until it was sold in June, 1896. Then for a year they occupied Constantine Hall over Barth's Drug Store. July 5, 1897, saw the laying of the cornerstone of the present structure, the dedication taking place December, 1897. As early as 1885 the Ladies Aid Society records that they began to talk of a new church, later pledging the first six hundred dollars towards the plan. Monticello Seminary and the new Union Station in St. Louis had been erected by Theodore Link, an architect who had achieved distinction in these and other buildings in stone. His services were enlisted. Mr. Henry Watson served as chairman of the building committee and carried out a fond desire of his own for a particular type of rough ashler stone construction. The monument still stands, attesting the wise plans of its founders.

The formal dedication was held on Wednesday, December 8, 1897. "December shall be like May" was true, for the mildly beautiful day was an omen of the smiling approval from above. Doctor Gordon returned from New York to preach the dedicatory sermon and many here today will recall the beautiful service. The original cost was about \$26,000.00, built of Alton stone with Bedford trimmings. At

the evening service some six thousand dollars remained to be raised. Doctor Penhallagon had come from Decatur, peculiarly gifted in a day which antedated high powered salesmanship. Six thousand fifty dollars was raised so that the Doxology might be sung. Like the great semi-centennial celebration, the beginnings of the new church occurred when we were without a minister.

When Doctor Norton resigned in 1857 to accept missionary work of a national character the church was without a pastor until 1858 when Doctor Cornelius H. Taylor was called to the pastorate. He, too, was a man of God—scholarly and possessing the rare gift of rising to heights on great occasions, as remembered in his address at Major Hunter's funeral and the memorial for Stephen A. Douglas. The days of the sixties were upon us and Doctor Taylor was the soldiers' friend, finding time to preach in the old penitentiary and to serve on important civic committees. Like the family of Doctor Norton, his descendants are still with us. Doctor Taylor held a faithful pastorate of ten years, resigning in 1868. In 1869 Dr. C. S. Armstrong came, another strong preacher, and especially a beloved pastor, with compelling and winsome characteristics. His resignation was sadly received in April, 1880, and for the longest period in its history the church was without a pastor—a year and a half—until September, 1881. It must not be forgotten that services were not omitted and the remarkable semi-centennial of June, 1881, was carried out by the loyal church without a resident pastor. But with his wise counsel and prodigious fund of history Dr. Norton was here!

In August, 1881, with the inspiration of the Semi-Centennial still ringing in their ears the church heard Doctor Thomas Gordon for two Sundays, and he accepted a call in September, continuing in his sturdy ministry and strong preaching until 1886. Following came Doctor A. T. Wolff, another preacher of great power, remembered for his Decoration Day addresses as well as his rugged expositions in his own pulpit. Doctor Wolff resigned in June, 1891. Then

came Doctor George W. Smith, after a very brief interval. He was a powerful preacher, eccentric, but true to the faith, resigning in 1896, and in April, 1897, Henry Kendall Sanborne, father of our church missionary, became the beloved minister, of deep spiritual life and a great pastor. The call of the West took him in 1905 and Doctor A. G. Lane followed in 1906. Dr. Lane had the Christian grace of a sense of humor, and his benignant smile is still recalled. In 1912 Doctor Edward L. Gibson came as a young pastor. He labored with zeal, was tireless as a pastor and during his sixteen years of service enrolled the largest number of communicants the church had had. It was during this pastorate that the Biederwulf meetings occurred, the results of which still abide.

Still led, as we believe, by Divine guidance the present pastorate of Edgar J. Vance began in June, 1929, and on this happy day we thank God and take courage.

It is with a measure of restraint that one looks over the roll of the eldership of this church. Fifty-seven men have been ordained to this high office. Of those of his own day Doctor Norton said: "No President ever had a finer cabinet than have I." What a tower of strength they were!

Enoch Long was the second Sunday School teacher in Illinois, an organizer of ability, prominent in civic affairs, his name still remains in Enoch Long's Addition to Upper Alton. With seven others he withdrew in 1836 to organize the Upper Alton Church and in 1841 removed to Galena, where he lived a beautiful and useful life, dying at 91, just a month after the Semi-Centennial.

Look on his likeness today as he reposes with Thomas Lippincott.

Winthrop S. Gilman was a great man. Great as a young man, withdrawing from Alton because of the cloud following the Lovejoy assassination, he went to New York and became a merchant prince; headed the General Assembly's Committee for the Five Million Dollar Memorial Fund, in 1870. It was said of him that he arose at 4:00 o'clock in the morning,

spending several hours in prayer and reading of the Scripture and he tithed regularly, and was known throughout the church.

Benjamin Godfrey became an elder in 1840. Doctor Norton said he said little but did much. Built a church here, founded Monticello Seminary, helped to organize the Godfrey Church; helped build the C. & A. Railroad, and was always a power. His memory is forever enshrined.

Samuel Wade became an elder in 1841. He was always present when executive help was needed—was the moving spirit in the building of the church in 1846 and subsequent alterations, was present in the choir with his clarinet, serving with great faithfulness until his withdrawal in 1870 to found the Congregational Church.

Isaac Scarritt, another merchant, co-worker with Winthrop Gilman on the General Assembly Committee in 1870; superintendent of the Sunday School—lover of children.

Dr. B. K. Hart, the beloved physician, was ordained as elder in 1859. So saintly was he that Doctor Norton refused to place his hands on his head in the ceremony of ordination. "I need," said he, "to have his hands placed on my head." He ministered to the souls as well as to the bodies of his patients.

Perley B. Whipple, for fifty-five years an honored elder—calling with Father Norton—oh, so many times, in the early day—and lending his counsel and guidance for a longer period than any other man who served the church in any way.

Lawson A. Parks, founder of the *Telegraph*, teacher in the Sunday School, living for the church—later his successor, John A. Cousley, also laboring in the Sunday school and sustaining a relationship happily carried on by his family to this day.

Joseph Hamill, for twenty-nine years an elder, was devoted to the church as few have been. Long the treasurer of the Home Mission Committee of the Presbytery. He made his influence felt wherever he touched the life of the church, Sunday School, Board of Trustees, Session.

What shall I say of Samuel R. McClure, for forty-seven years an elder, a trustee of almost an equal time, quietly but effectually doing his work as clerk of session and typifying his love for the church to his death.

Enoch Long to Samuel McClure a worthy and honored line!

We have also the record of fifty-seven trustees of this church—a strange coincidence, but a record of long and sacrificial service not often surpassed, especially in length of service:

Samuel Pitts, for thirty years.

Oliver S. Stowell, for forty-three years.

John K. Butler, for twenty-three years.

George H. Smiley, for forty-seven years.

Edgar Hollister, for forty years.

Wilbur T. Norton, for forty-three years.

Joseph Hamill, for forty-one years.

What shall I say of the zeal and consecration of the devout women who had labored here? Four women joined with four men to organize this church. The Ladies Missionary Sewing Society of 1835, chided because of some seeming levity when they smiled—the Maternal Society of 1840—praying mothers who doubtless prayed many a child into the arms of the church. Time would fail me to tell of a long line of wives of pastors—Mrs. Samuel Wade, Mrs. Edward Wade, Mrs. Whipple, Mrs. Clarkson, the praying Sunday School teacher, Mrs. Lucinda Mathews, president of the Ladies Aid well over fifty years, Mrs. Duncan and Mrs. Watson, all mothers in Israel.

With Enoch Long and Benjamin Godfrey as examples, of course this has been a founder of churches. The Upper Alton Church in 1839, the Godfrey Church soon after; the Congregational Church in 1870; the Elm Street Church; the church at Wood River and Roxana. It was in 1850 that the State Street Mission near the Water Tower was founded. There was also Hunterstown Mission and the Northside

Mission begun in 1885, so long the care of Thomas Fansler, Mr. Stowell and S. R. McClure.

Of our missionary zeal you know full well, kept alive always in Presbyterial circles by our faithful women.

We record that from the small beginning of eight faithful souls on that rare day in June, 1831, today in fairly accurate approximation a total of two thousand five hundred fifty different persons as members. A goodly company! From eight to eight hundred.

There were the revivals of 1844 and that other gracious outpouring in 1849—where there was “no false fire,” the meetings of Dr. Armstrong, the in-gathering of 1915, but for the most part it has been by steady, prayerful, consistent labor of pastor and people—with no schism and a careful study of the peace of the church.

Doctor Norton tells us again we have always had good music. “I can look across from the pulpit now and see Samuel Wade with his clarinet, Stephen Lufkin with his bass viol, the three beautiful Chappell sisters, and Sarah Treadway—all good singers. The music was such that when a visiting minister was assisting the pastor, the singing always threw the preaching in the shade. Down the years the sweet singers of Israel still abide and the singing of the younger voices during the last year has been an added inspiration.

This church has had a peculiarly intimate touch with the civic life of the community. During eighty-two of its ninety-five years of existence, the *Alton Evening Telegraph* has been represented in its editorial staff on the Board of Trustees and Session. The work of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions in the Civil War; the Red Cross in the World War; the unemployment of this last year found this church back of every endeavor.

The Young Men’s Christian Association and all reforms have known of the sympathetic cooperation of pastors, sessions and people.

The spirit of unselfish unity has been at home in this church. In one hundred years no serpent head of heresy has arisen to alarm either in the pulpit or the pews. Our small differences have always soon been composed.

When Paul journeyed for the last time to Rome the record is that there came out to meet him as far as the Appia Forum and The Three Taverns certain brethren "whom when Paul saw, he thanked God and took courage." Shall we not today on this highway of peace likewise thank God for this wond'rous record and remember also that "they without us shall not be made perfect." We cannot separate our responsibility. We must carry on. "So the Lord was with him and there was no strange God among them."

"A noble army, men and boys,
The matron and the maid,
Around the Savior's Throne rejoice
In robes of Light arrayed.
They climbed the steep ascent to heaven
Through peril, toil and pain,
Oh, God, to us, may grace be given
To follow in their train."

WHY LINCOLN WORE A BEARD.

By GEORGE A. DONDERO.

Royal Oak, Michigan.

Did Abraham Lincoln consent to a radical change in his personal appearance upon the suggestion of a child?

A letter dated October 15, 1860, written to Mr. Lincoln hitherto unknown to exist and preserved by the Lincoln family for nearly seventy years may be read in this article in answer to the above question.

In October, 1860, Norman Bedell, a foundry man, and the father of ten children, lived at Westfield, Chautauqua County, New York. He had grown-up sons and daughters. Of the sons, four of them were old enough to vote November 6, 1860. Among the younger children was a daughter, Grace Bedell, eleven years old, but somewhat tall for her age.

On or about October 15, 1860, Grace's father attended a county fair, and being an ardent Republican and a profound admirer of Abraham Lincoln, brought home to his family a campaign poster of Lincoln and Hamlin, Republican candidates for President and Vice-President respectively.

The poster, or picture, was of rather crude and coarse work set in glaring colors. In the center, in large size, were the pictures of the two candidates surrounded by a rail fence, and around this on the edge of the poster were arranged the pictures of former Presidents.

The Bedell household was divided on the political questions of the day. It was a house "divided against itself." The younger children of the family accepted the opinion of their father with unquestioned faith and listened with interest and pleasure to the stories told about Lincoln. Little Grace

was one of the children who had accepted the high opinion of her father for Lincoln; opinion that had been stoutly defended around the family board and fireside. Her two older brothers however were not swayed by parental opinion.

So intense and bitter had become the campaign issues of the time, that the conclusions of the parents at home were reflected and defended in the discussions and arguments of the children in school. Grace Bedell was attending school and had to listen to the sneers of many of her schoolmates hurled at her hero. She had been firmly convinced at home of the greatness of her idol and being a hero worshipper, romantic, sincere, a deeply feeling girl, the caustic remarks of her school mates about Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance cut deep into her child's heart. She protested vigorously and with loyalty and courage defended her candidate, sometimes against great odds. With ability for debate which far exceeded her years, she stood her ground and called to the attention of her erring schoolmates the great difficulties encountered by him in acquiring an education and that although he had been very poor, nevertheless he had made his way to fame and while his face showed some deep lines, he was not homely, but only sad looking.

Yearning for his success in the coming election, and eager to get even with her misled companions in school, she pondered the question of how she might lend Lincoln a helping hand. She sought the aid of her mother and in discussing the problem with her, offered the opinion that he would look much better if he wore whiskers. Honest sympathy and wishes for his success, rather than the spirit of adventure in youth, strengthened her determination to do something at once to assist Mr. Lincoln, and she decided forthwith to write him a letter giving him the benefit of her opinion, informing him just what she thought about his appearance and how she felt about it.

Obtaining proper writing material and secreting herself from all others, she wrote the letter, destined to change the

personal appearance of Lincoln and to remain hidden from the world for nearly seventy years. It is dated October 15, 1860, herewith published for the first time. The original is in the possession of the writer. It follows:

“Westfield, Chautauqua Co. N. Y.

Oct. 15, 1860.

Hon. A. B. Lincoln,

Dear Sir:

My father has just home from the fair and brought home your picture and Mr. Hamlin's. I am a little girl only eleven years old, but want you should be President of the United States very much so I hope you wont think me very bold to write to such a great man as you are. Have you any little girls about as large as I am, if so give them my love and tell her to write to me, if you cannot answer this letter. I have got 4 brothers and part of them will vote for you any way and if you will let your whiskers grow I will try and get the rest of them to vote for you, you would look a great deal better for your face is so thin. All the ladies like whiskers and they would tease their husbands to vote for you and then you would be President. My father is a going to vote for you and if I was a man I would vote for you to but I will try and get every one to vote for you that I can. I think that rail fence around your picture makes it look very pretty. I have got a little baby sister, she is nine weeks old and is just as cunning as can be. When you direct your letter direct to Grace Bedell, Westfield, Chautauqua County, New York. I must not write any more. Answer this letter right off.

Good bye,

Grace Bedell.”

Many of the details included in this unusual incident and bit of history in connection with the “Great Emancipator” and here revealed is the result of a recent visit (December, 1929) to Grace Bedell Billings in her western home.

Believing that her brutal frankness and right to the point opinion expressed in her letter “to such a great man” as he was, telling him he “would look a great deal better” if he

would let his whiskers grow, because his face was "so thin" would hurt Mr. Lincoln, she sought, with a master hand at diplomacy, to soften the harshness of it by indulging in a little flattery, telling him "that rail fence around your picture makes it look very pretty." She supported her flattery with an offer to get him some votes through her personal effort, for she held out her promise "to get everyone to vote" for him providing of course, that her condition was complied with, viz: "if you will let your whiskers grow."

She had reasonable ground for promising him votes because she had four brothers and "part of them" would "vote for him anyway" and if he could see the light and make a radical change in his appearance, he was assured more votes, because, crafty politician that she was, she would so change opinion in her home "to get the rest of them" to vote for him.

Her two Republican brothers, Stephen and Frank, were the "part" that voted for him. Her two Democratic brothers, Levant and George, were the "rest," whom she hoped to convert to his cause, but who failed to see the light, and they voted for Stephen A. Douglas.

There was one vote in her household, however, that did not need any "fixing." He had the unqualified statement of his "dear little miss" that "my father is a going to vote for you."

The "little baby sister" nine weeks old and "just as cunning as can be" was Eunice Bedell, who grew to womanhood and died in 1890.

Of the ten children born to Norman Bedell and Amanda Bedell, his wife, five boys and five girls, Grace Bedell Billings, who gave such timely advice to Abraham Lincoln, alone survives.

It will be noticed that the letter was directed to "Hon. A. B. Lincoln." It must be remembered that he was generally and commonly called at that time (1860) and for many years before, "Abe," "Old Abe" and "Honest Abe."

Inquiry of Mrs. Billings revealed the information that the reason she so began her letter to Mr. Lincoln was because it was her childish idea of how "Abe" should be written.

During the campaign Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance and looks became the target for abuse and ridicule. Unfriendly newspapers used cartoons to belittle and discredit him. He was characterized as homely, coarse, ugly, ungainly and a backwoodsman.

A candidate for office of President of the United States seventeen days before election is a busy man and Abraham Lincoln was no exception. That he was then receiving a very large quantity of mail is known. Shorthand and stenographers were unknown to him. All letters had to be written with a pen and in longhand. He had to employ a secretary and an assistant secretary, (John G. Nicolay and John Hay) to take care of his correspondence.

Sitting in the office, or room, provided for him in the old State House at Springfield, Illinois, from which he directed his campaign, he received Grace Bedell's letter. We can see a broad smile wreath his furrowed face and a merry twinkle light up the sad, deep-set eyes, as he read this very unusual letter which came, in terms of honesty and frankness from the depths of a child's heart. That letter at least did not ask for a post office, or an ambassadorship or other political office, nor did it threaten him with personal violence and death. Deeply absorbed in his campaign and greatly concerned with the problems of it, nevertheless he was not too busy to answer little Grace's letter "right off," and in his own hand writing, marking it "private." His letter to her follows:

"Private.

Springfield, Ill., Oct. 19, 1860.

Miss Grace Bedell,

My dear little Miss:

Your very agreeable letter of the 15th is received. I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughter. I have three sons—one seventeen, one nine, and one seven years of age—They, with their mother, constitute my whole family—

As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affection if I were to begin it now?

Your very sincere well wisher,

A. Lincoln."

Mrs. Billings has the original letter, which Lincoln wrote to her, now yellow with age and spotted. She cherishes it as one of her most sacred treasures. She has had a number of tempting offers from Lincoln collectors for it, but she will not part with it. The spots, or blotches, appearing on the letter were not caused by folding the letter on the part of Mr. Lincoln before the ink was dry, as might be supposed, but were caused through the excitement of Grace Bedell in opening the letter at the post office when she received it in Westfield, reading it and then running home in a snowstorm with the letter open and unprotected in her hand, the ink becoming wet and blotting, leaving the spots from the snowflakes of 1860.

Dr. William E. Barton in his book "The Women Lincoln Loved" writes: "Perhaps some Presidential candidates, responding to such a letter, would have forgotten all about it; but Abraham Lincoln did not. First of all, he began to let his beard grow. Almost from the very day of her letter he decided that he would wear a beard. He would have done so if he had had a little daughter and she had asked him to do so; and he did it at this little girl's request. Perhaps that is as strange a story as can truthfully be related of any President, or Presidential candidate in the history of the United States; that he consented to so radical a change in his personal appearance at the suggestion of a little girl."

That he answered the little girl's letter "right off" is a strange story; that he let his beard grow at her suggestion is stranger still; but that he also kept the child's letter, a fact which has remained unknown for sixty-nine years, except to the Lincoln family, and took it to Washington with him when he became President, is the most strange and unusual part of this strange story.

Undoubtedly on the journey from Springfield to Washington Grace Bedell's letter was among his carefully prepared speeches which he delivered enroute and his first inaugural address which has become a part of history, and that her letter found a home and was sheltered in the White House during the Civil War is equally true.

Upon the death of President Lincoln April 15, 1865, Robert Todd Lincoln, his son, obtained possession of the letter and upon his death July 26, 1926, at Manchester, Vermont, it became the property of his widow, Mary Harlan Lincoln, from whom the writer received it to return it to Grace Bedell, and who in turn presented it to the writer.

Out of the thousands of letters which Abraham Lincoln received, why did he preserve little Grace's letter? Was it because of its unusual nature, its unique advice, or because it came from the heart and soul of a little girl? We do not know and the world will never know what thoughts coursed through his mind as he laid it away among his state papers and important documents. We can only wonder about it. That he loved little children is known. That he was the proud father of four boys, to whom he was kind and indulgent, is also known. At the time he received the letter in question, he had suffered a father's grief as he stood beside the grave of his little son, Edward Baker Lincoln, age four, in February, 1850.

Probably the frankness of the child appealed to the humorous side of his nature; or was it the deep sympathy of his mighty heart, which so often went out to the soldier boys in the field that caused him to answer her letter and do her bidding?

"Have you any little girls about as large as I am, if so give them my love" wrote Grace. No, he had none and with a feeling that must have been almost akin to pain he wrote to her, "I regret the necessity of saying I have no daughter." Dr. Barton, commenting on this part of Lincoln's letter, says: "His regret that he had no daughter, expressed in such a letter, has not been regarded as a matter of large significance;

but that regret was sincere and Lincoln's feeling of deprivation was far greater than the little girl imagined." Lincoln loved his boys but who knows how he would have loved a little girl of his own.

In October, 1860, Lincoln was fifty-one years old and up to that time he admitted to his little correspondent that "as to his whiskers" he had "never worn any." He made no promise in his letter that he would do so but he did ask Grace's opinion as to what she thought the people would think if he did let his whiskers grow, believing, or at least insinuating, that he was afraid they would "call it a piece of silly affection."

He overcame his fears, however, as to what the people might think about it, accepted Grace Bedell's judgment instead, and let his beard grow.

What Mrs. Lincoln thought about his decision to wear a beard is not known. If she objected to it, her objection was not sustained. If she approved of it then she strengthened her husband's conviction that the judgment of his "dear little Miss" was sound. Mary Todd Lincoln was a devoted and loyal wife and many instances are recorded of her interest in her husband's appearance, eager always that he should appear well; but it is apparent that the question of a beard for her husband had never occurred to her. Had she thought about the matter and suggested the change he probably would have made the change for her.

All photographs of Abraham Lincoln up to the time of his election show him beardless. Again quoting Barton: "All the portraits taken in Springfield and Chicago had been beardless; and the Brady photograph made in New York when Lincoln had gone there to deliver his Cooper Union address, had come to be recognized throughout the country. So far as is known, no senator, or governor, or prospective Cabinet member, told Mr. Lincoln that he ought to wear a beard, but he gave the matter serious consideration when a little girl wrote and suggested it. Before he left Springfield he was twice photographed with a beard. In one of these

pictures the black whiskers were just sprouting; the other, the McNulty photograph, is now one of the most highly prized and valuable, and is the one used for the engraving of Lincoln's face on the (old) ten dollar bills."

Many photographs taken during the period of the Civil War show that beards were popular among the men. He had Grace Bedell's assurance that beards were also popular with the women, for she told him "all the ladies like whiskers."

The distance from Westfield, New York, where Grace Bedell lived when she wrote her letter, to Springfield, Illinois, where Lincoln lived when he received it, is approximately seven hundred miles. The speed and promptness of the mail service of that far-off day—1860—becomes apparent and is somewhat surprising to us in this day of fast express trains and air mail service, when we consider that the little girl mailed her letter October 15th and Mr. Lincoln had received, opened, read and answered ("right off") by October 19th, all within the space of four days.

Had Abraham Lincoln taken any other train on any other railroad than the one he did take to go to Washington this narrative would end here, but this is but part of the story. On February 13, 1861, he spoke before the Legislature of Ohio at Columbus, and on the 15th at Cleveland. Considering the distance from the Capital of Ohio to Westfield, New York, we may conclude that his train reached Grace Bedell's town on February 16th. After making a short address from the rear of the train to the assembled people who had come to see and hear the President, he inquired of Honorable George W. Patterson, who was a member of the party accompanying him, if he knew a family by the name of Bedell. Mr. Patterson replying in the affirmative, Mr. Lincoln said he had received a letter from a little girl by the name of Grace Bedell advising him to wear whiskers as she thought it would improve his looks.

He further said "the character of the letter was so unique and so different from the many self-seeking and threatening ones I was receiving daily that it came to me as

a relief and a pleasure." He then said to the people: "I have a correspondent in this place and if she is present, will she please come forward." "Who is it," asked several. "What is her name?" "Grace Bedell," said the President.

Grace had gone to the railroad station with two older sisters and the escort of one of them, a young man by the name of McCormack. Because of the crowd she had seen very little of Mr. Lincoln but had heard his voice. She finally heard him say that if she was present to please come forward. Taking her by the hand her sister's beau made a line through the crowd and led her to a low platform along the track beside the train. The President stepped down from the platform of the car, shook her hand, stooped down and kissed her in the presence of the crowd and said: "You see I let these whiskers grow for you, Grace," at the same time pointing with his hand to his full grown beard.

The crowd cheered, Mr. Lincoln re-entered the train and Grace ran home, dodging in and out between the horses and buggies, and in one instance crawling under a wagon, looking neither to the right or left, and speaking to no one. She had taken with her a bouquet of roses, furnished by a neighbor, to present to the President as her expression of love and admiration for the man she so stoutly defended and to whom she offered such rare advice. So unexpected was the conduct of the great man toward her that she became frightened and embarrassed, and she forgot to hand the roses to him and upon her arrival home nothing remained of her floral tribute but the stems. "As he bent down to kiss me," said Mrs. Billings, "he seemed so very kind but looked very sad."

From what is now known, the President must have had Grace's letter with him that day at Westfield. Not until sixty-nine years later did Grace Bedell know that the "Great Emancipator" had kept her letter, and when the writer sent a photographic reproduction of it to her she wrote: "The frankness with which I expressed myself to him is rather embarrassing to me, but I am sure that honest sympathy and wishes for his success were back of my childish suggestions."

William H. Herndon, Lincoln's last law partner, in one of his letters to Mrs. Billings, said: "You were a fortunate little one to receive the imprint of those pure lips."

A very large proportion of the Union Army during the Civil War was composed of beardless boys in their teens. To them their commander-in-chief, the President, was known and affectionately called "Father Abraham," and more than once, as they marched into battle they sang: "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong." To these beardless boys the President was a bearded father. They did not know him in any other way. It is doubtful whether a beardless Lincoln would have impressed them at the time as deeply as their bearded "Father Abraham," or whether the affectionate term which they applied to him would have been as significant and as full of meaning if it had been directed to a beardless Lincoln.

Grace Bedell was married in 1867 to George N. Billings. He is a veteran of the Civil War, having served in the 8th New York Heavy Artillery under General Grant. In 1870 he heard and heeded the advice of Horace Greeley to "Go west, young man, go west." He associated himself with the Greeley Colonists and went to Greeley, Colorado. He was not satisfied with the soil around Greeley and returned by stage coach to Kansas, where he took up a homestead near Delphos in the Solomon River valley. There Mrs. Billings joined him sixty years ago and there she still resides, a pioneer of the great West, and a splendid example of the strength and courage of American womanhood.

Abraham Lincoln, the tall bearded man, went on his way to meet a "task greater than that which rested upon Washington," the task of holding together the Union of States,—our Republic. How well he accomplished his task is evidenced on every hand by a grateful people.

The Champion of Freedom never forgot a friend or a kindly act. We may wonder whether or not in the dark days that followed his inauguration as President and the breaking out of the great conflict he might have smiled as he stroked

his beard at the memory of a child's advice. He wore his beard in death. The multitudes who revere the memory of Abraham Lincoln and care deeply for the personal appearance of our first martyred President are greatly indebted to little Grace Bedell.

REDEDICATION OF LINCOLN MONUMENT.

HOOVER URGES NATION TO REDEDICATE ITSELF TO THE
IDEALS OF LINCOLN.

The city of Springfield and the State of Illinois extended welcoming arms to the thirty-first President of the United States—Herbert Hoover—who came to the Capital of Illinois to deliver the chief address at the services marking the rededication of the reconstructed tomb of Abraham Lincoln.

In the President's party were Mrs. Hoover, Allan Hoover, son of the President; Charles G. Dawes, Evanston, Ambassador to Great Britain and former Vice-President; Robert P. Lamont, Chicago, Secretary of Commerce in President Hoover's Cabinet; R. Carl White, Assistant Secretary of Labor; Lawrence Rickey and Theodore G. Joslin, secretaries to the President; Colonel Campbell B. Hodges and Captain Charles R. Train, military and naval aides to the President; Captain Joel T. Boone, the President's physician, Mrs. Charles G. Dawes and Senator and Mrs. Otis F. Glenn.

At 11:00 o'clock Doorkeeper Leonard, at the Arsenal, where the Session of the General Assembly was held, announced the arrival of Mrs. Emmerson escorting Mrs. Hoover, followed by His Excellency the Governor of Illinois escorting the President of the United States, at which the audience arose and welcomed the President. Then following a short program of music, the President spoke, the text of his address being as follows:

"I wish to thank you for your courteous and most generous greeting. It is a great honor to meet with the Joint Session of the Illinois Legislature.

"It is a fitting thing that the celebration of this day should be participated in officially by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, in which Mr. Lincoln took so distin-

guished a part, and by the President of the United States, in whose office Mr. Lincoln became the savior of our republic.

"In the presence of this Assembly one thought expressed by Mr. Lincoln recurs to my mind in the relation of the State Legislature to the whole function and scheme of our government. It is indeed a much larger part than the immediate problems of the states with which they deal, for the legislatures today, as in Mr. Lincoln's time, are the laboratories in which new ideas are developed and in which they are tried out.

"A study of national legislation and national action will show that an overwhelming proportion of the ideas which have been developed nationally have first been born in the state legislatures as the result of the problems which have developed within the states. They have been given trial; they have been hammered out on the anvil of local experience.

"It is true that not all of the ideas come through this successfully. But even the negative values of the trial, especially in some parts of the Union, are of themselves of inestimable value to the nation as a whole. And the ideas which develop with success become of vital importance to our people at large.

"Ours must be a country of constant change and progress because of one fact alone amongst many others, and that is that the constant discoveries in science and their product in new invention shift our basis of human relationships and our mode of life in such a fashion as to require a constant remodeling and the remoulding of the machinery of the government. That does not imply that the eternal principles of justice and right and ordered liberty, upon which the republic was founded, are subject to change, for they are not.

"But our machinery of government must shift in order to enable us to enforce these principles against the shift of economic and social forces due to constant discovery and invention. And in these great processes our state legislatures occupy a position of dominant importance to the nation as a whole.

"I wish again to thank you for the cordiality of your reception."

Following his speech, the President shook hands with the members of the General Assembly and accompanied by Governor Emmerson, left for a few minutes stay at the "Home" of Abraham Lincoln. Before luncheon at the Mansion Mrs. Hoover presented a full picture for the future by appearing before 650 Girl Scouts and being presented with a wreath of green and white roses and baby breath ferns, which stood about three feet high and which she was to place with that of President Hoover's on the grave of Lincoln. Mrs. Hoover responded that she would long remember the day and that she thought the parade of the girls and the presentation a splendid act. This occurred on the lawn in front of the Mansion just before taking their lunch and a short rest before going out to the exercises.

At 2:30 o'clock the official program occurred. It was an ideal day, there being about sixty thousand people present. Everything passed off pleasantly and in order. During the program of the afternoon, which is given in full at the end of this article, Governor Louis L. Emmerson introduced the President, who spoke as follows:

"The people of Illinois have taken just pride in the restoration and beautification of the tomb of their greatest citizen—Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States.—This memorial was erected and dedicated fifty-seven years ago. Another great citizen of Illinois—the eighteenth President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant—made the address on that occasion. It is proper that a President of the United States should take part in its rededication at this time.

"This, the tomb of Lincoln, is a shrine to all Americans. The stone and marble of all of our great national shrines are more than physical reminders of the mighty past of our country. They are symbols of things of the spirit. Through the men and deeds they commemorate, they renew our national ideals and our aspirations. It is refreshment of the national soul to assemble in these places and to direct the thoughts of our people to these occasions and to recall the men and their

deeds which builded the republic. It is an awakening of pride in the glories of the past and an inspiration to faith in the future. These are the springs which replenish that most sacred stream of emotions—patriotism.

“Nothing that we may say here can add to the knowledge or devotion of our people to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. Nothing we may do can add to his stature in history. All that words can convey has long since been uttered by his grateful countrymen.

“We gather here today that we of our generation may again pay tribute to the man who not only saved the Union and gave freedom to a race but who recreated the ideals and inspirations of American life.

“A nation in its whole lifetime flowers with but few whose names remain upon the roll of the world in after generations. Lincoln after all these years still grows, not only in the hearts of his countrymen, but in the hearts of the peoples of the world.

“It is not new, yet it is eternally true, to state that Lincoln made a universal appeal to the minds and hearts of men. His every aspiration was for the unity and welfare of his country. He became a triumphant force in achieving that ideal, because he saw the problems of his time not only from the standpoint of the statesman but of the average citizen whose outlook he understood and whose trials and hopes he shared.

“No man gazes upon the tomb of Lincoln without reflection upon his transcendent qualities of patience, fortitude, and steadfastness. The very greatness which history and popular imagination have stamped upon him sometimes obscures somewhat the real man back of the symbol which he has become. It is not amiss to reflect that he was a man before becoming a symbol. To appreciate the real meaning of his life we need to contemplate him as the product of the people themselves, as the farm boy, the fence builder, the soldier, the country lawyer, the political candidate, the legislator, and the President, as well as the symbol of union and of human rights.

“It is fitting that we should rededicate his hallowed resting place, that we should thus recall to every American mind and heart the contribution which Lincoln made to the greatness of our nation. But it was Lincoln himself whose insight and splendid expression illuminated the true purpose of our assembly at national shrines. It was he who at Gettysburg called upon the people not so much to mourn the dead as to honor them by a rededication of themselves to the service of their country. He said in that memorable address: ‘It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here * * * to the great task remaining before us.’ That should be our purpose and resolve today.

“The six decades which have passed since Lincoln’s death have written on the scroll of history changes bewildering in their variety, momentous in their consequences. They have broadened and enriched life beyond the imaginations of Lincoln’s contemporaries. The years have not only yielded rich treasures, material and spiritual, but they have brought challenges to readjustment, both by government and individuals, to a changing world. Our country has become powerful among nations. It is charged with infinitely new responsibilities both at home and abroad.

“What a poet has called the endless adventure, the government of men, discloses new and changing human needs from generation to generation. As we scan our history even since his day, who can doubt Lincoln’s own words that our national heritage is ‘worth the keeping.’ And it was Lincoln who stated and restated in impressive terms that its keeping rests upon obedience and enforcement of law. There can be no man in our country who, either by his position or his influence, stands above the law. That the republic can not admit and still live. For ours is a government of laws and a society of ordered liberty safeguarded only by law.

“The eternal principles of truth, justice and right, never more clearly stated than by Lincoln, remain the solvent for the problems and perplexities of every age and of our day. It is to those who, like Lincoln have made these principles

serve the needs of mankind that the world pays its homage. At his shrine we light the torch of our rededication to the service and ideals of the nation which he loved and served with the last full measure of devotion."

PROGRAM FOR DEDICATION
OF
LINCOLN TOMB
AT
OAK RIDGE CEMETERY
JUNE 17, 1931—2:30 P. M.

1. Selection, "Hail to the Chief," by the University of Illinois Concert Band under the direction of Albert Austin Harding.
(As soon as the President's car enters the Cemetery the band, starting with four ruffles, will play the above selection and continue same until the President has alighted from his car, entered the Tomb with Mrs. Hoover, Governor and Mrs. Emmerson, placed a wreath, inspected the Tomb, and proceeded to the speaker's platform.)
2. As the President and Governor Emmerson reach the platform the band is to merge from "Hail to the Chief" into "The Star Spangled Banner," which the entire assemblage will sing.
3. Invocation—Reverend John T. Thomas.
4. Song, "Land of Mine" by McDermott, rendered by Hamilton Club Chorus, under the direction of Harry Walsh.
5. Song, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," Plantation Melody, rendered by Lincoln Liberty Chorus under the direction of James A. Mundy, of Chicago.
6. Introduction of President Herbert Hoover by Governor Louis L. Emmerson.
7. Address—President Herbert Hoover.

8. Song, "Unfold Ye Portals," from Gounod's "Redemption" rendered by Lincoln Anniversary Chorus under the direction of William Dodd Chenery, Helen Nettleton, accompanist.
9. Song, "Illinois," by Hamilton Club Chorus, in conjunction with the University of Illinois Band.
10. Benediction—Right Reverend Monsignor Tarrant.
11. Taps—William Lobdaw of the University of Illinois Band.
(Bugler will sound taps from deck of Tomb.)
12. Selection, memorial march, "The Golden Star," by Sousa, University of Illinois Band.
(This selection will be rendered as President Hoover and party leave the stand and the cemetery.)

After a few visits the Presidential party left for the train at 4:00 o'clock.

CENTENNIAL OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GALENA, ILLINOIS.

The First Presbyterian Church of Galena, Illinois, held its Centennial Anniversary of the founding of the church, Sunday, April 12, 1931.

The organization of the Sunday School dates back to 1828, when C. R. Roberts of New York, and a steamboat captain, Captain John Shackford from St. Louis, saw the need of a Sunday School in the mining town of Galena, Illinois, and instituted this service. A very interesting program was given during the Sunday School hour by several members of the school. A number of former superintendents were present, who gave delightful reminiscences of the school in the days gone by.

At the morning service, Rev. E. A. Ballis, present pastor, welcomed the former pastors, Rev. LeRoy Wells Warren of the First Presbyterian Church, Plainfield, New Jersey, and Rev. Ralph M. Crissman, of Highland Park Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan. Rev. LeRoy Wells Warren presented the anniversary sermon, delivering a wonderful message to his hearers.

In the afternoon, members of the church and many others gathered at the church for a pilgrimage to the grave of Rev. Aratus Kent who was the founder of this church at Galena. An appreciative address was given by Rev. E. A. Ballis. He said in part: "We have met here to honor the memory of a brave man, a good man, and a great man—truly a great soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ—one indeed who counted not his life dear unto himself, but gave his all for His Master and the Kingdom. We read of a Chinese potter in the centuries gone by, who wanted to give his Emperor an unusual and superlative piece of pottery. After he had turned and moulded and shaped the thing of clay, he placed it lovingly and tenderly

in his kiln. When the fire in his kiln had attained an unusual white-heat, he threw himself into the furnace. The result was that his piece of pottery came out of that fire with an unusual iridescence of color and shades due to the oils of that body thrown in the flames. If ever a life work reflected the brilliancy of self-immolation, self-sacrifice and self-abnegation, it was the life of Rev. Aratus Kent—founder of the First Presbyterian Church of Galena—the founder of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism in the northwest territory.”

Rev. Ballis also paid honor to the wife of Rev. Kent, who sacrificed with him, and to the two men who organized the Sunday School, thus laying the foundation for the church.

A letter from San Diego was read, written by Edward P. Thomas, who, on October 24, 1865, had been united in marriage by Rev. Kent, to his adopted daughter, Mary. The letter was brought personally by Alden Kent Thomas, son of Edward P. Thomas. Two wreaths of oak-leaves were presented to Alden Kent Thomas by Miss Anna E. Felt, a convert in her childhood of the ministry of Rev. Kent, to be deposited on the graves of her early pastor and his wife.

On June 4, 1829, Rev. Kent wrote a letter to friends in the East, saying, “This village of two hundred houses is very compactly built on two streets, or benches, one about twenty or thirty feet above the other, closely copying the circular direction of Fever River in front, and a high bluff of one hundred feet immediately in the rear. The hum of business is heard on the margin of the river, while abundant scope is afforded for the display of taste in the little yards and gardens which seem already to be creeping up the steep ascent of the surrounding hill.”

In April, 1829, Rev. Kent preached the first sermon ever heard in Galena, and on October 23, 1831, the First Presbyterian Church was organized with six charter members, as follows: Abraham Hathaway, Abraham Miller, Eliza Barnes, Ann Crow, Susan Gratiot and Isabella McKibbins.

Rev. Aratus Kent was a man of faith, and his faith carried him through to victory.

**A CHAPTER IN THE WARFARE AGAINST THE
INDIANS IN ILLINOIS DURING THE
YEAR 1812.**

Copy of a Letter Found in "Genius Of Liberty," Published
at Uniontown, Pa., January 14, 1813.

By GEORGE G. McVICKER.

"St. Louis, Miss. Territory, Nov. 7 1812.

INDIANS DEFEATED.

About 18 or 20 days ago, gov. Edwards, with Col Russell, broke Camp from Fort Russell (20 miles from this place) on an expedition to the Indian Towns.

On Saturday last the whole party returned without losing a man, having performed a march of near 400 miles in 13 or 14 days through a trackless wilderness. We have the following account from governor Edwards which is substantially as he relates to us.

His force consisted of 312 privates, all of whom he had raised in Illinois Territory except 50 rangers who had lately arrived from Vincennes. With this force he proceeded to the saline fork of the Sanguemon, where he burnt two villages. From thence the little army progressed to the head of Peoria lake, 24 miles above the villages; there they found the Kickapoos and a party of the Miamies embodied, but were vigorously charged upon and broken, and induced to take shelter in an immense swamp which skirt the Illinois river; the ardor of the men could not be repressed, they abandoned their mired horses and pursued the savages on foot, through mud and water up to their waists every step, and many penetrated through to the bank of the river, a distance of three miles,

where they found and burnt a Pottowatamy village, together with a great deap of corn & other property.

Between 20 and 30 indians were killed and a number wounded, four prisoners taken; six american scalps, and some horses that had been lately stolen from St Clair county were retaken. On our side four were wounded and only one of these dangerously.

At the principal Kickapoo village upwards of 4000 bushels of corn was destroyed, besides a prodigious quantity of beans and dried meat, pumpkin, tallow furn and peltry. Their houses were strong and well built, some large enough to accomodate 50 persons were found well provided with indian effects; all were in a few hours reduced to ashes. Eighty head of horses with their furniture, about 200 brass kettles, a great quantity of a variety of silver and Indian ornaments, guns, bags of gunpowder, flints etc were brought off.

Immediately after burning the Kickapoo town, a party was detached to Peoria who burnt a village within a half a mile of that place; this last mentioned place was lately erected by the Miamies. Never was an expedition crowned with more success. Never have those indians received so dreadful a blow. Indeed it would be invidious to eulogise any officer or private of this hardy band of heros, it is only necessary to say that all done their duty and deserve the plaudit of their government and fellow citizens generally. It is worthy of remark in this place that the native courage of our people was strongly marked in every instance of the expedition to the Pottawatamy & Kickapoo towns, particularly, the following instance. On the retreat of the savages from town through the swamp half a dozen brave fellows pursued to the river where the indians had taken to their canoes and were near the opposite shore, there were shot down, and those men of the name of Howard, Brady, and St John, (a Frenchman) swam the river 150 yards wide, brought back the canoes, with the bodies of the fugitives, within sight of Gomo's town and a number of Indians."

**THE UNVEILING OF A TABLET TO THE MEMORY OF
A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.
JOSHUA ARMSTRONG.**

By MRS. SARAH B. STIFLER.

About eight miles west of Jerseyville just off Route 38 lies a little cemetery known as the *Armstrong Cemetery*. Here many of the pioneer settlers of this section of Illinois have been laid to rest. It is a beautiful spot on the crest of a hill, overlooking the scene of the early labors of those brave men who, by their unselfish heroism, did much to shape the future destiny of our fair state. Among the honored names chiseled on those ancient gravestones may be found that of *Joshua Armstrong*, a man whose memory is honored, not alone as that of a hardy pioneer in the days of Illinois' early history long before she had attained Statehood, but, also, as that of a brave soldier of the American Revolution, and furthermore, as that of one who had been a member of the famous George Rogers Clark expedition to which our Nation owes such a debt of gratitude. The carefully preserved annals of the Armstrong family have recorded in them the facts concerning the early life of Mr. Joshua Armstrong and also concerning his varied activities in the service of his country. The quotation which follows is from data compiled and furnished by Mr. J. A. Stice of Shelbyville, Illinois, a great-grandson of Joshua Armstrong:

“Joshua Armstrong was born August 1, 1756, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was a descendant of General James Armstrong who came to Pennsylvania previous to 1737 from the county of Fermanaugh of the Province of Ulster, Ireland. At an early age he enlisted in the Cumberland County Militia and served many months under Captain Leard, Colonel Jenkins and Lieu-

tenant Jenkins. He saw active service in the Battle of Chestnut Hill and Seven Stars also at the Falls of the Ohio. Later he became attached to the George Rogers Clark Expedition against the British in the Northwest, seeing service under Captain Bruce and Colonels Crockett and Marshall. July 7, 1785, he was married to Miss Sarah Morris, a daughter of Morris Morris of Rockingham County, Virginia. Having become impressed with the future of the Illinois Country he emigrated to St. Clair County directly opposite St. Louis by way of Warren County, Kentucky, in 1810.

“Joshua Armstrong and wife left their impress upon their country by becoming the parents of Robert, Hugh, Margaret, Mary, Thomas, William, Andrew, Maurice and Nancy. William having served in the War of 1812 and Hugh in the Black Hawk War as a lieutenant under Captain Abraham Lincoln. Joshua Armstrong died Sept. 25, 1844 and was buried in what is known as the Armstrong Cemetery, situated about half way between Jerseyville and Fieldon, Illinois. Several of the family are also buried there.”

There being no official marker on the stone that bore the name of Joshua Armstrong, his two great-grandsons Mr. J. A. Stice of Shelbyville, Illinois, and Mr. Byron Armstrong of Jacksonville, Illinois, on learning this fact, determined that one should be placed there. To this end they conferred with Miss Amelia Flynn, Regent of the Ninian Edwards Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, at Alton, Illinois, and with Mrs. S. D. McKenny, chairman of the Committee on marking Historic Spots, of the same Chapter, and plans were at once formulated for the procuring and placing of an appropriate official tablet upon the stone. The unveiling of this tablet took place October 25, 1930, with fitting exercises under the direction of Miss Amelia Flynn of Alton, Illinois, Regent of the Ninian Edwards Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

After the singing of "America" by the large audience present, and the offering of an invocation by the Chaplain of the Chapter, Mrs. D. L. Hair, an address was made by Mrs. S. D. McKenny of Alton telling of the work being done in the marking of Historic Spots both by the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, and by the Local Chapter which she represented.

The tablet was unveiled by James Arnold Stice, four year old son of Earl F. Stice of Altamont, Illinois, and great-great-great-grandson of the Revolutionary hero in whose honor the war marker was placed. After the unveiling of the tablet Mr. J. Maurice Stice an attorney of Shelbyville, Illinois, spoke on behalf of the family, paying tribute to the memory of his great-great-grandfather, Joshua Armstrong, and relating many interesting facts concerning the Armstrong family.

Representative H. T. Rainey of Carrollton followed with the formal address of the day. He paid eloquent tribute to all American soldiers who in times of National peril, had freely offered their services and if needs be given their lives in defense of their country. The service of dedication closed with prayer and benediction offered by Dr. S. D. McKenny. Then taps sounded and the audience slowly dispersed.

It is interesting to note that previous to gathering in the cemetery, some thirty-five or forty of the descendants of Mr. Joshua Armstrong had met, and after a noon-day meal together, had organized an Armstrong Clan with Mr. Byron Armstrong of Jacksonville, Illinois, as chief. Descendants from Jacksonville, Shelbyville, Pleasant Plains, Springfield, Altamont, Dow, Fillmore, and Collinsville in Illinois, and from DeSoto, Missouri, were present. Notably, among them, was Mr. Albert Armstrong of Springfield, Illinois, who being the son of Hugh Armstrong, was the only grandchild present. He is a Civil War Veteran and the son of a Black Hawk War Veteran.

A very large delegation from the Ninian Edwards Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution was also in attendance upon the dedication services.

NECROLOGY



Henry Harrison Beach

HENRY HARRISON BEACH.

1827-1907.

By MRS. HENRY HARRISON BEACH.

Henry Harrison Beach was born in Cooperstown, New York, in August, 1827. He came to Litchfield, Illinois, May 17, 1857.

He purchased property of Mr. E. B. Litchfield, on which to erect a foundry and machine shop: the building is still standing. He soon became one of the foremost citizens of the town.

Litchfield bears the marks of his energy and enterprise; he was a member of the council when the water-works were built, and used all his influence towards their installation.

He soon saw the need of cheap fuel and organized a company to sink a coal mine.

He was a man of sterling honesty, integrity and ability, always alert to do good and a generous giver to all worthy causes.

He passed away on April 13, 1907. Honorable David R. Sparks of Alton, Illinois, said in a letter, "I have learned with a deep feeling of sorrow of the death of my old friend, Henry H. Beach. I have known and admired him for more than forty years for his genial nature."

"He was a man always alert to do good."

Mr. J. A. Beverly, who was connected with Mr. Beach for a number of years while boring for oil in this vicinity, said, "I deeply sympathize with all who knew him, or ever came in contact with that peerless prince of men whom to know was but to love."

JAMES C. BURNS.

1850-1930.

Mr. James C. Burns, one of the finest of Illinois educators, died at his old home in Claysville, Pennsylvania, on August 16, 1930. Mr. Burns was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, in 1850. He received his early education in the public schools, and at the age of fourteen entered Waynesburg College in Pennsylvania. When sixteen years old he taught his first school in West Virginia. In 1869 he came to Monmouth, Illinois, completing a college course at this place in 1875. He then held various teaching and administrative positions in Illinois until 1902, when he became instructor at the Western Illinois Normal School, as it was then called. Four years later he was appointed Superintendent of Schools in Macomb. In 1913 he returned to Western, first as instructor in latin, and later in history.

For forty-eight years Mr. Burns was a member of the Illinois State Teachers' Association. He was a great student, always reading, studying, observing. He was an admirer of Lincoln and owned a valuable collection of books about the great Illinois President. For many years he was an interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society. One of his hobbies was outdoor life and gardening, which was a factor in keeping him in his usual good health.

Mr. Burns took a personal interest in his students, helping them over many difficult places in their lives. Both Mr. and Mrs. Burns were especially interested in the Filipino students, and it was largely through their efforts that the first group of Filipinos, one of whom was Dr. Camilo Osias, came to Macomb in 1905 to take their college work. Dr. Osias paid a beautiful tribute to Mr. Burns.

A deeply religious man was Mr. Burns, and he was a devout member of the Presbyterian Church. He taught the men's Bible class for over twenty years, and he was active in church work.

In 1878 Mr. Burns was married to Miss Ida Jane Carey, who had been his classmate in college, and had taught in the school of which Mr. Burns was superintendent. Four children were born to them. Mr. Burns was very devoted to his family, and his wife's death a year previous to his own, was a great blow to him.

Mr. Burns first became ill in the spring of 1930, and he resigned his position, making his home with his daughter, Mrs. A. R. Lord, in Chicago. In August, his health being greatly improved, he decided to attend a family reunion at his old home in Claysville, Pennsylvania. He made the trip in safety, but soon after dinner, while looking over his notes preparatory to making a talk, death came to him without warning.

His four children survive him—Clinton, a broker in New York; Deane, a chemist and superintendent of a large chemical plant in Elyria, Ohio; Josephine, now Mrs. R. D. Glasgow of Albany, and formerly an instructor in the University of Illinois, and Ruth, Mrs. A. R. Lord of Chicago. He also leaves one grandchild, Harold, son of Deane Burns.

Funeral services were held in Macomb at the Presbyterian Church, and were conducted by Reverend Mr. Fouts. The pall bearers were members of the college faculty. Interment was in Oakwood Cemetery.

FREDERICK LATIMER WELLS.

1860-1929.

Frederick Latimer Wells was born in Chicago, July 9, 1860, and died there December 9, 1929.

His ancestry may be traced through long and distinguished lines. On the Wells side he was a direct descendant of Elder William Brewster, of William Bradford, the second governor of Plymouth Colony, and of Thomas Wells, colonial governor of Connecticut in 1655.

Among his maternal ancestors was Jonathan Latimer, who organized a company of Connecticut militia for service in the American Revolution. Five of his sons were enrolled in his company. After the Revolution the Latimers migrated south and west into Tennessee. Members of the family were among the Tennessee Sharpshooters whose timely aid at the Battle of New Orleans contributed to the success of that engagement. Later several of the Latimer family moved from Tennessee to New Salem, Illinois, where Mr. Wells' grandmother, Mrs. Jonathan Latimer, was aided in the care of her children by young Ann Rutledge. It was his great-uncle, Alexander Latimer, who introduced Abraham Lincoln to Ann Rutledge, and to whom Abraham Lincoln wrote later: "Oh, Alec! My heart is broken, Ann is dead."

In August, 1831, Mr. Wells' grandfather, Jonathan Latimer, with his family, moved from New Salem to Knox County, Illinois, and settled near Abingdon, from which place the sons were active on the Union side during the Civil War, and in which town Frederick Chapin Wells, who came to Chicago from Lakeville, Connecticut, in 1851, married the youngest daughter Clara Latimer in 1857.

Of this marriage Frederick Latimer Wells was the eldest son in a family of six children, of whom two brothers and a

sister, Arthur B. Wells, Walter A. Wells, and Mrs. Luda Wells Seymour survive him.

He was a graduate of the public schools of Chicago. With his parents he moved to Wheaton, DuPage County, Illinois, in 1878. There on September 24, 1903, he married Katharine S. Adams, daughter of John Quincy Adams of Chicago and Wheaton, in which latter town he and Mrs. Wells spent much of their time until his death. In 1917 he established his residence in Sarasota, Florida. They had no children.

As a young man Mr. Wells was associated with his father in Chicago in the manufacture of steam pumps. Later he gave his attention to the railway supply business. He was a communicant in the Episcopal Church. The following are some of the organizations to which he belonged: Sons of the American Revolution, The Cliffe Dwellers, The Chicago Yacht Club, and The Illinois State Historical Society. He was a governing member of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Mr. Wells was of a very genial personality; he possessed strong will power, and delighted in the accomplishment of anything he undertook.

PASSING OF A PIONEER EDUCATOR.

1837-1931.

By REVEREND CHARLES L. KLOSS.

Joshua Platt Garlick, noted California educator, 94 years old, an alumnus of Illinois College, passed away at his home in Hillsborough Park, San Mateo, California, February 19, 1931.

Mr. Garlick was born in Cass County, Illinois, in 1837. His boyhood days were spent on his father's farm near Beardstown, Illinois. He graduated from Illinois College in 1862 during the Civil War, in which he was denied participation on account of a temporary disability. He heard the famous Douglas-Lincoln debates and was a personal friend of Mr. Lincoln.

A short time after his graduation he joined the covered wagon caravan and after four months of extraordinary hardships reached Oregon. He was principal of the first grammar school in Portland and later was a member of the State Legislature.

In 1868 he came to California and five years later he married Miss Etha F. Sproul who survives him.

Forty-five years of Mr. Garlick's life were spent in educational work in California and he was designated the "Grand Old Man" of the Oakland public school system. He had, as a neighboring principal, in the Oakland schools, the celebrated California poet Edwin Markham. He was one of a coterie of distinguished teachers who did so much to shape the educational life of the entire Bay region. It is difficult to estimate the value to a community of one who possessed the qualifications, intellectual and moral, which characterized Mr. Garlick. He literally inspired or directed the studies of thousands of



Joshua H. Garlick

boys and girls many of whom have since become leaders in the professions, in business and civic life. One of his most distinguished pupils when he was principal of the Cole School was Jack London.

He was ever watchful of the interest of the public schools, and was loved and respected by a host of people. Keenly interested in the movements of history, keeping abreast of modern thought, he was ever alert to promote the common good. He was a devoted husband, neighbor and friend.

Joshua Platt Garlick was of heroic mould and temper, a citizen of sterling integrity. His memorial has already been erected in the lives of thousands who acclaim him as benefactor, and his passing is like the lingering strain of great and noble music.

MRS. KATE WHITLOCK.

On Sunday, March 15, 1931, after a lingering illness of many months, death called Mrs. Kate Whitlock.

Mrs. Whitlock had resided in Illinois her entire life. She was born in Raymond Township, Champaign County, and was the daughter of Otha and Caroline Upp. On March 20, 1883, she was married to Ward B. Whitlock. To this union was born one daughter, Mary Ward, now Mrs. Allen T. Smith of Springfield. For a number of years they lived in Homer, Illinois, but in 1905 moved to Springfield, where they have resided ever since.

Mrs. Whitlock was active in social and charitable work in Springfield for about twenty-five years.

Her interesting and active life was sadly interrupted in the last year by failing health which finally proved fatal following weary months of constant suffering. Her patience and heroism in her long period of pain and suffering were touching in the extreme. She enjoyed her friends in her illness as never before and always had a cheery greeting for callers.

Besides being a member of our State Historical Society, Mrs. Whitlock enjoyed membership in the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield; Willing Circle of King's Daughters; the Springfield Woman's Club and the Art Club.

The deceased is survived by her husband, Ward B. Whitlock; daughter, Mrs. Allen T. Smith, and two grandsons, Ward Whitlock and Allen Thomas Smith, all of Springfield.

Funeral services were held Wednesday morning, March 18th at the family home, 437 South Grand Avenue, West, in Springfield, followed by interment in the cemetery at Homer, near her birthplace.



Mrs. Kate Whitlock

WILLIAM P. ROBBE, ANOTHER OF A PASSING AGE.

1843-1931.

By HIS GRANDSON, CHARLES W. ROBBE.

William P. Robbe, a stern upright man, was a veteran of the Civil War. He was born February 22, 1843, at Waterloo, Monroe County, Illinois. His father, James Weddel Robbe, was born in Virginia. Sarah Jane Hitchcock, his mother, was born in Michigan.

In 1850 he was living with William E. Hitchcock, a farmer, residing in Savanna Township (Town of Savanna) Carroll County, Illinois. As a printer's apprentice at the age of 17 he was studying in Mt. Carroll, Carroll County, Illinois. This city he called his home till the day of his death seventy-one years later, May 29, 1931.

As a young man his influence was thrown early to the side of justice—of order and right. He enlisted in the Federal Army September 24, 1861, in Company E. 45th Illinois Infantry. He was made a corporal. This soldier came through the many skirmishes that all veterans fight. The great battles in which he took part were Fort Henry, Fort Donelson in February, 1862, and Shiloh and Corinth the same year. His greatest and last battle was that at Vicksburg, Mississippi. He was wounded on May 22, 1863 by a Minie ball, which had been shot through his bowels. He was thought dead. Oliver Swartz of Mt. Carroll found him on the battle field. Another comrade, Ben Sisler, helped care for him tenderly. Sergeant Robbe, for he had become a sergeant, was removed to Jefferson Barracks, where he recovered. He received his honorable discharge August 15, 1863. He had fought in the battle which with Gettysburg proved to be the turning point in the Civil War. He had done his part to make the "more perfect Union" indissoluble. Below is a letter from his beloved Cap-

tain—Captain Adair. This letter is now a prized possession of the Robbe family.

“Head Quarters Co. “E.” 45th Ills., Infy.)
Vicksburg, Miss., Sept. 4th, 1863)

Sergt. Wm. P. Robbe:

My Noble Boy:—It is with feeling of sorrow and regret that I write you these few lines to bid you adieu. I heard of your discharge from the service with sadness, because I felt as though our circle of friends had again been broken, another link lost from our chain, and the merry voice of our comrade in arms never again to cheer our lonely (war) path.

We miss you much, and it is hard to realize that you have left us forever, in our soldiers life. Yet I am glad that you have escaped with your life, and hope that you may live long to enjoy the blessings of a happy country, as the fruits of the labors of you and your fellow soldiers, when peace shall once more be restored to our distracted country.

Be ever proud “my boy,” of your reputation as a soldier; none have left a better record; none more brave, none more loyal, none more deserving the praise of a nation, none have served here better.

I have watched your career closely, and have not one word of fault to find. When in camp, I have always noticed that it was your highest aim to discharge your duties honestly and faithfully; always ready and willing to obey orders, and to execute promptly; of your kindness and generosity toward your fellow soldiers, I cannot speak too approvingly, the evidence being left in the many, and warm friends that you have left among them to lament your absence.

When on the “field of battle” your desire has always been to occupy the post of danger, and I do not compliment you too highly, when I say that in all the victorious army of the Tenn., there are none that have excelled you in bravery.

The fortitude with which you have borne your pain and suffering, occasioned by your wounds, is worthy the admiration of all, and I verily believe that your courage and resolution has saved you your life.

The boys are all enjoying good health, and are having comparatively easy times, with a good supply of "soldier fare;" they all join in sending their love and best wishes for your future welfare. Hoping that your life-sky may never be dimmed by the clouds of sorrow, I am your true friend,

J. M. Adair,

Capt. Co. "E," 45th Regt. Ill., Inftry.

Wm. P. Robbe.

Mount Carroll, Carroll County, Ills."

His interest continued in military affairs. He became a charter member of Nase Post, No. 80, G. A. R. Department of Illinois, which was formed in 1880 and was the first in the county. He was elected Outside Guard. At a Savanna meeting in 1892 he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. He became a Past Post Commander. It was appropriate that he should be honored in the Grand Army of the Republic—especially so, in the State of Illinois, where the organization was first formed in 1866.

He married Sarah E. Watson in the fall of 1863. Unto them were born ten children. There are forty-seven grandchildren and thirty-seven great-grandchildren.

William P. Robbe had settled down to a busy life of civil affairs. An early Carroll County history lists his office as constable. He was city marshal or constable for more than twenty years. The Daily Mirror-Democrat—which under the guidance of Cal M. Feezer wields a powerful influence for good—said of him, "As city marshal for many years, he was brave and fearless and kept good order on the streets. When he spoke a word of reproof or gave a command to men or boys they knew he meant it, and they obeyed."

He became county sheriff—a position which he filled with honor. Those who placed him there were satisfied. Judges and court attaches respected him. An instance has been related showing his interest in young people. He helped some young men who had accidentally got into trouble at a wedding.

He held other elected minor positions. He was a member of the Republican county central committee for two years.

His young friend, Cal M. Feezer—himself a pillar of Republican strength and a doer of good in the Carroll community—said of him: “He was a real politician. Many times he was a delegate to Republican conventions.” He was a staunch supporter of the Republican party his entire life except for the period of his life in which Theodore Roosevelt appeared. He followed his—and America’s national hero—to the end. He was a great reader and a real student of national affairs.

He returned to Savanna to pass the early part of his declining years at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Will (Annie) McCall. The last ten years of his life were spent at another daughter’s home, Mrs. Walter (Ellen) King, where he was given most tender care. His granddaughter Genevieve King nobly gave him due care and attention during the sickness preceding his death. His powers were laid down—as were Roosevelt’s—in his sleep. He was given a full military funeral under the command of Commander O. P. Miles. He lies buried hardly a hundred rods from his old home place and only a few steps from his Captain Adair.

In parting tribute it can be said that the principles that guided his life were patience, duty, and obedience to law. In the Carroll County Court House yard is a monument on which are cut the names of the volunteer soldiers. William P. Robbe’s name is carved on the northeast side but his name is engraved far more deeply in the minds and hearts of his descendants and friends.

CAPTAIN J. H. FREEMAN.

1840-1931.

Captain J. H. Freeman, Civil War veteran, civic leader and noted educator, died Thursday, June 12, 1931, at his home in Aurora, Illinois, at the age of ninety-one years.

Mr. Freeman received a Master's degree from Bates College in 1866, known then as Maine State Seminary. He came to Illinois the same year and became principal of the schools at Leland, Illinois. In 1869, when the Brady School was built, he came to Aurora as its first principal. In 1870 he was Superintendent of the schools in Polo; in 1874 he went to Denver as Principal of the High School, but on account of the high altitude he returned to the Polo schools, and was also elected Mayor of Polo. In 1879, he came to Aurora as Superintendent of the west side schools. Later he was Superintendent of the School for the Blind, and in 1907 he retired from active service. At one time he was President of the State Teachers Association, and in 1928 he received from the Aurora College, the degree of Doctor of Laws.

During the Civil War, Dr. Freeman left college to serve his country. He was Second Lieutenant of the Twenty-third Regiment of the Maine Volunteer Infantry, and in the closing year of the war he was Captain of Company H, Fourteenth Maine Volunteer Infantry. He became active in the Grand Army of the Republic, of which he was a member fifty-one years. Thirteen times he was elected Commander of the local Post. During the World War he was appointed by the Government as a member of the Aurora Exemption Board.

Mr. Freeman was a Christian in the finest sense of the word, and always ready to perform acts of kindness. He loved his home, and was a good husband and father to his wife and children, who survive him.

Funeral services were held at the Healy Chapel in Aurora, conducted by Rev. Irvin S. Yeaworth of the First Presbyterian Church, of which Captain Freeman was a member. A special service was given by members of the G. A. R., Post No. 20. Burial was in Spring Lake Cemetery.

The following editorial from the *Aurora Daily Beacon-News* presents a fine summary of Captain Freeman's life:

"Aurora loved Captain Freeman and took a fine pride in him, the only one of its citizens to head both of its public school systems.

Soldier, educator, public spirited leader, he embodied the qualities that make for esteem and confidence.

Like persons generally who win honorable distinction, he was firm of purpose but always had thought for the rights and welfare of others.

It was as natural for him to be courteous as to breathe and he had a reverence for womanhood that was inspiring.

The community is a better place for his having lived here. It grieves to think he is gone, although it knew he was in his nineties and felt that he was on borrowed time, as are others of that great age.

It rejoices in the thought that there is a fine monument to him in the school that bears his name. Nothing in his life moved him more than the conferring upon him of this honor.

He loved children and the understanding that he would be identified with the welfare of coming generations as well as those of his day made his heart glad."

MRS. MALINDA E. LAYTON.

1843-1931.

Mrs. Malinda E. Layton, member of a prominent Illinois family, died at 4:50 o'clock Friday afternoon, June 12, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Albert R. Trapp, 1520 South Sixth Street.

Mrs. Layton was born August 16, 1843, near St. Clair, Illinois, the daughter of Noah W. and Maria Bird Boyce. She was married to William T. Layton at Jacksonville, where she lived until 1916. Six children were born to them, three of whom survive: Mrs. N. H. McGhee and Mrs. Albert R. Trapp of Springfield, and Mrs. A. C. DeMary of Rupert, Idaho. She also leaves five grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren. She was the last surviving member of a pioneer family which settled in Morgan County about 1800.

Mrs. Layton was a member of the Methodist Church, and was baptized by the pioneer preacher, Rev. Peter Cartwright. She was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and was an earnest, devoted and one of the oldest members of the Illinois State Historical Society. She attended the meetings, and devoted her time to the work of the Society when called upon to do so. She will be missed, especially by the earlier members of the Society.

Mrs. Layton was a woman of culture, of a cheerful disposition, and throughout her life had many friends in Sangamon and Morgan counties.

The remains were taken to Jacksonville, her old home, where services were held in the Reynolds mortuary on the afternoon of Sunday, June 14, the Reverend Havighurst officiating. The body was placed to rest by the side of her loved ones at Antioch Cemetery.

IRA B. BLACKSTOCK.

1866-1931.

Mr. Ira B. Blackstock, a prominent business and civic leader in Springfield for many years, died Friday afternoon, July 24, 1931, at St. John's Hospital, after an illness of several months. He was born in Paxton, Illinois, April 3, 1866, a son of Robert and Emily (Meharry) Blackstock. He came to Springfield when a young man. He was graduated from DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, in 1886, and had been a trustee of the school for many years.

Mr. Blackstock was an extensive property owner, and was engaged in several lines of business, among them being the Pure Ice and Cold Storage Company. He was President of the Kiowa, Hardtner and Pacific Railroad Company, but had recently disposed of his railroad properties.

As a member and officer in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. Blackstock was very active. He was appointed a member of the Ecumenical Conferences of Methodist Churches held in London in 1921, and was appointed to the same conference to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, in October of this year. His benevolences were numerous.

Mr. Blackstock belonged to the Masonic fraternity, the Optimist, the Mid-day Luncheon, and other clubs, and was President of the Springfield Art Association. He was also a member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

His wife, Mrs. Mary Hardtner Blackstock, and his sister, Miss Mae Blackstock, survive him. Funeral services were held on Monday, at 4:00 p. m., at the residence, 1016 South Sixth Street, the pastor of the First Methodist Church, Dr. H. W. McPherson, officiating. Interment was in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph.D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph.D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph.D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph.D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-37. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1930. (Nos. 6-28 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph.D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collection, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1772-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Régimé, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles. By Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph.D., LL.D. lxxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XXI. Law Series, Vol. II. The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809. Edited with introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, Professor of Law, University of Illinois. cclxxxii and 734 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois. 1763-1787.

A Sesquicentennial Memorial by Theodore Calvin Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease. 96 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1929.

General Index to Collections, Journals, Publications, 1899-1928. Compiled by Juliet G. Sager. 95 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXIV, No. 2, July, 1931.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

* Out of print.

DR. CHARLES CHANDLER
His Place in the American Scene.
BY JOSEPHINE CRAVEN CHANDLER.

— o —

To my Husband, Carl B. Chandler,
Whose admiration for his grandfather
Inspired this work
And whose researches assisted it.

— o —

CONTENTS

I.	Forbears	376
II.	The Frontier	395
III.	The Sangamon Valley	419
IV.	Social Development	445
V.	Economic and Moral Development.....	457
VI.	Domestic Interests	467
VII.	Dr. Lippencott Comes to Town.....	492
VIII.	Life and Love in the Valley.....	507
IX.	The Coming of the Railroads.....	514
X.	The Republican Party is Formed.....	522
XI.	Chandlerville and the Civil War.....	529
XII.	The Doctor's Family	537
XIII.	Journey's End	546
	Epilogue	551

ILLUSTRATIONS.

- 1 Frontispiece: The Portrait and the Table
- 2 Joshua Chandler Homestead
- 3 Captain John Chandler Homestead
- 4 Dr. Charles Chandler Homestead
- 5 Doorway of old Chandler House at Chandlerville
- 6 Photograph of Minutes of First Church Meeting
- 7 Photograph of Marcus Chandler
- 8 Marcus Chandler Homestead
- 9 Photograph of Henry Chandler Bowen
- 10 Photograph of Captain Knowlton Chandler
- 11 Photograph of Dr. Charles Chandler



DR. CHARLES CHANDLER.
His Portrait and Table.

PROLOGUE.

For something less than a score of years the portrait of my husband's grandfather has hung upon the wall of my living-room. It is a creditable piece of work (probably a Healy, though the point cannot be proved) and is said by those who remember the man, to be a "speaking likeness." Beneath it stands a mahogany table that once adorned and served his library; come, by that immutable affinity which holds material things in bond, to spend its declining years—for it *is* declining, for all the arts of the restorer—in that friendly place. The table's square and sturdy top is supported by a pedestal arising from an octagonal base; a unique conceit of the designer doubtless derived from those Roman devices found along the Appian Way preserving, against oblivion, the names of certain persons of importance. It is a pleasing piece and conveys a sense of period linking it with the portrait's mildly ornate frame of tarnished gold and the black silk stock of Grandfather.

It is by these several tokens that I know the man of whom I presume to write:* also I have had recourse to various biographical sketches found in old county Histories, in the files of yellowed newspapers; and to the etcetera of anecdote and reminiscence by which the memory—even the memory of those most cherished—is caught in the casual amber of conversation. But whether some vibration of personality inheres in the polished wood and the fading pigments, or whether that

* Specifically, the chief sources of assistance have been "The Chandler Family," George Chandler; "The History of Woodstock," Bowen; "Genealogies of Woodstock Families," Bowen; "Dr. Charles Chandler: Historical Sketch," Dr. J. F. Snyder; "Dr. Charles Ellet Lippencott: Historical Sketch," Dr. J. F. Snyder; "The History of Cass County, Illinois, (1882)," Perrin; and certain correspondence with Mr. John Goodell, of Beardstown, Illinois, whose knowledge of land history in this part of the State is exceptional. He was, furthermore, at the beginning of this work, editing the thirty years' Diary of his grandfather, Mr. William Sewall, the latter years of whose life were lived in the Sangamon Valley during the early years of Dr. Chandler's sojourn there. Also the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society have been heavily drawn upon.

energy of the spirit which informs the lineaments—"built up," as Pater has it "little cell by little cell upon the flesh without"—impresses itself as well, in some inscrutable way, upon material and inorganic form it is, if at all, by these tokens, the portrait and the table, that I have come to know my husband's grandfather.

Yet portraiture were vain so far as the ends of history are served (and biography is portraiture, how ever ill or good), if it should succeed in rendering no more than the individual aura of the man; for man is inevitably insignificant unless placed in his just relationship to time, to geography and to that "vast mutability which is event."

The gentleman of the portrait (presumably by Healy*) whose head is borne so modestly above his stock, (presumably of silk) was and is, though half a century dead, part and parcel of the state of Illinois. To see his life, or the forty-seven years of it which he spent upon that soil, would be—were that conceivable—to see a section of the history of that state with a vividness of portrayal never yet permitted the pen or brush of even the most authentically inspired. And just as the gentleman of the portrait is a part of history—though his name is blazoned on no Appian Way—so, inevitably, history is a part of him. Though the fact is insignificant in any of the larger aspects of the period, yet it is interesting to observe that his life began almost at the moment when the state which he came to love commenced to heave itself out of obscurity and to become a geographic entity. He arrived upon its soil at a time when the first vague outline of that particular destiny which it was presently to fulfill was just beginning. That destiny, so greatly significant in the National drama, reached its climacteric when the gentleman of the portrait was yet in mid-current of his full and active life: and when his three score years and ten had passed, and time had a little dimmed the waving auburn of his hair, Illinois had come to her full years. No longer the "Frontier State," she was now of the Middle West. Millions of acres of wheat and corn poured

their green and golden flood where once the glacial river flowed, where once the Indian and the buffalo, the elk and the beaver held their rendezvous; where once the fever and the prairie fire held each its special terror. From the great metropolis at her head, there beside the water of Lake Michigan, to the broad river that bathes her feet, Illinois was a developed, a self-determined state, rich in her own soil rights and bountiful in her tributes to the world.

* Since the above was written a sufficient authentication would seem to have been established through the reproduction of this portrait upon the screen, with numerous others, illustrating a lecture on Healy's work by his great-granddaughter, Madam de Mare. The lecture was delivered before the New York Genealogical and Biological Society. Healy painted portraits of King Louis Phillippe and other subjects of distinction during his long residence in France.

I.

FORBEARS.

Charles Chandler was the fifth child belonging to the seventh generation of his family in America. The progenitors of the line in this country were William and Annis; a part of that numerous migration which, between 1620 and 1640, disaffected either by changing economic conditions in England or by religious intolerance, had set out across perilous seas in tiny wooden ships arriving, after many days, to dangers that they knew not of.

It is possible that the Chandlers, though bearing no conspicuous testimony as to predilections in descending generations, were influenced through religious considerations for, on arriving in Boston Harbor, they came almost directly to the seat of that influence wielded by the famous "Apostle to the Indians," John Eliot. At Roxbury, five years before, he had built his church. Furthermore, "Mistress Annice," as Eliot called her, using the title accorded in recognition of her dignity of family, was a sister of the Rev. Thomas Hooker who had come to America by way of Holland in 1633. That divine—sometimes called "the Luther of New Holland"—had, however, on the year previous to the arrival of his sister, gone with a hundred others to that "farthest west" in Connecticut, where were the three devastated towns of Newton, Watertown and Dorchester, (renamed Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor) and was busily engaged in the work of rehabilitation and of spreading the gospel there in the wilderness.

The Chandler family came from Widford, in Hertfordshire, and it is presumable that the Roxbury group was made up of people from that general locality since many place-names in that part of Connecticut reflect patriotic memories of villages in the environs of Oxford.

William, unlike his descendants, who were hardy people, died of consumption four years after coming to America. The Roxbury Church Records report that "he lay near a year sick, in all of which time his faith, patience and Godliness and Contentation So Shined that Christ was much glorified in him—he was a man of Weake parts but Excellent faith and holiness; he was a very thankful man, and much magnified God's greatness." In addition to these high qualities one might be justified in assuming a remarkable courage since, with this affliction, "to which he had a long time been inclined," he had faced the rigors of a passage consuming half a year, bringing with him a wife and four small children, the eldest of which was nine, to a strange and not too friendly land.

Presumably, he was not without resources, however, for he had, as shown in "Ye Note of ye Estates and persons of ye inhabitants of Roxbury," twenty-two acres of land. He took the freeman's oath and is named as among the proprietors of Andover; and it is believed that he once owned a tannery. His wife, Annis—who was a widow when he married her and was twice married after his death—bore him one more child after coming to America. She died in 1683, and is called in the Church Record, "a blessed saint."

Such were the founders of the Chandler family in America—a frail and godly man and a hale and courageous woman,—"a blessed saint." Their contribution to the society in which they lived seems not to have been conspicuous but one sees in them, as the author of "The Adams Family" saw in Henry Adams, whose arrival on these shores (1636) was nearly contemporaneous with that of the Chandlers, those who "made the great resolve" and took "the great responsibility"; and perhaps it was enough. The History of Roxbury says, "It has been remarked that no people can boast a more honorable descent than those of Massachusetts, and the Roxbury people were the best that came."

But William and Annis had done their work and passed on when, the Roxbury people feeling the need of expansion,

it was proposed to petition the General Court, as the Colonial Legislature was called, for a grant of land in the Nipmuck county lying westward in what, in 1633, had taken the name of the County of New Cambridge. The petition was well received, but it was stipulated by the Court that thirty families be settled thereon within three years and "that they maintain among them an able and orthodox godly Minister."

A tract was chosen*, in accordance, seven miles square in the neighborhood of Maunchaug—now Oxford. A committee was sent out with a surveyor who spent eleven days seeking to discover the Massachusetts line and finally had to fix one on its own responsibility—an incertitude that resulted in a long dispute through future years. The tract, which lay seventy-two miles from Boston, was intersected by the old pioneer trail known as the Connecticut Path. A committee of thirteen was sent ahead to make certain preliminary arrangements and when all was in readiness those who had decided to become "goers" agreed to be at the appointed place within thirty days. Each "goer" was to be granted a home lot of not less than twenty acres.

Great excitement had attended the decision as to whom should be "goers" and whom "stayers" among the men of Roxbury, and when the list was completed it was found that two male descendants of William and Annis were among the "goers": John (to be known in these annals as Deacon John), their fifth child and third son—now fifty-one years old,—and his son John Jr., who had just come of age.

The spot chosen for the settlement of the new colony was the site of the former Indian village of Wabbaquasset, one of the "praying towns" which John Eliot's Indian converts had established near the Quinabaug, then the Mohegan river. It was Sampson, one of the two sons of the Sachem of Hassanamesits, whom he had sent into the Nipnet, or Fresh-water Country, to convert the natives of this place; and it was on

* I am indebted for these facts, as for almost all of those relating the history of the Chandlers in Woodstock, to Clarence W. Bowen's *History of Woodstock*: A heavy obligation.

Wabbaquasset Hill (afterwards Woodstock Hill) that Sampson had erected his great wigwam—160x20. Here the “Apostle” himself, together with Major Gookin, had visited the Indian congregation, praying, singing and exhorting, until almost morning. On the following day, September 16, 1674, from a rock—known to this day as Eliot Rock—he had preached to them in their own tongue from the text, “Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven.”

King Philip’s war (1675) however, put an end to all that; reconverting by the eloquence of superior arms, not only Sampson but his flock as well; and now on Wabbaquasset Hill, the Pale Faces divided themselves into groups for the choosing of home lots and with ironic nonchalance, had named their headquarters Wabbaquasset Hall in memory of the defeated people who had once made that place their home.

A committee of seven, one of which was John Chandler, was named to lay out roads connecting the three farming centers which they designated as Plaine Hill, the Eastward Vale and the Westward Hill. Those who had preferences were allowed to choose their sites and others had their lots apporportioned them. The seven presided at the drawing. Most of the men were allotted 20 acres but Deacon John, because he chose land in the Eastward Vale, held to be less valuable, was given thirty acres. It lay in what is now South Woodstock. His son’s lot was located west of the highway and within sight of his father’s place. The immediate neighbor of Deacon John was John Holmes, the miller to the community; ancestor of the distinguished line that boasted, some generations later on, the Rev. Abiel, Dr. Oliver Wendell and Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The settlement, though as yet not officially named, was called, out of affection for the Mother Town, New Roxbury, and that maternal body, relates Mr. Bowen, “prayed each Sunday for the welfare of the colony.” It is said that at one service John Eliot arose in his pulpit and exclaimed, “Alas! Alas! I forgot to pray for our sons and daughters in New Roxbury and, therefore, let us pray again.”

The history of the development of Woodstock shows Deacon John from this time forth continually occupied about the public business of the colony. There was, for instance, difficulty "about the patent," there being as yet no official sanction to their grant; for the beginnings of the settlement fell, by ill-luck, under the reign of that Royal Governor, Edmund Andros, who sought to usurp powers that were without his right. It was during this very time that Connecticut's charter, which he had demanded, mysteriously disappeared, to find concealment in that venerable tree known to history as the Charter Oak. The New Roxbury colony (at that time belonging to Massachusetts) framed petition after petition, through various committees, on each of which John Chandler was named first; but they were submitted in vain. No attention whatever was paid to them. Then the downfall of Andros, in 1689, relieved the colony of immediate anxiety and, with the resumption of the colonial government, a military company was formed in the settlement with Deacon John heading the committee, asking its official recognition by making Edward Morris, Lieutenant and Wm. Bartholomew, ensign of the company. Later, in a renewed effort to have the grant recognized, Chandler and Benj. Sabin were sent in person to the General Court. They were further delegated to ask for "A committee to regulate as in any case of any difference that we cannot issue ourselves:" certain land privileges, a name and exemption from tax for five years. This petition was granted in 1690, thus ending a three years' trouble. The request for a name being referred to *Judge Sewall he fixed upon Woodstock because its nearness to Oxford suggested the English parallel.

During that time a committee of seven, of which our subject was a member, had been delegated to settle current disputes about land and to open roads to "the clay pits, the hearthstone quarry, the woods and planting fields." It also

* Judge Samuel Sewall was a great-great-uncle of the Wm. Sewall whose "Diary," edited by John Goodell, is referred to in the course of this story.

had charge of the Ministry land, and planted on it the first orchard in the settlement.

In 1690, John Chandler was elected one of five selectmen. Then began the task of getting the church built (it was not completed until four years later), and of selecting a minister—Josiah Dwight of Dedham being secured. Until that time services had been conducted, in summer, from Pulpit Rock, a great stone jutting out from the west slope of Plaine Hill, on what is now known as the "Old Hall Road," and not far from Eliot Rock; and in winter, in Wabbaquasset Hall. But now Wabbaquasset Hall was to be torn down and a church was, more than ever, necessary. At the church organization John Chandler and Benjamin Sabin were chosen deacons and it is amusing to note that in the assignment of pews, the selection being still, in that day when an aristocratic social order prevailed, based on dignity of family, John Chandler was given number one, next the pulpit, Sabin two, and John Jr. number three.

The "goers" had been joined by many arrivals to the colony from Roxbury and other communities, and many log and frame houses now made up the village. Deacon John had set up his frame house in the Eastward Vale over against Saw Mill brook, and there with his wife and five children, settled to the patriarchal life. During those years, however, his four* daughters had married, going out of the colony to live, leaving only John Jr., who had not yet won his military title of colonel, and the infant, Joseph, born two years after the exodus to Woodstock, to console him. But in 1692, John Jr., marrying Mary Raymond of New London, also moved away, going to that place to live.

Year by year the little settlement grew in numbers and in importance and finally a trading post—and no mean one—was established by James and Jabez Corbin, maintaining the only communication with the outside world, by means of a

* Sarah, the fourth daughter, married John Gardiner of Gardiner's Island. He was designated the "Third lord of the Manor."

cart which James Corbin drove. Over the old Connecticut Path, "rocky, bushy, and in many places mirey," the crude craft plied its course transporting produce from the surrounding farms, furs from the trappers and turpentine from the native pines, to Boston. In exchange, it brought back various supplies among which are mentioned ammunition and, despite the fact that drunkenness among the Indians was so habitual as to occasion anxiety, rum.

From time to time new distributions of lands were made and land surveys absorbed much time and attention. One important settlement was made in what was known as the Mashamoquet Purchase, now Pomfret, and there was continual trouble about that old survey which had not conformed to the Massachusetts line. But all of these matters were but minor difficulties by the side of the new anxiety which was ushered in one August morning by the news that Oxford, Woodstock's neighbor on the frontier, had suffered from an Indian massacre. Susanne Johnson, finding her way in the night to Woodstock, related how her children had been horribly dashed to death on her own hearthstone and many others had perished besides. Panic followed, and a reign of terror began that was to last for eight years.

Houses at the extreme east and south of Woodstock had previously been stocked with ammunition and designated as watch houses: but now it was necessary to ask the government to declare Woodstock a "frontier town" and to garrison it. A fort was built west of the village on what is still called Fort Hill, and scouts were continually maintained on the lookout for approaching enemies. The many Indian warriors within the town were, of themselves, a source of anxiety and their fealty was continually in question. When James Corbin's cart arrived with ammunition sixty men went out to escort it into town.

Many alarms threw the settlement into confusion but Woodstock was spared a massacre. Yet contumely fell upon the community and all progress ceased. Birds of prey became

such pests in the beleaguered town that a reward of sixpence the dozen was put upon their heads; and Major Fitch, visiting the place on a tour of inspection, reported a woeful situation indeed: Women and children huddled in garrisons, the men either scouting or working in the fields, their arms beside them.

By 1704 the Indian peril had passed, not to be renewed for many years; but Deacon John had died the year before.

.....
Woodstock lies in what now is Windham County, neighboring Massachusetts on the north and Rhode Island on the east. Wallace Nutting, in his "Beautiful Connecticut" remarks, "Among the most beautiful districts in Connecticut are those in the northeastern part. The land is high with long sweeping hills and fine prospects. Pomfret, Brooklyn, Woodstock and Putnam are largely occupied by ideal farms. There is a splendid sense of strength and freedom on these high slopes."

Doubtless John Chandler, the oldest surviving son of the Deacon, returning to Woodstock to occupy his father's house and to carry on his work there in the village, found no great regret at leaving the less alluring landscape that environed New London. He bore, at this time, the rank of Captain, and though he came to wear, successively, the titles of Major, Colonel and Judge, he is invariably designated, in the several genealogies of the Chandler family, as "Col. John."

Of the six lineal ancestors of Charles Chandler, Col. John measures largest in importance, judged on the score of service to his own community and to a larger public as well; yet the simple annals of Woodstock show him, during the first two decades of his life there, following his father's death, as occupying himself with many small concerns in the village and town whose interests he held second only to those of his own family.

Long ago, at the first town meeting held after Woodstock was given her present name (1690), the one at which his father

had been elected selectman and he "Clerke of the Writs," "it was requested and procured that John Chandler (Jr) teach and instruct children and youth how to read and cypher." Now, returning from New London with his own five children (five more were to be born to him) he found the town in crying need of a school house. At the town meeting in March of 1704, when he was again elected clerk, this matter came up for consideration. It was arranged for. The meeting house was now too small and a gallery must be added. Black birds had become a nuisance and every man must bring four and twenty heads to the treasury by a certain time or be fined. Happily for housewives, it was not stipulated that they should be baked in a pie.

There were new emigrations from the settlement as the population increased and as Indian troubles subsided, and we find among the "goers" to the Mashamoquet Purchase, Deacon John's youngest son *Joseph, and that Deacon Benjamin Sabin whose pew in the meeting house had intervened between the two Johns.

In 1710, a second land division was made in the south territory and three years later another division in the north half of Woodstock—a region as yet in a wild, uncultivated state. It is gruesomely suggestive that upon opening this land wolves became numerous and a heavy bounty was placed upon them. Bridges were desired across the Medford, Great Meadows and Quinebaug Rivers and the General Court was petitioned. However the others may have fared, the Quinebaug was not bridged for twelve years. Col. John was active about all these matters and during the Indian troubles, 1708-09, he went to Canada with his troops to assist in reducing Port Royal.

In 1711, "and thereafter," he becomes a member of the General Court at Boston and his influence begins to express itself in a wider field. Through the Sewall Papers we have a

* The house which Joseph built there still stands. Though greatly reconstructed and beautified it still preserves its architectural integrity and primitive charm. It is now owned by Gen. John M. Carson.

glimpse of him calling upon the Governor and the Governor's lady in Boston, Judge Sewall being present; he goes to meet Judge Sewall at Pomfret when the latter is on his way to Woodstock to call upon the unfortunate *Madam Usher; and when a brilliant group consisting of three Judges, who were also Councilors, and one Judge of the Admiralty "Sabbathed" in Woodstock, enroute to Hartford where Court was held, it is Col. John and his nephew, John Gardiner, who "accompanied them as far as Ashford." With John Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island and "fourth lord of the manor," were his wife and her sister, the two daughters of Gov. Gurdon Saltonstall.

During this time Col. John added continually, by purchase, to the lands which his father had left him and those which he had received as a "goer" in the Roxbury exodus. He came to be regarded as a wealthy man, despite his attention to public interests, and it was said that at his death he was, with the possible exception of Major Fitch, the largest land holder in eastern Connecticut.

In 1719 the "Borderers" had so swelled the Rev. Dwight's congregation that a new meeting house was required and Col. John, as his father before him, is named on the building committee. Also, when the church is completed and the seating arranged, it is found that he and his son hold, as his father and he had held in the old building, pews one and three.

But in that year Indian hostilities again forced the women and children into garrison and men to arms and scouting. Bowen says, "John Chandler, now a Major, was the chief ally of the towns in South Massachusetts. Even Worcester sought his aid, 'having an expectation upon your honor to be a father to us.'"

The previous year Col. Chandler had petitioned the General Court to create a new county in Worcester and though it

*Madam Usher, the widow of Hezekiah Usher, Jr., the great-uncle of the Rev. Dwight. She was Bridget Lisle whose father, a Peer, had in England, as Chief Judge of the High Court of Justice, been one of that body that condemned to death Charles I. He had been assassinated in Switzerland in 1667. Her mother, though a Loyalist, had been beheaded. Madam Usher lived in Woodstock the last five years of her life.

was not accomplished until 1831, yet he proved, as they had prayed, "their ally" in the intervening years. Indeed, his influence was considerable in the Court for when, in 1722, Gov. Shute sailed for England, the Court feeling he intended to prefer charges against it, that body appointed him first on a committee of five to decide and instruct it how it should act. He became, in 1727, a member of His Majesty's Royal Council, serving six years; and during that time, the County of Worcester having been erected, he became Judge of the Probate Court and presided at its first term. He also became the Chief Justice of that tribunal known as the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and of General Sessions. As a member of the Council it became the duty of "Honorable John Chandler, Esq.," with Theophilus Burrell, to administer to his old friend, Judge Sewall, the oath to King George II of England.

Another interesting item in the public career of Col. John is the matter of an *address which, in his function of Judge, he read to the Governor when, with the Council, he was enroute to Albany to hold a conference with the Six Nations (1735). Though he bore the title of Judge during the last twelve years of his life, yet he continued as Colonel of the Regiment of Militia until his death.

Col. John died in 1743 and was laid in the Woodstock Yard by the side of Deacon John. At his own request the slab which covers his grave bears no inscription. But he is not forgotten in Woodstock. The beautiful small common before his home, there in the Eastward Vale, is one of his gifts to the town; but his real contribution must be found in his long service to the community in which he lived. It was for this that the Boston News paid him honor at his death when it said: "To his wisdom and prudence, the order and regularity of Woodstock (under God) has been vastly owing."

Of the several sons of Col. John the eldest, his name-sake (the fourth John), best carried on the traditions established by his father and grandfather. Like them he was a skilful

* Sewall Papers, Vol. II:225.



JOSHUA CHANDLER HOMESTEAD, WEST WOODSTOCK, CONN.

surveyor. It was he who ran the Boundary Line between Connecticut and Massachusetts, in 1714, which became the accepted one. Four of his children were born in Woodstock. When Worcester was created he was given a place in the new county government. He was first made clerk as well as one of the Justices of the General Sessions; then Sheriff, Clerk of the Courts in Worcester, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and, in 1759, Chief Justice of the County Courts. He also served as Probate Judge, Registrar of Deeds, Colonel of Militia and, for the last nineteen years of his life, Councilor. Not the least interesting biographical item reads that he was Commander, in 1737, of the oldest and most famous military body in the United States, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. of Boston. In 1757, the acting Governor being in England, the government devolved upon the Council of which body he was a member, and on Gov. Phips' death, Chief Justice Chandler's name was the first of seventeen signed to the letter advising Parliament of the fact. His seven daughters were famed for their wit and beauty and for that reason called "the Seven Stars," and his sons filled many places of influence.

But it was Col. John's second son, Joshua, through which Charles Chandler was descended. He was among the first "goers" to that out-division which came to be known as West Woodstock. Col. John made over his holdings in that region to him in 1727 and, having just married, he at once went out and built, on the south of the road and about a mile and a half from Woodstock, the *house which is still standing. There at West Woodstock Joshua repeated, in a measure, the civic labors which his grandfather had performed for the Mother town. He donated an acre of land "on a Dry Knowl East of Bungay Hill" for a meeting house; and doubtless the establishment of a school, a cemetery and other appurtenances of civilized community life followed, accompanied by the usual labored processes of frontier progress.

* Now owned by Robert W. Johnson.

Two genealogists have commented on the fact that Joshua owned the first clock ever in Woodstock. It was "a brass-faced, eight-day clock." Its face bears the legend "Timothy Cheny, Hartford A." It fell to Moses, the younger of his two sons and, descending through six generations came into the possession of Mr. Albert Henry Chandler of Whitinsville, Massachusetts—still keeping time.

The last great struggle over the disputed Boundary Line occurred in the time of Joshua. "The death of Col. John," says Larned's History of Windham Co., "severed the strongest tie that bound Woodstock to Massachuestts." In fact it was his youngest son, Lieut. Colonel Thomas Chandler, who was chosen to lay the matter before the General Court, which, in turn, presented it to the Council. Two years were engrossed in controversy and finally, in 1749, Woodstock became a part of Connecticut, ending her sixty-three years of fealty to the Bay State.

Joshua had but two sons, Moses and Joshua. Both were fated to witness the revolt of the Colonies from the Mother Country and to see them accomplish their Independence; but the star of the house of Chandler, in the firmament of American politics, had set. That motto, "*Ad Mortem Fidelis*," which was graved on the Chandler arms, was construed by them, who rendered yeomen service in the making of the new country, to mean unswerving fidelity to England; that mantle, "cut and jagged," which depended from the helmet on the crest, was never more to be worn—by most of the bearers of the name at least—in the service of American arms; and the gauntlet which symbolized their prowess, was to justify its use in fields of other, though perhaps not less constructive, endeavor.

John Adams, the second President of those United States that had so lately been the thirteen Colonies, wrote in his Diary "The Chandlers exercised great influence in the County of Worcester until they took the side of the Government in the Revolution and lost their position"; and, "I visited them

often. . . . especially Col. Gardiner Chandler, with whom I was intimate." *The Christian Examiner*, July, 1847, said, "The three leading Royalist families of Worcester, the Chandlers, Putnams and Paines, were all joined by a common link," and it was one of the "Seven Stars" (the daughters of the fourth John), Mrs. Timothy Paine, who engaged in a battle of wits with Adams when the latter was dining at her *house. "When the wine was circulating around the table," runs the story, "Judge Paine gave a toast, 'The King.' Some of the Whigs were about to refuse to drink it, but Mr. Adams whispered to them to comply saying, 'We shall have an opportunity to return the compliment.' At length, when he was desired to give a toast, he gave 'The Devil.' As the host was about to resent the indignity, his wife calmed him and turned the laugh on Mr. Adams by exclaiming, 'My Dear! As the gentlemen has been so kind as to drink to *our* king let us now drink to *his*.' "

The shot that was fired at Lexington on the morning of April 19, 1775, if not, as Emerson poetically declared, "heard round the world," made, certainly, a very clear detonation among the gentle hills of Connecticut and on the farm in West Woodstock which Col. John had devised to Joshua; but the incumbent, *intime*, Moses, Joshua's youngest son, replied with silence. He was the father of five children, the eldest of which was then seventeen. History is silent, but one can but suppose that, Loyalist in sympathy, the exigencies of his situation demanded that he adopt, in that trying situation, those tactics which are "the better part of valor."

Not so, however, with his brother Joshua. He—the youngest son of Joshua—being the one who was not elected to stay on the land, had been sent to Yale, graduating in the class of 1847. It so happened that those years in which his mind was coming to maturity fell in the decade (1740-1750) which James Truslow Adams (Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776)

* The Chandler Family. It is an interesting fact that John Adams, when reading law in the office of James Putnam of Worcester, had tutored the son of Judge and Mrs. Paine, and also Rufus, Mrs. Paine's nephew.

calls "The Great Divide"; years during which the bright particular star of the professions declined in the clergy and began to cast its beams upon medicine and law. What he calls the "secularizing of life" and the rise of large business interests, so felicitously allied with legislative function, were among the conditions beginning to shape the affairs of the country.

Joshua adopted, as his means to power, that profession which, half a century before, had stamped with opprobrium the motives and manners of the man who would have essayed it—the law. He moved to New Haven, and by the time the Declaration of Independence had been issued, he had become a man of wealth and influence. His position was still further entrenched by the alliance of his daughter, through marriage, to Amos Botsford, another lawyer of New Haven, also Loyalist. Thomas and William, his sons, "when the whigs were celebrating the independence of (from) the Mother Country," themselves piloted the British troops under Maj. Gen. Wm. Tryon, into New Haven. Col. Joshua had had prepared for them, at his house, a great feast, the table being spread, when it became necessary, Tryon being unable to hold the town, for him to flee from New Haven and from the Colonies.

His story is one of the saddest. With the Botsfords he went, with his family, to Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, and his wife, from the strain and the exposure on the passage, died within two weeks. Soon he sailed for England to attempt to get a settlement for his losses and to seek out an asylum for his daughters. He returned after being told that commissioners were appointed for the adjustment of his claims at New Brunswick. In March, 1787, with a son and daughter—William and Elizabeth—and with all the books and papers which might prove his claims to the Commissioners, he set sail for St. John. In a terrific storm their vessel was wrecked, being driven upon the rocks at Mushquash Point, in the Bay of Fundy, nine miles above St. John. William was drowned and Col. Joshua and Elizabeth, though making shore, perished. The father, benumbed with cold, fell from a look-out

rock and was killed, and his daughter and one other survivor, died of exposure. They were buried in the Loyalist burying ground adjoining the Common at St. John. Not for seventy years were their bones sought out and deposited in the new cemetery in the Botsford lot.

Though three of his sons were officers in the British Army, John, the eldest was, strangely enough, patriot. A grandson of the Colonel—son of one of those who had sought the northern asylum—was that Edward Barron Chandler who became (1878) Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick.

A very considerable exodus of Loyalists was enforced from Worcester in this crisis and Col. John Chandler (the fourth John)—brother of Gardiner Chandler and of the "Seven Stars," who became known to history as "The Honest Refugee"* because, though a man of great wealth, his bequests for restitution from the British Government were so moderate—was among them. With him, included under the act of banishment, were his sons Rufus and William, James Putnam, his brother-in-law, and his nephew Dr. Wm. Paine.

He died abroad.† I. R. Peel Dabney said, in the *Christian Examiner*, July, 1847, "The Honorable John Chandler, of Worcester—with whose family every other leading family of the region was proud to entwine itself by marriage alliance, sleeps far from the town and shire of whose honors he had almost the monopoly." He died in England and is buried in a tomb in Puddington churchyard, Islington, London. The remains of his son, Rufus, were afterwards interred with him. An oil portrait of "The Honest Refugee" hangs on the walls of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

His brother, Gardiner Chandler, at whose ‡house (described by a writer of that day as "one of the handsomest in

* Lucretia, the daughter of the "Honest Refugee," married Dr. Aaron Bancroft and became the mother of George Bancroft, the historian and the grandmother of John Chandler Bancroft Davis, U. S. Minister to Berlin and one time Assistant Secretary of State.

† Charles F. Chandler, called the "Father of American Chemists" (N. Y. Herald, July 12, 1925), was a descendant of this line.

‡ A corner cupboard taken from this house is to be found in the Worcester Historical Museum at Worcester. Also one of the gowns of Mrs. Chandler.

the interior of the country") the Tories "gathered in conclave" at the breaking out of the war, and who further committed an "overt act" by carrying—as sheriff—a message to Gen. Gage, later recanted and remained with the Patriots.

One other grandson of the first Col. Chandler remained loyal to his sympathies; that distinguished ecclesiologist and scholar (Yale 1745) with degrees from King's (Columbia) and Oxford, who was one of the leading exponents of the Episcopal Church in America, Thomas Bradbury.

Thomas Bradbury Chandler was the son of William and that Jemima (Bradbury) Chandler who, according to the Bayle's History of Windham County, boasted "the bluest blood in Massachusetts." Perhaps her lineage, tracing to two great-great-grandfathers who were Governors John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, may have substantiated this claim.

She and Captain William owned a thousand acres of land in Woodstock "extending over Chandler Hill," a mile east of Muddy Brook Church. "Their large house," says Bayle, "near the west line of the town was, for half a century, the most aristocratic establishment in the vicinity, kept up in true colonial style with negro and Indian servants, stately furniture, books and pictures." Captain William died in 1754, but Jemima, of the "euphonious patrynimic," died during the Revolution (1779). It is doubtless in reference to the agonies which the war produced through the disruption of her family, that the *Worcester Spy* offered the consoling words in her obituary notice, "she (now) lives above the clouds, nor hears the voice of war—safe from the smiling and frowning world."

Distinction came to the eldest and the youngest of Jemima's ten children; to Thomas Bradbury and to Winthrop, the portrait painter.

The ten years which the former spent in England were not, one gathers from his Diary, unpleasant. This book reveals him dining with the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace; at St. James' with the King's Chaplain; and with the Bishop of London. With the Archbishop of Canter-



HOME OF CAPTAIN JOHN CHANDLER, WEST WOODSTOCK, CONN.

bury he goes to the House of Lords to see the King take his seat; visits the Bishop of Oxford at his palace at Cuddesdon and, dining at the table of the Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, meets, among other men of distinction, Sir William Blackstone. Perhaps no American save Franklin in Paris, had, at that time been received abroad in such exclusive circles.

But, like his cousin, Col. Joshua, he was far from bitter towards the country that had banished him but rather "tried to persuade the Government to make proposals to America which she would accept." While there he met his cousin, "The Honest Refugee," and for a time shared quarters with him in London. He returned to America, in 1785, and was offered the appointment of first Bishop of Nova Scotia but was forced to decline it because of failing health. He died five years later.

Of Col. John's thirty-odd grandchildren living at the time of the War of Independence very few adhered to the Patriot cause. Among these may be numbered Captain Samuel Chandler, brother of the ecclesiast, Thomas Bradbury; the Honorable Thomas Chandler, son of Colonel Thomas, the Tory, who, though not conspicuous for military service, filled many public offices of importance and became a leader in the formation of the State of Vermont; and Charles Church Chandler who served on the Committee of Correspondence in Woodstock during the War with Elisha and Nathaniel Child, Jedediah Morse and Samuel McClellan. After the War he was elected to Congress but died before taking the oath of office.

The Revolution made little change, so far as any public records show, in the life on the quiet farm in West Woodstock. The fourteen children born to Moses, continued to live there, or in other communities that absorbed them, lives in no way conspicuously eventful. *Captain John, the eighth son, married, in course of time, Hulda Howard of Woodstock; a young woman entitled, because of "dignity of family, to be called

* He was Captain of Militia and was called to duty in New London during the War of 1812.

'Mrs.' before her marriage.'" He inherited a part of his grandfather Joshua's farm and came to live near the meeting house in a comfortable †frame house, afterwards a tavern.

But it was not in this house but one two miles farther to the north, that Charles, the fifth child of Captain John, and the subject of this biography was born, July 2, 1806.

Large wealth was not in the tradition of this branch of the family, for fortunes were not made on the small freeholds; but sufficient sustenance had been won from the stony soil of that West Woodstock farm for the well-being of three successive families, two of which were large. It was, therefore, by dint of some sacrifice on his father's part, and some thrift and diligence on his, that Charles was able to prepare himself for his chosen profession. He graduated from the Medical School at Castleton, Vermont, in 1829. It is said that while in attendance there he became the favorite pupil of *Dr. Theodore Roemeyn Beck.

Dr. Charles began his medical practice in Scituate, Rhode Island, and was eminently successful in his work; but after a few years some dominant phase of mood, conforming to the old urge to which his ancestors had yielded—lain dormant now in yeoman breasts for three generations—turned his vision westward and still farther west; clear to where that dazzling vertiginous great length of shining river—the Mississippi—divided half a continent. And with eyes fixed on Illinois—that Frontier State that was leading the great march of civilization towards the western ocean—he set out with steadfast soul towards that far goal. Life had grown safe and kind there in Connecticut. A competence and perhaps a fortune were the almost certain awards of perseverance and industry. But unrest was upon him and he must go. Perhaps, like Virgil's Syrian dancer, death plucked him by the ear and said, "Live—I am coming."

† Now owned by Mr. Sidney P. Butler.

* Dr. Beck instructed in several medical schools of that day, but chiefly at Albany Academy. He was an authority on Medical Jurisprudence and his principal work was called "Elements of Medical Jurisprudence."

II

THE FRONTIER.

The opening years of the nineteenth century saw recorded nothing of greater importance to western civilization than that act of certain, if unpremeditated, statesmanship which resulted in the Louisiana Purchase. The military operations of Napoleon which for the past twenty-five years had kept the political geography of Europe in a state of flux had, by a shift of the chessmen, made war between England and France imminent. A great deal of money was required by the French nation to meet this situation—and the Emperor was not in funds. Fifteen millions were required—must be had at whatever sacrifice—and the young American envoy, Robert Livingston, who had been sent to the French court from our United States with a charge account of two million dollars to his credit for the purpose of negotiating the purchase of New Orleans and the lands lying along the Mississippi River to its mouth, found himself—with James Monroe, who had been sent, as a matter of urgency, to his assistance—confronted by a counter proposition to which there was allowed no alternative: the entire province of Louisiana for fifteen millions—immediate possession and your money down.

This vast region, through the acquisition of which Napoleon had, before the embarrassing consideration arose necessitating its sale, meditated the re-establishment of the French flag on American soil came, through the summary act of Jefferson and the Congress of 1803, into the possession of the United States of America; a transaction which insured the expansion of our national domain to one of continental proportions since it, perforce, established for us the balance of power on the western side of the Mississippi river.

Precisely fifteen states were presently to be carved from that great wilderness; a million dollars per state. A tidy

bit of realism, in the modern parlance, and not inconsistent with a reputation for that good old Yankee shrewdness by which our early enterprises were distinguished.

The year which saw the acquisition of this territory witnessed, also, the beginning of a project no less vital to our development and growth. It contemplated the opening of that triangular body of land, shaped like a lamb chop, lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, which was organized by the Congress of 1787, into the "Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio." This region comprised all the ill-defined claims of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia—that Mother of Presidents holding the lion's share; her pretence being strengthened by the service which George Rogers Clark and his "long bows" had rendered during the War of the Revolution. It was the loyal state of Maryland which pointed out that this territory should be placed under the sovereignty of the National government. In the end Maryland was heard and the parceling out of this great commonwealth of forest and prairie land became the immediate preoccupation of the infant government. "This step," said John Fisk, "laid the corner stone of the Federal Union." So the carving of the lamb chop occupied our first and most important territorial interest.

It was in that same year, 1803, that Jefferson, still looking westward, recommended in his message to Congress, that a party of intelligent men should be sent into this country for purposes of exploration, and for the establishment of trading posts. The appropriation which was accordingly voted, financed what was probably the most important expedition ever made in American history. Accordingly in the last month of that year forty-three picked men under the leadership of Captain Meriweather Lewis, seconded in command, suitably enough, by William Clark, younger brother of George Rogers Clark, gathered their forces on Illinois soil and there from a point at the mouth of Wood river, set out on the adventure which covered two and a half years, brought to their

government a fuller knowledge of its possessions and opened avenues of trade that ultimately should divert the rich stream of its internal wealth from its two established depots, Prairie du Chien and New Orleans; and showed the necessity of making directly accessible that vast interior country which had hitherto been reached only by circuitous routes lying south through the Cumberland Gap or north along the Great Lakes.

As the result of just this particular knowledge which the expedition brought home to the financiers and statesmen of the East, the Congress of 1806 took the second important step towards opening the far lands and granted an appropriation for the building of a great National Highway leading directly west through the Appalachians. So the buffalo paths and Indian trails, utilized by engineering science, became the precursors of civilization, and soon the great prairie schooner, the sufficient transport of the pioneer, together with that patriarch's numerous family and his inconsiderable household goods, was to find a "northwest passage" safe from the peril of mountain declivity and unbridged stream, and fraught only with the not quite negligible dangers of Indian attack, fever, pestilence, starvation and sudden death.

The National Road, for so the great highway came to be known, began at Cumberland, Maryland, and by 1820 had progressed as far as Wheeling on the Ohio. This served the greater necessities of the westward trek since the flat boat service on the great river augmented the freightage of the earliest adventurers. The great objective of the road was East St. Louis but it was overtaken by the age of steam before it was completed. It was in 1836 that the National Road discontinued midway of the state of Illinois; directly before, in fact, the Capitol at Vandalia—into the very structure of whose state house, it is said, some of its abandoned materials were incorporated.

So the great projects for peaceful expansion by which the infant republic extended its borders and inaugurated plans for its populization were effected, and a way was laid to meet

the needs of that tremendous dramatic impulse towards western travel which poured a human flood into Illinois. And all these historic feats were accomplished between 1803 and 1806.

It was in 1806 that Charles Chandler was born in that little Connecticut town which his forbears had helped to found. There it was he had developed those qualities of initiative and constructiveness by which they were distinguished and here in Illinois he was to repeat the adventures of his sires. Like Stevenson's fabled man, some voice called in his ear, "Go forth into life and fear not for so did we in the ancient ages"; and here in this new country where land was yet to be parceled, bridges built, mills, churches and school-houses erected, and all the machinery of progress installed, he must have reflected, remembering the story of his ancestors there beside the old Connecticut Path, that "the way is straight before like the grooves of launching."

Dr. Charles Chandler came to Illinois in the April of 1832. There is no diary or other record to tell us his exact route, but since he came by water it is likely that he and his company embarked at Pittsburg and, floating down that river to its mouth, turned northward on the Mississippi till the Illinois was reached, and then ascended that stream as far as Beardstown. And there, where Marquette and Joliet, the first white men to set foot on the soil of the Prairie State, had paused to smoke the pipe of peace with the natives, one hundred and fifty-nine years before, he disembarked.

The French explorers had found an Indian village at that point and the eye of the visitors must immediately have been arrested by the same remarkable phenomenon which greeted the Frenchmen in 1673; for the enterprising citizens of the town had not yet, as later—inspired, alas, by the spirit of improvement—leveled the fine tumulus, the relic of a former culture, that overlooked the river.

"There stood there, at that time," writes Dr. J. F. Snyder, in his life the acknowledged authority on Indian archaeology in this region, "one of the finest mounds in Illinois. It

was conical in form, fifty feet in height and two hundred feet in diameter at the base, and made from clay brought from the bluffs four miles distant." "For ages," he continues, "there was clustered near it the wigwams of an Indian village." It is certain that in 1832 the mound remained but the Indian with all his goods and gods had fled.

With the westward movement of the whites from the east and south began the tribal exodus of the Red Man from the land of his fathers. Records of cessions of land show that between 1805 and 1832, there passed from the land of their fathers in sad but inevitable relinquishment first the Piankishaws, the Winnebagoes and the Pottawattami; then the Osawattami, the Kickapoos and Chippewas; and after them the Sac and the Fox people; pushed westward and ever westward by that relentless race of Pale Faces who were to hold by unchallenged right of superior force and arms the land whose heritage these passing ones had failed to vindicate—the land of Illinois.

But if the Indian was dispossessed he was by no means forgotten and Dr. Chandler had arrived at a particularly stirring moment. Black Hawk, one of the great chiefs of the Sac and Fox tribes, had broken the terms of his treaty and was just then with his warriors, spreading terror through the northern border of the state as he pushed south and westward from Wisconsin towards the old tribal lands between the Rock and the Fox rivers. Governor Reynolds had issued a call to arms and Beardstown had been selected as a point of rendezvous for volunteers from this part of the state. Men were swarming into the town by companies, in loosely co-ordinated groups, and singly, with whatever equipment was at hand—a horse, a blanket or two, the old flintlock rifle which the pioneer invariably hung above his door, pistols, bowie-knives and even tomahawks—all fused into action by the common peril and by the welcome impulse to dramatic action.

Here, among the others, was that tall Kentuckian, Abraham Lincoln, heading his company organized two days before

at Richmond, and savoring, as its captain, the first fine flavor of public preferment; and soon, as part of the 4th regiment of mounted volunteers of Gen. Whiteside's brigade, to take the old Indian Trail to Rock Island where the little ragged army finally was assembled.

That brief skirmish, dignified in history by the name of the Black Hawk War—covering from first to last no more than one hundred days—was to drive the Indian with finality, from Illinois; but the anticipation of a more serious and prolonged warfare was sufficient to turn Dr. Chandler—who was accompanied by a wife and little daughter—from his first objective, which was Fort Clark, about sixty miles farther to the north, and to persuade him to the safer vicinity of the Sangamon.

Fort Clark was located at that point which Marquette and Joliet had set out to reach in 1673, and of those next white men to visit this region, seven years later—LaSalle and Tonte. There LaSalle had built the ill-fated fort—Fort Creve Coeur—which was burned through the treachery of his men three months later. There too, he established Fort St. Louis after the great citadel at Starved Rock had been abandoned. From the beginning that beautiful spot where the city of Peoria now stands—at a point on the river where the lake, that has given the town its name, broadens the stream—had attracted the white men as it must have attracted, before him, the Indian tribe that dwelt there, the Peorias.

But Fort Clark was now in the path of the old warrior. The tomahawk of Blackhawk threatened all that northern country so the easterners orienting themselves to meet conditions, set foot on the soil of the future Cass County—then Morgan County—there at Beardstown, and began to look about for a place of permanent residence.

It was characteristic of the Chandler temper that the young physician should, in seeking a location, have chosen the "farthest north" that was within the bounds of safety. Beardstown was the farthest north of river towns in the state

and was, of course, the shipping point—produce from the interior finding no market closer than St. Louis or New Orleans. No towns other than mere outposts broke the vast prairie that lay between the Illinois and the Rock rivers. North of the Rock River was wilderness. True, at Galena, the development of the lead mines had drawn a motley community of sorts together, but it was a town wholly dependent on that one enterprise and in no way tended towards the development of the country; and there was a little group of shanties clustered about Fort Dearborn on Lake Michigan. But civilization, as implied by the grouping of people into villages and the consequent growth of institutions for the promotion of wealth and learning had lingered in the south. Shawneetown and Elizabethtown on the Ohio, and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, where the seat of Territorial government had been established, were for long the only Illinois towns of consequence. Many small villages, however, clustered along the great stream banks; the Ohio, the Mississippi and even the Wabash. Edwardsville was the first of the inland towns to gain permanence and when, in 1818, the Territory of Illinois became a state the General Assembly, meeting at Kaskaskia in the old brick house that was, even then, threatened by the encroachment of the river, petitioned Congress to donate four sections of land located on the Kaskaskia for a capital site, it voiced its anticipation of the great inrush of immigrants to the new state; which foresight was amply justified. The location chosen by the commissioners at a point just east of the Third Principal Meridian was about midway, east and west, of the state. The little Capital City, summarily sprung from the swamps along which it was located, was not only the social center of the state, but it was not far from the center of population.

Of the five commonwealths grown out of the old Northwest Territory progress had come most tardily to Illinois. She who had felt the touch of old world culture before her sisters had known other tutelage than the crude arts of rov-

ing Indian tribes, was like a child whose talents have been too soon developed and who must undergo, in consequence, a long and lethargous adolescence. The very presence of the French, the residuum of that strange milieu that belonged to the romance of the great Fur Trade—the explorers, men of science, the traders, men of enterprise, the missionaries, men of God, and the great horde of *coureur de bois*, adventurers and soldiers of fortune—though tending generally to diminish in number after the victory at Quebec, and still more after the victory of the Colonies in the war with England, was yet a deterrent influence in the development of the state.

The reason lay in matters affecting the settlement of the land claims of the French whose holdings—based on royal grants and on original occupation, and which comprised vast acres—were vague and incapable of definition, even by the claimant themselves.*

An act of Congress, June 20, 1788, confirmed the possession of land by the French inhabitants of Illinois and gave four hundred acres to each family who had lived in the district in which it resided prior to 1783. The provision seemed an ample one but the French were, nevertheless, dissatisfied and by 1792, influenced by the hospitality of the Spanish Government, which offered land tax-free and slave-tolerant, the emigration westward had diminished their number by half—the total being probably not more than nine hundred.

These conflicting land claims embarrassed the Government at Washington for many years. The increase in population in the neighboring states not so affected was, accordingly, preponderate. In the two decades between 1790 and 1810, Kentucky increased its population by 200,000, Ohio by 17,000, while Illinois gained not more than 10,000.

In 1817 the last of these troublesome claims was settled and the Government opened the Territory to the general sale of public lands. Then began the great influx from surround-

* "The French in Illinois," by Francis X. Busch. Transactions of Ill. State Historical Soc., 1922.

ing territory and by 1830 the census gave Illinois a population of more than 157,000. In this infant state, then, having an approximate area of fifty thousand square miles—a little less than half of which was practically uninhabited—there was an average of less than three men to the mile; a condition nearly incredible until it is remembered that Illinois was—if one except the vanishing French settlers—a country without original (white) inhabitants; a situation without precedent in the history of lands outside of America.

Here was virgin soil indeed!

The social aspect of this phenomenon bears a remote analogy to its physiographic status when, denuded of native plant and animal life by the visitation of the great ice-sheet which covered the region during the glacial period, alien forms from the east and south and west came to rehabilitate the land. So, to post-revolutionary Illinois, there came, in the wake of the departing Indian and Frenchman, alien forces of human society; motley in the beginning, but presently effecting, through the synthetic processes of time, that amalgamation of diverse elements, that very strength of opposing stresses which conspired towards the ultimate greatness of the state.

Doubtless the greatest single stream of immigration which flowed into the state derived from Kentucky and Tennessee—a stream fed to overflowing by tributaries having their fountains in the older states of Virginia, the Carolinas and even Georgia. Of the 30,000 souls who poured into Illinois in the first half of the nineteenth century, nearly two-thirds had arrived by 1832; for of the three distinguishable movements of this stream the first—the one inspired by the desire for cheap land—had spent its force before the quarter of the century; and the second, which was “free soil” in its political and social purpose and intent, was well under way.

The question of “free soil” had also its determinative influence upon that great movement of pioneering spirits in the east that felt the westward impulse in the thirties. Dr. Chandler was in the van of this migration and it may be noted

that those ideals which motivated the adventurers from this region so largely—a wish to promote the intellectual and spiritual welfare of the new country—were present also in his psychology as evidenced by his life there in the little valley of the Sangamon.

But Illinois was likewise the objective of many westward-looking people in European quarters. The resurgent element in Germany had openly considered the founding of a German state here in America as early as 1824. In that year Gottfried Duden was sent to this country to investigate the feasibility of bringing a large colony from the Fatherland; Missouri or Illinois being points in mind. His "Report Concerning a Journey to the Western States of America" embodies his findings and recommends Missouri for the enterprise. Though no such ambitious undertaking came to port, yet there was, and had been previously, a persistent interest felt in this region by the latin forces in Europe. As early as 1815, a settlement of Germans was established at Dutch Hill in Madison County; Ferdinand Ernst, in 1820, had brought to Vandalia from his native Hanover, at his own expense, a colony consisting of thirty families: and in Shiloh valley, near Belleville, and along the bluffs of the Mississippi river, the "latinier" had gained a foothold and had reproduced on this alien soil the domestic felicities of his native land; houses with cellars, door yards with flowers blooming, beauty and order and thrift where chaos reigned before. Yet it was not till 1833 that the really significant migration of Germans to Illinois—the direct result of that conflagration kindled by the French Revolution of 1830—began.

Other nations, too, had planted their seedlings here and there about the state. In Edwards county, in southeastern Illinois, an English colony had been established in the first year of the state's majority; and between the Big and Little Wabash Rivers, a section particularly fine for agricultural purposes, Wanborough and Albion, two villages truly English in character, had sprung up and six or seven hundred people

from the British Isles—planters, miners, drovers and mechanics—had come to make this place their home. Gratiot's Grove and Turkey Hill, in Madison county, harbored Swiss colonies; and not far from the Indiana line, New Salem (whose name was afterwards changed to West Salem to avoid confusion with the Menard county town of that name) had become the nucleus of a community of Moravians from the older Moravian settlement in North Carolina—a colony to be enriched by a steady stream of pilgrims from that source for twenty years.

Though the New England party had set out bravely enough for Fort Clark which was—except for Galena and an occasional farmstead or an isolated group seeking to form the nucleus of what should later become a settlement—the northern limit of habitation in Illinois, yet the first rumor of Indian warfare which reached them at St. Louis created such consternation that all but Dr. Chandler and his family turned back at that point and left them to continue the journey alone. Their arrival at Beardstown in that last week of April was probably less conspicuous than would have been the case at any other moment in the history of the town where newcomers were warmly welcomed; for the excitement due to the Indian uprising, the great numbers brought together by the military bivouac and the various settlers from relatively remote farms anxious for the latest news, or to sell horses or produce to commissary, gave the tenderfoot an excellent opportunity for making observations without too much attention being directed towards himself; and to gather information as to land values in various sections of the country as well. It was as though the whole of northern Illinois had come together for his inspection. That the quality of the man was at once appreciated is indicated by an amusing story told by Dr. Snyder and relates to this time. A farmer living in the vicinity of what is now Arenzville—a certain David Epler—drove into Beardstown with a fine team of horses. The Quartermaster-

general, Col. Enoch C. March, was talking with Dr. Chandler at that moment. The department was badly in need of just such horses as these for the baggage wagons and with military peremptoriness, Col. March prepared at once to press them into service. Mr. Epler refused to be coerced, but consented to sell the horses at a price that should be agreed upon by three men—one to be chosen by each of the interested parties and a third to be selected by these two. Dr. Chandler was chosen by Col. March, Mr. Epler selected his man, and these agreed upon a third. After considerable parley the estimate fixed upon by Dr. Chandler, \$350, was named, though the western men had held the figure to be too high. It is possible that they were persuaded from their original judgments by the thought that the state paid the bill and that the state's money is everybody's money. But Dr. Chandler was governed by his knowledge of values in the east where horses were scarce and money relatively easy and he so firmly pressed his point that in the end the others yielded and Col. March was forced, by the terms of his agreement, to pay for the team—a sum at least \$150 in excess of the value of such horses in the west.

Beardstown, which is situated directly on the Illinois river, is but a few feet above high water level. The town was, at this time, surrounded by a perfect morass of sloughs and April—even late April—was a season of much standing water. But the newcomer was anxious to search out the country and to find a point for a permanent location. So, on horseback he went about to this place and to that, considering the possibilities of each from the standpoint of agriculture, of commercial enterprise and, we may suppose, since he was a doctor, of physical well-being.

Illinois, as those who have lived in the state know, is beautiful in April, particularly in the river valleys and Dr. Chandler must have felt the hardship of journeying somewhat assuaged by the amazing beauty of the countryside. The new green coming onto the hills, the tender leafage of the trees,

the vistas caught through the hill-clefts, veiled in blue, and the abundant and springing wild flowers all about him. The genius of young countries, we are told, is scientific and calls to the explorer rather than to the artist or the philosopher and so, at a time when the old world thrilled to the poetry of Shelley and Keats and Byron, and while, in our own eastern country, Poe, the renegade from respectability, tuned his immortal lyre, Charles Chandler, with civilization left behind him, roamed the prairies and his blood sang in his veins—and the blood of Deacon John and Colonel John who had “gone forth into life”—vivid life, there in the Quinebaug country of Massachusetts, nearly a century and a half before.

This going about over the ill-defined roads, destitute of bridges, sign posts or other felicities of modern travel was, according to Alexandre Dumas, whose flair was for complexities, “to travel.” For in 1856, when the locomotive could not have been regarded as ubiquitous, I suppose, in France or elsewhere, the great Romanticist wrote, “Thanks to the railways we still arrive at our destinations. We never fail to get there; we get there quicker than ever, but we no longer travel.” Dr. Chandler suffered from no such deprivation for even the first tentative two miles of wooden road which was the forerunner of the Northern Cross railway, the first to be built with iron rails in the state, and which was no more than an adumbration of that comprehensive movement which criss-crossed the state half a century later, was not to be built for yet five years.

Since he is certain to have made a rather thorough reconnoiter before settling to a definite choice of lands it is likely that he visited, within the next week or so, such settlements as were within the scope of reasonable consideration. It is not likely that Quincy was so considered, though boasting a population of five hundred for, though no more than fifty miles away, its location was on the Mississippi, and Dr. Chandler was interested in the interior; Bloomington, eighty miles directly to the east and having two hundred inhabitants,

was in the midst of the illimitable prairie that later came to be the particular glory of the state—boasting itself the richest agricultural section in the whole of America—but its location, inland from any navigable stream, and as yet, of course, undrained, was thought to be prejudicial to its growth; Hillsborough, with a population of two hundred souls was to the south which put it without the realm of interest, for Dr. Chandler's gaze was northward. Havana, however, thirty miles up the Illinois river and located upon a clean high bluff, a newly platted town with a few cabins, a tavern and a post office and—by no means the least of its civic advantages—a ferry connecting it with the newly settled neighborhoods on the western side of the river, was a point of presumptive interest; the village of New Salem, perched high above the Sangamon where a dozen cabins were clustered about a mill; and Jacksonville and Springfield, both growing towns of more than a thousand inhabitants, certainly challenged his interest and called him thither.

In visiting these latter towns which lay, respectively, thirty-five and forty-five miles east and slightly south of Beardstown, Dr. Chandler must have made for the first time, the acquaintance of those magnificent prairies on the edge of which the settlements were located; and with the limitations of their utilities for public entertainment as well. William Cullen Bryant, who visited there in June of that same year, had things to say on this unhappy subject. Jacksonville, which he regarded as being the more civilized of the two places, he described in his journal as a “horribly ugly village composed of little shops and dwellings stuck close together around a dingy square in the middle of which stands the ugliest of possible courthouses, with a spire and a weather cock on its top.” He complains that after having supper at the tavern from a table on which were “loads of meat” he slept the night, or “contrived to pass the time,” in the upper room—presumably the only one the tavern afforded—in which were seven huge double beds. Of Springfield he writes, with even

less charity, that by comparison, "the houses are not so good, a considerable portion of them being log cabins and the whole town having an appearance of dirt and discomfort;" and adds, with final and blighting odium, that "the night was spent in a filthy tavern."

But Bryant was a poet, and for him the amenities of the East were ill-compensated by the freedom and adventure offered by pioneering life. So that though the brothers, Arthur and John H. Bryant, whom he had come to visit, remained to strike sturdy roots into the virgin soil of Illinois, he returned to his editorial office and there "recollected in tranquillity" and with fresh creative vision, the scenes which he had treated with such incivility in the private pages of his journal. On these pages he had written, alluding to the unenclosed portion of the prairie near Jacksonville, "The vegetation...had a kind of wild aspect, being composed of the original prairie plants, which are of strong and rank growth, and some of which produce gaudy flowers."

But these impressions, so tersely rendered in the journal, grew presumably, upon his "inward eye," and found eventual expression in that long rhapsodic poem, "The Prairies:"

These are the gardens of the desert, these

The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful—

and in the graceful short lyric called "The Painted Cup," inspired by the singular parasitic flower (*castilleja coccinea*) whose bright-tipped leaves and calyx, surrounding and almost concealing the inconspicuous corolla of greenish yellow, are described in the opening stanza—

The fresh savannas of the Sangamon

Here rise in gentle swells, and the long grass

Is mixed with rustling hazels. Scarlet tufts

Are glowing in the green, like flakes of fire;

The wanderers of prairies know them well,

And call that brilliant flower the Painted Cup.

It is not probable that Dr. Chandler, supposing him to be inclined to horticultural observation, would have seen the

painted cup on these journeys, the season being early, but this brilliant flower must often have caught his eye in succeeding summers when these lands came to know his frequent presence. If one should, however, look for a description more exactly suited to the season, one may turn to a dissertation written by James Hall, perhaps the first literary man, and certainly the foremost one between the years 1820 and 1832, that the state boasted. In his "Notes on the Western States," published in 1838, we find:

The first coat of grass is mingled with small flowers: the violet, the bloom of the strawberry and others of the most minute and delicate texture. As the grass increases in size, these disappear, and others, taller and more gaudy, display their brilliant colors.....the whole of the surface of these beautiful prairies is clad throughout the season of verdure with every imaginable variety of color.

The glory of the prairies burst upon their (the pioneers') enraptured gaze, with its widely extended landscape, its verdure, its flowers, its picturesque groves, and all its exquisite variety of mellow shades and shining light.

The prairies in the vicinity of what is now Pekin have been described by one who visited them in 1831 as "A Persian carpet." "Wild birds," the writer adds, "sang their morning songs, deer were frequently seen and the wolves did not forget their serenades at night."

But it was not on the prairie or in the prairie towns that Dr. Chandler came, finally to pitch his tent. On a certain day, with Thomas Beard, who was to become his life long friend, he rode eastward, past the sloughs and backwater and on to where the bluffs that range the Sangamon form, for eight or ten miles, a continuous and broken skyline, their noble contours, "like giants at a hunting," commanding the valley for many miles; the little river at their feet and the valley of the greater stream, the Illinois, beyond. And just

where Panther Creek breaks through the phalanx of the hills on its way to the Sangamon, he rested his pilgrim's staff.

It belongs to an old tradition, that Thomas Beard, after fording the little creek, led the Doctor down the rough wagon road that enters what is now the town of Chandlerville and, turning to the right, ascended a steep bluff to a point of fine command—since named Grand Summit—and there, pausing, showed him the lovely sweep of valley, unbroken for twenty miles. Even today, when that rich land has all been put to the plough, the original flora—that “Persian carpet”—banished by reason of agrarian thrift, and the new formal beauty of checkered fields, orchards and clustered farm buildings fills in the scene, it is a breath-taking moment when one first turns the eye upon this view.

Grand Summit is on the southeastern border of what has become the Chandlerville Cemetery, from the central eminence of which consecrated ground arises the granite obelisk that now marks Charles Chandler's grave.

The ride up the Bottom on that April day brought Dr. Chandler's indecision to an end for he took immediate steps to enter 160 acres of land at the foot of that same bluff and at once set about the construction of a cabin of logs fronting on the one road in all that valley, the Springfield-Beardstown road. This neighborhood was called, from the small stream running through it, Panther Creek, sometimes Painter Creek.

Dr. Snyder, commenting in 1906, on the choice of lands, found it difficult to understand why Dr. Chandler should have selected for a home a spot in the brush near a muddy creek in an obscure, malarial wilderness, instead of locating in Jacksonville or Springfield, or some other of the rapidly developing towns of Central Illinois, “where his achievements and influence could have been commensurate with his robust intellect”; and humorously suggests that, having chosen his home in “that forlorn domain of the ague and the insect pests” he persisted in his efforts to bring others to that local-

ity "actuated by the motive attributed by Aesop to the fox that had lost its tail."

But Dr. Snyder was not an agriculturist and the vast promises of that valley—described by one ecstatic historian as "the Nile of America," because it had been enriched by centuries on centuries of overflow, had a high utilitarian value in the eyes of the easterner who, accustomed to stony fields of New England already exhausted by repeated crops and uncompensated by artificial fertilization, found this place a very paradise for richness. A serious consideration of this region, however, aside from soil conditions, would have satisfied the ironic speculation of Dr. Chandler's biographer. For here were natural resources of wealth, particularly appreciable in a country and time when money was so scarce as to be almost unknown for the purpose of purchasing the ordinary necessities such as food stuffs, fuel and even wearing apparel. Here in this valley where berries, plums, pawpaws, persimmons and other wild fruits were abundant in the summer, game was so plentiful that not even the most improvident need find himself in want of meat. Venison was here to be dried, wild turkey to be trapped, while grouse and quail and prairie chicken were so numerous as to be brought down without going beyond sight of the settler's cabin. The lakes and the river were full of the choicest fish. Within a mile of Dr. Chandler's home a neighbor* told, in after times, of spearing a thousand pounds of the larger species, known as buffalo, in one afternoon. Ducks were so numerous that eighty or a hundred birds was not an exceptional bag and fifty was considered to represent a poor day's sport. Honey could be had for the cutting of a bee-tree; and along the heavily wooded banks of the Sangamon, the hickory and the pecan tree offered an easy harvest for the small boy. These in fact, afterwards and for many years, were a valuable source of revenue to those who undertook to market them. An old † account shows that in 1849

* Mr. Horace Goodell.

† Goodell Correspondence.

when Dr. Chandler's merchandising interests were considerable, he bought four hundred bushels of pecans at a dollar and fifty cents a bushel and sold them in St. Louis for three; and as late as the eighties, it was no uncommon thing to see forty or fifty wagons coming out of the Sangamon bottom loaded with the big shell-bark hickory nuts, and these, even in that day, were gathered at will, and without regard to ownership, so general was the feeling that produce of the land, not brought about by specific cultivation, was so much "unearned increment" by which anyone who had sufficient enterprise might become enriched.

Here, too, along the river banks, stood the incredibly tall timber from which the earliest comers cut the logs to build their cabins. In* 1839, however, this resource became merchantable, for a certain Nathaniel Coffin, whose name is found in connection both with the Illinois College and with Knox College at Galesburg, did a stroke of business for himself that clouded his integrity and muddled the titles to a great deal of land in the vicinity of Chandlerville for many years.

The steamboat was just coming into its full usefulness on the Illinois as well as other rivers, though it was not to reach its zenith as a means of transportation and freightage for yet ten years longer, when the railroad became its serious rival. Nine large steamers were already plying the waters of the Illinois in 1839, and the demand for ship building materials was tremendous. To meet this market the enterprising Mr. Coffin entered a great number of disconnected timber lots in the Sangamon valley, and in some way persuaded the registrar at the Land Office to issue him patents to parts of lots already patented by other parties. As a result of the confusion caused thereby, the Government at a later date, cancelled a number of his patents and, of the many resultant disputes, some were not settled for as long as ninety years.

Nathaniel Coffin sold the choice timber on these lots to a steamboat building company in St. Louis which resulted in

* Goodell Correspondence.

something amounting to a small economic tragedy; for this company sent ax-men into the region who cut all the choice burr oak trees and squared them with broad-axes for steam-boat timbers, some being 60 or 70 feet in length and 24 inches square.

But the sacrifice was vain for the heavy oaken beams would not float and the plan devised to overcome this difficulty—it being thought that by attaching them to cottonwood logs they might borrow buoyancy—failed and all of the timber placed on the stream sank to the bottom. Some of these trees, having escaped the fate of their fellows, were still standing in the nineties. One of these is reliably reported as having a trunk that was seventy-five feet high to the first limb and had a diameter of five feet at the stump when cut.

Black walnut was also prevalent here and when, many years later, it became valuable and the timber lands had finally become denuded to satisfy the St. Louis market, many great logs that had fallen in years before were salvaged in the summer time when the water was low.

The Sangamon valley proved, indeed, a poor man's paradise, and as late as the seventies and eighties it was estimated that not more than half of the poorer population lived by day wage, but depended on the primitive resources of hunting, trapping and fishing; by gathering wild fruit and nuts; and by catching wild cattle and hogs off of the ranges.

It is likely, too, that the dread disease, malaria, which had not been traced at that time to the malign mosquito, had less terror for Doctor than for another for he had in his modest pharmacopia, a certain bitter powder whose efficacy, though but newly proven in the East, was as powerful against the giant forces residing in the miasmatic swamps as the jaw-bone of that Biblical ass in the hands of the youthful David. Dr. Chandler was to have the distinction of being the man to introduce quinine in the West.

One important point of advantage which this place possessed has seemed to escape the attention of those who have

touched on the doctor's choice of location. The Sangamon afforded a sure means of transporting produce to market. Roads in all this country were undependable and incredibly laborious as a way of transport. For at least seven months of the year they were practically impassable. But water could be depended upon. The navigability of this river was believed to be capable of being made possible at all seasons except, perhaps, the coldest months of the winter, by the expenditure on the part of the State, of a reasonable sum for the cleaning away of drift, and for the straightening of the more difficult curves. Young Abraham Lincoln, at New Salem, had twice within the past year, piloted flatboats carrying cargoes of pork, meal and molasses, supplemented by pigs on the hoof and other produce, down this river to Beardstown on his way to New Orleans and it was held that his knowledge of this stream was authoritative. So firm was his belief in the high utility of the Sangamon that in his announcement in the *Sangamon Journal* on March 15, 1832, of candidacy for the legislature, he had expressed as the first of his sentiments with regard to local affairs, that, in his opinion, this river "could be rendered completely navigable as high as the mouth of the south fork or probably higher to vessels of 25 to 30 ton burden, for at least half of all common years and to vessels of much greater burden a part of the time." "Finally" he adds, "I believe the improvement of the Sangamon River to be vastly important and highly desirable to the people of the country; and, if elected, any measure in the legislature having this for its object, which may appear judicious, will meet my approbation and receive my support."

Only a few weeks previous to Dr. Chandler's arrival at Beardstown an event calculated to stimulate interest in this theme had engrossed the entire population of the valley. A certain Captain Wm. Bogue, who owned and operated a mill near Springfield, undertook to sponsor the bringing of a steamer called the "Talisman" up the river. The most intense excitement was felt for should the experiment prove a suc-

cess, all the lands lying adjacent would become valuable, since a means of getting to market would be assured. The *Talisman*, coming from Cincinnati, reached Beardstown about March 15, and started up the Sangamon. "Immediately," says an old account, "from Springfield to Beardstown was one grand hurrah."

For weeks in advance Springfield stores had advertised that goods "direct from the east" would be on sale as soon as this boat arrived; little towns had been platted off here and there along the river and absurd and fictitious values placed on the town lots in anticipation of this event; and everywhere was a feeling of confidence and enthusiasm for the experiment in the hope that it might prepare the way for the establishment of a dependable artery of trade.

Since, however, the *Talisman's* pilot was unfamiliar with this stream a local man was called for and Lincoln, accompanied by Rowan Herndon and others, arrived on foot provided with axes, long poles and other impedimenta, and undertook to maneuver the boat through the last stages of the trip. So great was the occasion in the minds of the country people that, though nearly a week was required to take the boat from Beardstown to Springfield, crowds of men and boys, on horseback and afoot, followed the boat's passage from the bank; at each appointed stop bells were rung, guns fired, and entertainments tendered the "*Talisman*" party, chiefly in the form of barbeques; and there was a great deal of speech making and general uproar.

The *Talisman's* journey was made in safety; but for all the experiment was pronounced a success, she proved the last craft of size ever to ascend that classic stream. Also, its chief proponent, Lincoln, was defeated in his run for the legislature; but in 1835, that body pronounced the Sangamon, the Spoon and Crooked Creek "as far as Henly's Mill" navigable.

A second, and not less significant reason for the tendency of the pioneers to locate near small streams was the utility

of these as motor power for driving mill wheels. Not infrequently the mill came first and served as a nucleus round which towns gradually were built up, as was the case at New Salem where the Rutledge-Cameron mill was established, and at Bernadotte on Spoon river, another small tributary of the Illinois entering that stream at Havana from the western side. The mill seemed, in fact, the first requisite of the settler and even Panther Creek, on whose banks Dr. Chandler had located his claim, had a crude mill five or six miles from its mouth as early as 1826, and though it was primarily a saw mill, it was also used for cracking corn. It was built by a certain A. S. West and Wm. Morgan, the miller being Zachariah Hash, son of that Phillip Hash who was the first white man to settle here, coming to the valley when the Pottawattami still lingered.

This mill was short-lived as were all those located on this small torrent, but it was replaced shortly by one built by Richard McDonald a half mile farther downstream; and when a spring freshet of unwonted fury carried it away Henry H. Ingalls, some time after 1834, built a third, still a half mile nearer to its mouth.

The mill, however, seemed the only utility provided by the hand of man when Dr. Chandler came to the valley, unless one except the crude road which wound along the bluffs. No engineering skill had dictated this road's direction, but rather the meandering foot of man. Twice, of certain knowledge within the past year, Abraham Lincoln had walked this road between New Salem and Beardstown, and again a few months previous, in going to meet the "Talisman." Farmers drove their sheep and hogs over this road by easy stages to Beardstown, from where they were sent to St. Louis by steamship; and the heavy wheels of ox carts, transporting oddly assorted cargoes—beeswax, wild honey, pecans, bear and deer meat, tallow, peltries of all sorts, the wool of sheep, feathers, buckwheat, baskets made from withes of oak, what-not—wore deep ruts in the thick prairie sod leaving a high central ridge, called

a toe-ridge, to which the native grass kept tenacious hold and wild flowers disported themselves gaily; and when Dr. Chandler, having built his cabin and gotten all in readiness, removed his family, early in June, to the new home, ripe strawberries were growing on this ridge. "They were fine ripe strawberries," it was afterwards recalled, "and very plentiful."

Dr. Chandler's cabin, which was a commodious one for the time, fronted on this road. Its site is now covered by the Congregational parsonage in Chandlerville and is about a half mile from where the road crosses Panther Creek, though that stream was not to have a bridge for yet six years. His house was located about midway of those scattered cabins which made up the little community—a community which consisted, according to an old County History*, of nine families.

Though Dr. Chandler contrived to get his cabin built, a clearing made around it and three acres of sod broken and planted to buckwheat, it is said that so pressing and immediate was the need of his professional services that not for weeks was he able to build a stable for his horse but was forced to tether him to a tree and, having no scythe, to pull grass for its food, with his hands.

* History of Cass County, Ill., 1882, Edited by Mr. Henry Perrin.
The names given are Philip Hash, James Hickey, Henry McHenry, John Hamby, John Taylor, Peter Dick, Jesse Armstrong, M. P. Morgan and C. J. Wilson.

III.

THE SANGAMON VALLEY.

And so life in Panther Creek began for the good doctor in the young summer of that year and in the young summer of his life. For he was then twenty-six and physically strong, justifying the sturdy stock from which he had sprung—"a Daniel Webster of a figure," says Dr. Snyder, who knew him personally. The auburn hair, tending to curl, which topped his six feet of stature, crowned a forehead of exceptional height and development, and the blue eyes looked out—as from the portrait, now, with candor, courage and benignity. Every line of the erect form bespoke a nature keen, energetic, and of certain accomplishment; every curve of the firm but sensitive mouth, a spirit indomitable and enterprising. A gentleman by every right of birth and training, his bearing honored the mould; and he adhered, then as always in matters of professional dress, to the fixed traditions of the East. A clear image carried in the mind of one of his grandsons, who was but three at the time of Dr. Chandler's death, is of the patriarchal old man, then in his later years, entering the house wearing his black Prince Albert coat and, with a smile for the little boy, placing his shiny "stove-pipe" hat, bottom downward, upon the table—a familiar gesture—his gloves being put, conveniently, inside.

But of the doctor's young wife, the girl of twenty-one, who had been his boyhood sweetheart—now the mother of little Mary Jane—neither history nor tradition has any revivifying word. She who had left the stately T-shaped house which her husband had built for her in the Rhode Island town, the pleasant communion of her kinspeople and the associations of her youth to follow him down untried paths of fortune; who had not turned back when the Indian rumor blanched with terror the faces of even the stout hearted; who

had not forborne to take with him that crooked Bottom Road that led from Beardstown, the last outpost of civilization on the Illinois frontier, and to make a home beside him in the wilderness; to bear him there four children, and of those pains to die before her thirty years were told, is but a name, a shadow, a dim shape, hymned with no word of praise, imaged in no child's memory.

But whether her eyes were blue or brown, her type rugged or delicate, her temper turbulent or serene, we know her spirit was of that fine stuff of which the Pioneer Mother is made in every age and land. Perhaps the Huguenot forbears, with which tradition credits her, or the grandfather, who had fought in the War of the Revolution, gave her that high, valiant heart. For there was need of valor now that the adventure of discovering, choosing and building was over; now that the way lay straight before and the days had each their quota of anxieties and cares.

One sees her standing at the cabin door on those first days of summer, as the doctor rides away on one of his long, long rides—to be gone, perhaps till midnight, the little black-eyed daughter clinging to her hand—a figure touched with pathos and with heroism—and emotion, like a little smoke, is blown across the eyes. Behind her, against the east, lies the noble line of the hills, naked of timbers, scarred by the storms of centuries, greened over, now, by the reviving rains of spring. Before her that "Persian carpet"—the wild flowers riding high as on a tide above the tall, native grasses of the unbroken land; and in the distance those great trees that told where the river flowed a mile away, and the blue haze over.

Well for the day perhaps, with its summer—humming sounds of bees in the buckwheat, the meadow lark's clear call, the fragrances of a million blossoms blown in at the open door, the day's monotony broken by a passing drover, asking a drink from the well, or a neighbor coming in with news or advice or the mail, with congenial tasks that go to the making

of comforts in a new house. But when the last sunset stain had faded from the once gorgeous west and the lonely sounds began, the night sounds—frogs in the bottom lands, the hoot and screech of owls, the interminable insect chorus, a panther's scream, maybe, heard far off in the hills; and, worst of all, the long howl of the wolf—that strange, blood-curdling sound—then only the stoutest heart could have kept its courage high, its faith in the sufficient benefits of a future day, undaunted.

There was not, in that year of 1832, a single school within the radius of twenty miles, nor a house of worship nearer than Jacksonville. There was but one newspaper published in the entire state; there was just one piano in the whole of Morgan county and one apple orchard; there were rattlesnakes by thousands in the swamps a mile away and mosquitoes and gnat swarms, and green-headed flies so vicious as at times, to endanger the lives of horses; and yet, without screens or even mosquito netting, without antiseptics, or in their modern sense, unguents or anodynes, Mary Chandler must rear a young and delicate child. There was need of valiance.

From the first, as we have seen, the Doctor's services were in sharp demand, for doctors in that land were few. Dr. Owen Long was then practicing in Beardstown, twenty miles to the south, Dr. John Allen was located at New Salem in the adjoining county and Dr. Ero Chandler, who was not related to Dr. Charles by ties of blood for all the identity of the name, was at Jacksonville, twenty-five miles south of Panther Creek. But these were all too few, and much too far between, for the needs of the scattered settlements. Humanitarian considerations imposed on the Doctor, from the first, long and arduous rides that would have broken a man less strong; and afterwards, when the younger medical men from the East poured into the new lands, the authority of his knowledge and experience brought his services, in difficult cases, into such demand that the rides continued for years to be a part of his professional life when, in fact, he should

have been released from labors so exhausting. Since he sometimes rode eighty or a hundred miles in a day, the man out-stayed the beast and he was under the necessity of arranging relays, horses being stationed on the main roads of his travel at intervals of twenty-five or thirty miles, that he might always avail himself of a fresh mount. In this way he was able to attend an astonishingly large practice extending over eight counties.

No one accustomed to road conditions of the past two generations possibly could picture the hardships offered by the exigencies of travel in Illinois in the first half of the nineteenth century.

To approach that subject one must bear in mind that until 1824 not a single trail had been blazed by white men north of the Illinois river when Major Long's expedition (1820), consisting of twenty-five regular soldiers and a group of scientists, provided by the American Philosophical Society (and whose findings were published by that organization), opened a road from Chicago westward to a point on the Pecatonica where Freeport now is, and on to Prairie du Chien. The Illinois river valley had been for a hundred and fifty years one of the richest of the fur producing regions paying tribute to the Great Fur Trade. *In one year it sent to Mackinaw as many as 300 bear, 10,000 deer, 10,000 raccoon, 3,500 muskrat, 400 otter, 100 mink, 500 cat and fox and 300 pounds of beaver skins.

But for all this tonnage the canoe was transport and only occasional inland stations sent their fur bundles on foot, over the trails. Of such, however, there were few; Fort Clark trail, via Ogie's Ferry, on Rock River—where Dixon now is—to Prairie du Chien, and Kellogg's trail, being the main routes to the great trade center of the Frenchman. Kellogg's trail was the oldest wagon road north of the Illinois river. It was opened in 1825 by the man whose name it bears, and yet its use for wheeled vehicles could not have become conspicu-

* Illinois State Historical Society, Jan., 1925

ous by 1831, for in that year the daughter-in-law of John J. Kinzie, who lived at Chicago, describes it in her book, "Wau Bun" as "a narrow path, deeply indented by the hoofs of horses, on which the Indians travel single file. So deeply is it sunk in the sod which covers the prairies," she continues, "that it is difficult, sometimes, to distinguish it at a distance of a few rods."

It may be doubted if, so far as the convenience of the pioneer is concerned, the Indian trails, anywhere in Illinois, were of greater service than this, save their experimental establishment of easy gradients and of fords. Bridges were infrequent for many years, and though ferries were established by the earliest comers on the Illinois river, yet they were thought to be unnecessary on the smaller streams; a condition that resulted in the loss of a very considerable amount of livestock in the flood season, and in some human life. Also, it must be remembered that Illinois was wholly without the natural resources for road building materials such as the limestone regions of New England and Virginia furnished, and the black loam of the prairies and the slippery yellow clay of the hill country vied for supremacy in impeding the progress of man in rainy weather.

Yet the heat of summer, where taverns were infrequent on the long treks, and the furious torrents that filled the creeks in the spring and autumn, were but mild inclemencies compared to the real dangers that attended the traveler from the bitter moods of winter.

The celebrated "winter of the deep snows"—1830-31—had just passed, whose sufferings were never to be equalled in the subsequent annals of the state. Its horrors lay blighting upon memories of those who had survived its rigors. The sufferings of man and beast were terrific for the snow remained so long that starvation took heavy toll and threatened, in fact, all the wild animals not given to hibernation; and man, too, was reduced to the most desperate means for obtaining fuel where sufficient provision had not been

made. First came a fall of thirty inches, a not exceptional snow for that period; but with its settling came another and another, till it covered the whole of that part of the state to a depth of from four to six feet. All fences were buried deep, and roads had to be traced out anew over the trackless plains of white, while stock died for lack of food. Many deer, seeking shelter under trees stood in their tracks, tramping snow until they found themselves in a deep well from which they could not extricate themselves, and so died and were found by the settlers in the spring. Great numbers of them, however, not so enmeshed, after weeks of starvation, came dumbly into the very door-yards of the settlers, even into the village of Beardstown, and stood about ghastly and weak, like long beleaguered soldiers reduced to terms of pitiful surrender. Wild fowl could everywhere be picked up on the snow, but so emaciated as to be unfit for food.

But the winter of 1836 is written into the annals of the pioneer as the season of the "sudden change" and of that unparalleled weather-phenomenon Dr. Chandler very nearly became a victim.

On the afternoon of a day on which a rain had fallen steadily, reducing ice and snow to slush, its excess of water pouring down the little gullies in small torrents, forming shallow pools on the level ground, there came a sudden and unprecedented change of temperature. After an hour's time the slush and standing water was all frozen solid and within another hour, men were seen hurriedly crossing the river seeking the safety of their homes. Chickens and game, alighting from fences and trees, had their feet caught in congealing mud and were frozen in their tracks; hogs and cattle and much wild game perished. The old County History, previously referred to, tells of a man who, in crossing the prairie thought to save himself by killing and disembowelling his horse, seeking shelter in its carcass, but who was found next morning frozen stiff in that strange sepulcher.

The same authority rehearses the experience of Dr. Chandler over-taken by this "sudden change" when on his professional duties, a dozen miles from home—a tale precisely corresponding to the one fixed in the family tradition by innumerable repetitions, its thrilling details gathered from "original sources."

This tale tells how the weather-hardened physician, now in his thirtieth year, his great coat heavy with mud and frozen stiff, stopped first at one friendly farmhouse and then another to warm himself till the fourth and last on his homeward road had been visited. Then, knowing his failure to return would cause the greatest alarm for his safety, but realizing his danger to be acute though there were but four miles more to go, he put his horse at a gallop and rode at that speed for his life. He was within view of his own house when his horse fell down from exhaustion, dying where he fell, and the watching family rushing to the Doctor's aid, dragged him, helpless to safety.

Though that experience was exceptional, Dr. Chandler was many times, during those long, hard years of riding, under the necessity of aid at the end of a weary day.

Strangely enough, in the light of the present century, one learns of no hold-ups or other criminal encounters in that time, though horse thieves were common enough, perhaps, because money was rare, on the person or elsewhere; but that great beast, the timber wolf—one killed in that neighborhood measured nine feet and nine inches from nose to tail-tip—though seeming never to have a human victim to his discredit, was yet so menacing as to inspire night riders with terror. Sometimes those lone women watchers, awaiting their loved ones in the night, would hear that long, weird cry and know that the "gray death" was abroad and feel the cold chill of fear for those not yet returned. Then the farm dogs would stealthily be let in—for no dog could stand against the great, tearing teeth of the lupine—the sounds of a muffled tread would be heard and sometimes, actually the sniffing of the

wolf on his predatory round of search, while the dogs, their muzzles close to the threshold, would keep up a furious barking; then an interval of quiet would follow, showing the visitor had gone on his way, when, presently a fresh furor would arise at the next place, and the firing of a gun would be heard: After a little, perhaps from a still more distant farm, and more faintly, the repeated sounds would tell that the drama had been enacted on still another stage, as the creature went its way.

A daughter of the Doctor, that same small Mary Jane, told in after years, of a daytime visit from a timber wolf, when the great beast actually came in at the open kitchen door and was promptly driven out by her courageous mother with whatever weapon was at hand—a broom, perhaps, or a stick of wood. Stories were told in plenty of the menacing attitude of these animals, and one winter night when the moon invited creatures of the woods into the open, Dr. Chandler descried ahead of him, on either side of the road, the outline of two of these awe-inspiring forms. To have changed his course would have been disastrous, for the tall grass reaching to his thighs was practically impenetrable, so he took the only means open to him, other than turning back, and setting his horse at a hard gallop, rode straight ahead, passing them in safety.

The years of 1832 and 1833 are recorded in the medical history of Illinois as marking the first of those two terrible visitations—the second being in 1850—of the disease known as the Asiatic Cholera. So shocking was the death toll that in certain sections whole families were desolated within a few days and neighbors, braving the perils of infection, were compelled to bury them in a common grave. When the Rev. John M. Ellis, one of the founders of Illinois College, and the founder as well, of the Jacksonville Female Academy, returned to his home after a few days' absence, he found his wife, their two children and his wife's sister had been so stricken, and were dead and buried—immediate interment being deemed necessary in this disease, for the safeguarding of

the living. Fifty-three deaths from cholera are recorded in Jacksonville alone.

For the duration of the scourge Dr. Chandler was busy night and day. It was felt to be scarcely less than miraculous that he should himself have escaped the disease, exhausted as he was by almost continuous riding. In many cases, but particularly in one, the service of the philanthropist as well as the physician was enlisted.

In the neighborhood of North Prairie, where the town of Virginia afterwards was established, a certain Mr. Perry Fuller and his wife both fell victim to this disease. Their deaths left their four children destitute. The good Doctor took the burden of this disaster upon his own shoulders, finding homes for the two older children and taking the two younger ones into his own home to rear. The boy, who was also named Perry, he bound to himself, educating him and treating him like a son. We do not know the age of Perry Fuller when orphaned, but a re-print made from one of the publications of the Kansas State Historical Society (Vol. XI), covering the history of the Sauks and Fox Indian, tells us that he was married in 1852, so it is probable—since early marriages were the rule rather than the exception in those days—that in 1832 he was still an infant, probably under the age of six.

The generosity of this act says much for the kindness of Dr. Chandler and his wife, newcomers in the place, whose cabin must have felt its accommodation strained by the addition of two young children, nor could Mary Chandler have failed to find her burdens doubled. Further history of the girl is lost to our researches, but the boy, we learn, remained in his adopted home until manhood was attained; a bright, intelligent lad who found and kept a cherished place in the affections of the Doctor's family. When he married he took his bride, who had been Miss Sarah Keithly, to live in a settlement in Cass County, known as Sand Prairie; his foster father having added to his benefactions by giving him what the author of the "Note" quaintly calls a "start."

The career of Perry Fuller is of considerable interest and its telling would seem to justify the violation done to strict chronology. Shortly after his own marriage that of his wife's sister, Ann Keithly, took place in the new home. She married George Logan. George W. Logan was a young man reared in Beardstown, but who for five years had lived in the West. In 1847 he had quickened to the cause of abolition and having, in consequence, joined Lovejoy's "army of invasion," had been sent to guard the Iowa-Missouri border as part of the "underground railway." He served, there, in that secret order, until his return to Cass County. After his marriage he again went West, taking his wife, but this time he located at Sonora, in Atchison county, Missouri, setting up his household goods in an old hut which had been abandoned by the fur traders.

Here, within the next year, so infectious is the pioneering fever, the Fullers joined them. But not for the purpose of recruiting the "army of invasion"; Perry Fuller's genius was for business. He soon found employment at Westport Landing in the warehouse of a firm bearing the name of "Northrup and Chick," as checker for goods received from the steamboats, receiving the prodigious wage of five dollars a day. When Kansas was opened for settlement, the enterprising young man took up a claim near Centropolis, in Franklin county and, being near the Sauks and Fox reservations, built a large store there; Colonel Chick, whose good will he had won, letting him have goods on credit. The result was an enormous business, estimated the first year at \$40,000.

His association with Indian interests, combined with a flair for politics, resulted in his appointment in 1859, as Indian agent. He served in this capacity three years. The records of the Office of Indian Affairs shows that he witnessed, during this time, four treaties between the United States Government and the several Indian tribes. Mr. Fuller was in charge when the negotiations were under way for the remov-

al of the Sauks and Foxes from their old reservation in Osage county, Kansas to their new one in Indian Territory now Oklahoma, whose agency was located at Quenemo. When the apportionment of lands was being made it was Mrs. Fuller (whom the account calls "a most noble woman") who suggested the designation of lands for school purposes. We also learn that when the site for the new agency was chosen, the first load of timber for the new building was hauled by George Logan, showing that the fortunes of the two families fared together. He too, moved to Quenemo where he remained.

Perry Fuller was interested in the "Mineola Capital scheme," building a store at Mineola that was opened by Thomas McCage, who had married another of Fuller's sisters. He was appointed collector of imports at New Orleans by Andrew Johnson, but was removed under the following administration; during the war he was held to have great political influence in Kansas and in the trouble arising out of the impeachment* trial of Andrew Johnson proved a staunch supporter of Senator Ross who cast the deciding vote.

The cholera epidemic, though making its appearance in the late months of 1832, did not reach its peak till the following year, when figures gathered for the "Medical History of Illinois," gave Jacksonville a death toll of 53. Of such scattered settlements as Panther Creek, of course, no record was possible. It was not the exigencies of this disease, however, that called Dr. Chandler's professional services into such immediate action, but the disease which was the particular curse of all low-lying countries in that day, malaria. Against the ravages of that malignancy of the miasmatic lands the nauseous combination of drugs in common use—peruvian bark, boneset tea, jalop and calomel—constantly prescribed, was vain. The disease merely "ran its course" and the weakest died. The significance of the deadly anophales in this disease was not to be discovered for many years. Indeed, the malarial

*Two recent books covering this period make mention of Fuller: "The Age of Hate" by George Fort Milton, and "The Tragic Era" by Claude Bowers.

parasite was not discriminated until 1880, when Charles Louis Alphonse Laveran, announced its discovery to the Paris Academy. As early as 1820, however, two chemists, Palletier and Caventor, succeeded in isolating quinine, the most important alkaloid of the chichona bark, and its prophylactic uses were soon turned with effective application to the treatment of malaria.

The discovery of quinine, which is a specific drug, marked one of the definite advances in the science of medicine, and its possibilities in the cure of febrile diseases occupied the attention of experimental science when Charles Chandler was preparing for his profession in the schools of the East. It is said that he was the first to introduce its use into medical practice in Illinois. There was, at that time, no medical school in that state, and even the St. Louis Medical School which, for a decade dominated the field in Illinois*, was not organized until 1841. As late as 1849 Prof. Thomas Spencer, author of "Automic Theory of Heat and Light," on coming to Rush Medical from Geneva Medical College in New York, anent the new and startling uses of the drug, thought it significant to state in his circular, "40 cases of malaria treated in college and hospital—37 per cent of the entire number in the city, (Syracuse)." Dr. David Prince†, a nephew, by marriage, of Dr. Chandler‡ who introduced the use of quinine to the medical branch which was added to Illinois College in 1843, did not arrive in Illinois till several years later so that it is probable that the claim which Dr. Chandler's colleagues made for him in this matter may stand undisputed.

In referring to this period of the Doctor's practice, and the conditions which he found prevalent, Dr. Snyder says: "The miasmatic germ-breeding exhalations from the prairies, marshes and river-bottom swamps were so profuse and malignant as to overtax the human organs of elimination, thus rendering the new country very unhealthy. Then, too, many

* Ill. History of Medicine.

† Ibid.

‡ Lucy Manning Chandler was his wife.

of the pioneer settlers were without the ordinary comforts of life, and without means, knowledge or hygienic aids, to combat the prolific causes of disease. Added to their privations in that respect, the then stereotype treatment of malarial disorders by exclusion of air and cold drinks, emetics, purgations, blistering, drenching the hapless victim with vile, nauseating concoctions, rendered it scarcely possible for the fittest to survive. The coming of Dr. Chandler in that sparse community in that era, with his broad, enlightened views, sound judgment and untiring activity, seemed especially providential."

It may be guessed that the use of the new drug, in the treatment of this so little understood disease, resulted in cures so immediate and definite, as to hint at magic. The high percentage of recoveries, in cases coming within Dr. Chandler's practice, was startling when compared to results in neighboring communities under the care of physicians not yet converted to the effectiveness of quinine, and heralded his reputation far and wide.

But not only in the treatment of the dreaded "chills and ague," as the ailment was colloquially known, was the young physician remarkable, but in reforms touching other barbaric practices of an outworn school of medicine. The Allopathic school, to which Dr. Chandler belonged, was just then effecting many reforms such as the disuse of indiscriminate bleeding, exhausting emetics, and other pernicious relics of a more benighted day. His enlightened knowledge of obstetrics brought alleviation to one of the greatest perils that shadowed the lives of the pioneer women. The dreaded "child-bed" or puerperal fever, whose pathology was not then known, as now, to lie wholly within the field of preventive therapeutics, was treated by him with exceptional success, and so authoritative was his knowledge regarded, on this subject, that in obstinate and highly dangerous cases, he was called to the end of his professional life, to points lying far without the range of his ordinary practice.

The decade denoted by the thirties—but particularly the first four years—brought to this newly inhabited section of Illinois, several persons destined to become central figures in that period of state and national history having its tragic climacteric in the sixties.

The year of 1831 brought Abraham Lincoln to the little hilltop town of New Salem, there to spend six years in intensive preparation—both in the school of experience and under the more selective tutelage of books—for the great role which destiny had reserved for him. The same year brought to Illinois, from the green hills of Kentucky, the family of Henry Yates whose young son, Richard, was to become the first alumnus of the little new college at Jacksonville, and to share with William G. Greene the honor of turning the genius of Lincoln to politics. He was to become the great War Governor of Illinois. It was not till two years later that the third figure of this trio, Stephen A. Douglas, arrived upon the scene, opening a little country school in the vicinity of Jacksonville; presently, to become by force of his constructive statesmanship and his gift of matchless oratory, the first great senator from Illinois, the avowed protagonist of States Rights and the indomitable opponent of Lincoln in that series of debates that has become a part of the history of that period, and which engaged the breathless interest of the fast amalgamating forces of the north and south in the fifties.

It is significant, too, that the year of 1837, gave the gubernatorial election to Joseph Duncan whose home was in Jacksonville; another Kentuckian whose family had come into the state sixteen years earlier.

Joseph Duncan had previously served the state through two terms of the legislature, an initiation in public service that was followed by eight years in Congress. He had taken his seat during the administration of John Quincy Adams and had come, in Washington, under the influence of the most brilliant coterie of men that ever gathered in the National Capitol at one time—Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Henry

Clay, Benton, and others. Duncan's acute interest in the cause of free schools and of institutions of higher learning probably induced his residence there in that northern village, so strangely alert to the cause of education as to seem the western counterpart of old Concord. Three such schools were in being there, though the town was in its infancy: Illinois College, the Jacksonville Female Academy and the Ebenezer Manual Labor School. Governor Duncan was, in fact, a trustee of one of these, Illinois College, which was the first institution of higher learning in the state.

The little settlement of Panther Creek, however, though sensing remotely the shape and feeling of this large life, was absorbed during the early years of its existence, in the small, immediate drama of its own development. One infers that the first winter, though full of hardship for the newcomers, induced no mood for discouragement in the Chandler family which colored reports going back by letter to friends at Woodstock; for in March 1833, Marcus Chandler arrived at Panther Creek with his wife and small son Knowlton. His brother was one of the group of "goers" that had, inspired by the leadership of Dr. Charles, planned to go with him to the new country and found a colony, when rumors of Indian trouble turned them from their intentions. As no account exists covering the names of those who set out with the Doctor on the western adventure, in 1832, it cannot be discovered just what members of the original party finally made good their intentions or if, perhaps, the personnel suffered some revision. But for several years the Woodstock contingent was recruited, from time to time, until there was a strong intermingling of eastern* names and families among the original settlers at Panther Creek.

Marcus Chandler who was a carpenter by trade, was two years the Doctor's junior and like him, tall and strongly built; a splendid figure of a man, and admirably suited to the pioneering life. He immediately took steps to enter his claim

* Among these are Richard, Lyon, Marcy, Lillie, Ingalls, Goodell and Child.

on land lying about two miles up the Bottom, east and north of the Doctor's land, and set about building his cabin. By the next year, settlers were pouring into this section of Illinois in such numbers that Beardstown experienced a burst of energy amounting almost to the proportions of a boom. One of its leading citizens, J. B. Fulks, began the publication of a newspaper called *The Beardstown Chronicle and Illinois Bounty Lands Advocate* which was edited by Francis Arenz—the first sheet to be published north of Jacksonville where the *Illinois Patriot* had succeeded the *Western Observer*, established in 1830.

In the Sangamon valley the plough was steadily conquering thick, native sod and more and more of the land was turned to agriculture. Dr. Chandler, therefore, engaged a local man to build the first of those utilities required by an agrarian community, a blacksmith shop, and soon the hammer of John Hicks was ringing merrily upon its anvil within sound of the Doctor's house. That same year also, he built the first frame house constructed in the valley, a square building, sided with weather-boarding, which he stocked with goods of sorts to meet the needs of the community, and this was his first essay into the field of merchandising. It is possible that this store served him, and the community as well, in a double capacity since, besides making the ordinary commodities available without the hardship of the long journey to Beardstown, as formerly, it furnished a market for those farm products by which means, alone, many of the Doctor's patients were able to pay for his professional services. Indeed, so common was this exchange in this day, that in New Salem Dr. Allen actually provided a pork-packing establishment to meet the necessities of his patrons.

Perhaps the really important event of that spring was the arrival of a second daughter in the family of the Doctor, named Emily, in honor of a beloved younger sister back in Woodstock; and in May came several members of the Ingalls family, the most important of the arrivals from the East, as

touching the Chandler saga, since an episode connecting the eldest member of this group with the Doctor brought about the latter's first meeting with Abraham Lincoln and effected the entrance of his name into the accredited body of Lincolniana.

The incident alluded to has been so persistently bemused by error in the telling by the various biographers who have essayed this tale—each, from Herndon on, repeating the version of the last—that all but the central fact of the story is lost to truth. Through some means the name of Ingalls has been converted into English, and the shaping forces of the literary imagination have been impelled to satisfy the demands of poetic justice rather than of fact. It has been accurately related—for the first time, I believe—by me in my monograph, “*New Salem: Early Chapter in Lincoln’s Life*”^{*} and must, in justice to the biographical requirements of this story, be recapitulated here.

The genesis of the Ingalls family in America, as represented by the brothers Francis and Edmund, antedates the arrival of the Chandler forbears, William and Annis, by nine years, and the descendants of the two families maintained a contemporaneity of residence for several generations that had resulted in a natural bond of friendship.

Arriving in America in 1628, from Lincolnshire, England, with Governor Endicott, the Ingalls brothers established, at a point not far from Salem, a home site and a tannery which they named for their late English home, Lynn. The descendants of Edmund, departing from Lynn, lingered for two generations in Andover, Massachusetts, when James, with his family removed to Abington in the town of Pomfret, which adjoins Woodstock. There, in the family home, which stood just across the street from the old Colony Church, three generations came to maturity. It was Henry, the son of Ephraim, his wife being Lucy Goodell Ingalls, whom the pioneering spirit affected first. Henry made a trip to Illinois at some time prior to 1831, for history tells us that he returned to

^{*} Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Jan. 1930.

Pomfret at the time of his father's death which occurred in that year. The mother having died two years earlier, his brothers and sisters expected he should settle down there, assuming the head of the family, but the meager resources of the little farm on the Quinebaug seemed to him to offer rewards so inconsiderable, as compared to the opportunities of the West, that he persuaded them, instead, to the idea of immigration.

Two of his sisters had married and to them the two younger boys, George Addison and Ephraim, were entrusted; the farm being sold, the remaining members of the family—Edmund and Charles F., with their sisters, Lydia and Deborah—accompanied Henry, whose wife, Lavinia, was the cousin of Mrs. Marcus Chandler, on his return to Illinois.

Charles F. kept a diary of the journey in a blank book provided by Lydia and now in the possession of her eldest daughter, Mrs. Mary F. Colby Dixon. This diary she published in the *Illinois State Historical Journal**, and to this record and the accompanying sketch of the family with which she prefaced it, I am indebted for such data as pieces out and authenticates the family legend recounted to me, by letter, by the wife of Dr. Chandler's youngest son, who had the tale from him.†

Briefly, the Diary shows that the Ingalls family left Abington for Illinois on April 21, 1834, and under that date we read, "called at Mr. Chandler's place." This doubtless referred to the home of Captain John Chandler, the father of Dr. Charles and of Marcus, already in Illinois. They took the northern route, going from Albany to Buffalo by canal boat, and from Buffalo to Detroit by steamer. At the latter point, on May 9, they bought "a gray horse" and a one horse wagon, and shipping their goods by steamer, set out for Chicago, a distance of 300 miles, in this conveyance. The going, we gather, was extremely arduous and so, ten days later, when

* July, 1925.

† Mrs. S. L. B. Chandler, now of Washington, D. C., but formerly of Chandler-ville, Ill.

only thirty-seven miles from Chicago, the horse being overburdened and in need of rest, Charles and Henry lightened his load by setting forth on foot, "leaving the girls and Edmund to recruit the horse." On foot, by stage and river-boat, the two young men made the remainder of their journey. Under date of May 27, appears: "Landed at Ross Ferry (Havana) at mouth of Spoon river, 40 miles from Beardstown. We landed at Beardstown at 9 o'clock p. m. Staid at Smith's Inn."

The last entry, dated the 28th, reads: "came up the bottom on foot and I returned and got the trunk it being Wednesday. Tuesday following, it being June 3, the girls and Edmund arrived after making a week's visit on the sand beach."

Just whom the Ingalls family visited in Panther Creek is not certain, but it is likely they—the five visitors—shared their stay with both Chandler families. Henry was anxious to make a selection of land for entry as soon as possible and Dr. Chandler undertook to point out to him the more desirable claims. Dr. Chandler had, on coming to the valley, shown excellent judgment and had selected for himself the* "best of the land not yet entered upon in 1852." The following year he had entered forty acres to add to the original one hundred and sixty, but not quite adjoining it. A fractional eighty, which he intended to enter when convenient, lay between the two claims. Mrs. Chandler, in the letter referred to, carries forward the narrative:

"In the year, 1834," she writes, "Mr. Ingalls arrived from the East to inspect the land. Father Chandler, anxious to promote the growth of the new settlement, took him through the Sangamon Valley showing him its beauties and agricultural advantages. But Mr. Ingalls saw nothing that pleased him so well as a tract adjoining the Chandler land and including the eighty acres which Father intended later to purchase.

* Goodell Correspondence.

"As an inducement to the man to settle there, Father Chandler offered to give up his claim to half of the eighty acre piece; but no, he must have the whole, and expressed his intention to go at once to Springfield and secure a title.

"Father Chandler went home, counted his cash, and, finding it deficient, borrowed of his good neighbor, McAuley, saddled his best horse, and left for Springfield.

"Knowing the 'lay of the land' from frequent professional calls, he took a 'bee line' over hill and dale, having the advantage of Ingalls who, being a stranger, was making the journey by horse and wagon. When within a few miles of Springfield, Father Chandler overtook two men on horseback and, knowing he was safe in doing so, slackened his pace and rode slowly along with them, resting his beast and, falling into conversation, explained the cause of his haste. One of the men was so worked up at the treachery of Ingalls that he offered to change horses with Dr. Chandler that he might the more surely defeat his adversary. Gratefully declining the offer (knowing that his steed was equal to the emergency) he rode *his own horse into Springfield*. He reached the land office, entered his claim, and met Mr. Ingalls as he came out.

"A few years later, Dr. Chandler wanted his land surveyed and sent for a young surveyor at New Salem, Illinois. When the man arrived he proved to be the same gentleman who had offered to swap horses years before. His name was Abraham Lincoln."

County records show this land entry to be June 16, 1834; therefore, Henry Ingalls and his brother Charles had been in the valley but nineteen days at the time, and "the gray horse," which furnished the transport for the rest of the family, arriving on the third of the month, doubtless served Henry on his trip to Springfield.

If any ill-feeling between the two men resulted from this competition it is not indicated in the family tradition. It seems entirely probable that the unwritten law to which Henry Ingalls' act did violence—the law of courtesy which forbade

making entry of land on the eighty adjoining an original claim, on the supposition that the claimant himself would wish to do so when his resources permitted—was unknown to him, newly arrived in the west. In fact, the social harmony of the two families seems never to have been disturbed and, in 1841, his first wife having died, Dr. Chandler married Clarissa, the sister of Lavinia.

The Herndon rendering of this horse-trading incident—which states that the horses *were* exchanged—and which furnished the outline for innumerable re-tellings by Lincoln biographers, is thus shorn of its dramatic climax and of those elements of contrast which satisfy the artistic requirements of a good tale; but the essential fact remains: Lincoln's generous offer, and the chance that brought them together afterwards and cemented their friendship. Dr. Chandler, in telling the story to his son's wife, concluded it by saying, "I became a Lincoln man then and I have been one ever since." Which, in compensation for some losses, gives the story its desired "happy ending."

The friendship thus begun was life-long, and richly rewarding to both. Dr Chandler was but three years Lincoln's senior, but his advantages of birth and training in the East were considerable. The younger man was just then yielding himself to many shaping forces. He had but the year before begun the reading of law, and his candidacy for a seat in the legislature had lately—and for the second time—been announced; a project that was, this time, to prove successful and to set his feet definitely upon that long road of political preferment that should lead to Washington. From the moment of this meeting he became the familiar, and always the cherished guest, of the Doctor's cabin, as of his mansion house, soon to replace it. Perry Fuller said, in after years when the acquaintance became responsible for some of his prestige in political circles in Kansas, that he could not remember a time when he did not know Lincoln. This statement refers back, of course, to his childhood in the Chandler home in Panther

Creek. In the years to come, as the Lincoln legend began to define itself, the wide and influential acquaintance of the eastern man proved, on more than one occasion, serviceable to his friend as this narrative will show; and Dr. Chandler became the guest of the Martyr President at the time of his first inaugural.

The following year, when Henry Ingalls' wife, Lavinia, came from the East, her husband established a home for her in a cabin south of Dr. Chandler's residence. He was still living in that community when gold was discovered in California and made two trips in the quest, bringing home some gold in fact; but in later life he sold his holdings in the Sangamon valley and went to Mustaotink, Chisago County, Minnesota, where he died. Edmund Ingalls had died the first winter in Illinois, from inflammatory rheumatism; Lydia married an easterner who had come to New Salem to live, Jonathan Colby; Deborah went with her brother, Charles, to Lee County, Illinois, where both married, Charles leaving a large family. The two brothers who had remained in the East came on to Illinois in 1837, and in time established themselves in Oak Park and Chicago.

Throughout, the Ingalls family were people of exceptionally high quality and breeding, and two members of it came to distinction. Ephraim, who became a physician, was associated with Drs. Brainard and De Laskie Miller, in conducting the *Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal*, and he succeeded Dr. John Rauch as professor of materia medica and therapeutics at Rush Medical College from 1859-71. He was one of those who effected the affiliation of Rush with the University of Chicago, and was Professor Emeritus of that institution at the time of his death.

The nephew of Ephraim—and his name-sake—E. Fletcher Ingalls, also turned to medicine for a career, becoming a lung and throat specialist of distinction. He married one of the four daughters of the President of Rush Medical, and was himself Dean of that college at the time of his death in 1900.



DR. CHARLES CHANDLER HOMESTEAD, CHANDLERVILLE, ILLINOIS.

Lavinia Ingalls seems, from our meager findings, to have been the first woman in Panther Creek to have performed any public service. In the first year of her marriage, we learn, she taught a school in her cabin—the first school to be conducted in the valley—and here came, to learn her letters, Mary Jane Chandler, now six years old, and her little cousin, Knowlton, Nancy Leeper, Louis Bonny, Mary Wing, Jephtha Plaster and others of the rising generation.

With her relative, Mrs. Marcus Chandler, and Mrs. Robert Leeper, Lavinia Ingalls established a Sunday School that same year, while Mary Chandler, whose preoccupations were domestic, presented Doctor Chandler with a daughter Louisa, on August 2nd; the third in succession to find residence in that “commodious cabin” already housing four small children and two adults.

The following year was made interesting by one event, at least, of some significance to the community as well as to the immediate family, for, redeeming a promise which he had made to his wife, when persuading her to the Illinois adventure, Dr. Chandler commenced the building of the house that was exactly to duplicate the one she had left behind in Rhode Island four years earlier. Here in the lovely valley, it reared its noble proportions—a place of heart’s desire to Mary Chandler and a seven day’s wonder to all the country-side.

For his new house Dr. Chandler chose a site considerably removed from the cabin which had hugged the bluffs. It stood a quarter of a mile away fronting the hills, the river and its attendant sloughs lying well behind.

The T-shaped design of the house, somewhat uncommon even in the East, seemed especially suited to that location because of its wide front; for its two-storied central portion was flanked on either end by a large room which was furthermore supplemented by a veranda running around it, and these pleasant wings gave it a look of spaciousness that happily related it to the flat landscape which stretched away in every direction from the slight rise of ground on which it stood.

Only the hills which met its gaze—running back to the prairie uplands, lovely fold on lovely fold—broke that flatness. Back of it, less than a mile away, lay the river—the Sangamon—with its lazy sloughs, its rich forest growth of hickory, walnut and oak.

These parallels of hill-line and river, between which stood the house, were intersected, not too geometrically, by the long avenue of pines and cedars which the Doctor planted, leading from the house to the road, their severity softened by an inner border of flowers; while here and there flowering shrubs, lilac and syringa, snowball, almond and waxberry, were graciously disposed about the lawn.

Towards the river lay the orchards: apple trees that grew prodigiously in the rich alluvial soil, and to a great age; smaller fruit as well, of course—cherries, plums and pears; and in later years—as late as the seventies—that amazing peach orchard of such proportions as in one year to net the Doctor more than twenty-two thousand dollars.

Between the orchard and the house lay the barns, a carriage house and stable; and nearer to the dwelling, a brick house for smoking and storing meat and an ice house—the first ice-house in the country and to remain for years to come, the symbol of ultimate luxury.

The house itself—rising so amazingly in a land of cabins—was the most pretentious dwelling, at the time of its erection, north of the Illinois river, and for forty years the finest house in the county. There was, in the square central portion, a hall running back, flanked by a large room on either side, and stairs leading straightly up to the two chambers above, that corresponded to the lower rooms. Each of these four rooms had its fireplace and, since they measured eighteen by twenty feet, the chambers easily accommodated two double beds. The two lower rooms represented the usual concomitants of that day, a living room and a parlor. The wings too, were scarcely less generous in their proportion, being fourteen feet in width and twenty in length—the length corresponding



DOORWAY OF THE OLD DR. CHARLES CHANDLER HOMESTEAD.
The little Figure Seated on Doorstep is the Doctor's Great-granddaughter,
Margaret Clark, now the Duchessa de Melito of Florence, Italy.

to the rooms in the main body of the house which they abutted. They served, respectively, as an office for the Doctor's use, and a bed-room for himself and wife. The wings were but one story in height as was the L which extended back from the main body of the house and contained the large dining-room and the kitchen; while rooms for occasional use were made out of the long attic above.

The dining-room was, in fact, the master room of the house. Its proportions—twenty feet in width and twenty-four in length—made it admirable, aside from private uses, for public meetings; and it served the town often, in that capacity, for many years. For that reason, perhaps, the floor, of walnut and white maple, laid alternately, was always left uncarpeted. Its spaciousness was augmented by the veranda which, following the line of the wings, extended along the side of the dining-room which fronted on the drive and, in summer time, formed a sort of gallery to which the voice of the speaker could penetrate through open doors and windows.

As time went on and the family, and the family needs increased, a second L was added to the kitchen to accommodate the servants' quarters and a laundry, and a second story was added to the carriage house for the man-of-all-work about the place.

The dwelling was begun early in the spring, as soon, in fact, as the ground was free of frost, and all summer long the structure grew upon its brick foundation. The oak and walnut timbers, brought from the Sangamon bottom and hewn by hand, were pinned together by great wooden pins. The split lathes were of oak, but the doors, beautifully paneled, were of walnut. A brass knocker added its note of sophistication to the deeply embrasured front door whose posts were pilasters running the full height of the house; and the cross-panel over it and the narrow side-lights at either hand, were set in diamonded panes that reflected the dignity of the best Salem traditions. The doorstep was a single slab of stone and one of its cherished memories was preserved in a well-

defined scar across its surface, impressed by the eldest son who tried out, thereon, in infancy, to his own satisfaction at least, the cutting quality of one of the Doctor's best surgical saws.

Originally, the house was clapboarded with poplar, but in 1852 this was taken off and walnut substituted, the lumber being *brought by oxen in twelve loads, from Frederick, a point twenty miles distant on the Illinois.

The particular charm of this ample house lay, not only in its just proportions and the satisfying relation which it bore to its environment, but in such modest use of decoration, conforming to the architectural line, as inhered in the paneled corner-boards, the tall pilasters defining the doorway and breaking the wide expanse of the front, the cornice with its Chippendale motif running below the eave-line, and in the green shutters that offered their contrast in spacing and in color to the chaste whiteness of the walls.

* Goodell Correspondence.

IV

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

New recruits to the valley were arriving from the East every year to give new life and enterprise. Social contacts were established with neighboring towns, but particularly with Jacksonville, where the strong intermingling of eastern people made natural and immediate, the current of interest and sympathy. Jacksonville, now a village of about three thousand, had sixteen stores, six groceries, two taverns, a number of tradesmen, numerous mechanics, eleven lawyers and ten physicians.* It was not only the largest town in the state, but was the intellectual and cultural center. There, first of all, the pioneer cabin had given way to the dwelling of more permanent construction; five churches had been built and a college and an academy for the education of "females" stood proudly out upon the horizon—a long mile of prairie stretching between, broken by one residence only.

It was now eight years since the Reverend John Ellis, newly ordained in the Old South Church in Boston, had come west with missionary intent to "increase the moral power of America." His purpose especially comprehended the establishment of schools and colleges and to that end he influenced the Missouri Presbytery to appoint himself and one, Thomas Lippencott, also imbued with the spirit of educational zeal, to investigate locations for such institutions. In touring Illinois for that purpose they visited Jacksonville in January of 1829 and, impressed by the natural beauty of the village upon the Mauvisterre, and by the intellectual character of the people, chose that place for the site of Illinois College and arranged for the purchasing of eighty acres of land for the purpose. The Presbytery felt the choice unwise and so refused to support it, but so determined was Ellis upon this

* *Journal of the Ill. State Historical Society*, April, 1925.

location that he obtained funds from Dartmouth College in the East and proceeded with the project. A letter written by him to the American Home Missionary Society, outlining a plan for a college, brought him into touch with a group of young men, later known as the Yale Band, who had dedicated themselves to missionary and educational work in the far West.

They were seven in number and their concerted efforts in this chosen field were destined to result in the most significant educational movement probably ever promulgated by so small a unit in the development of America.

"From their effort," says Harriet Rice Congdon, in her *Early History of Monticello Seminary*, "were derived the Western Reserve University, Beloit College, Wabash College, Illinois College at Jacksonville and the Monticello Seminary for Women." These men were Julian M. Sturtevant, Mason Grosvenor, Asa Turner, Jr., John F. Brooks, Theron Baldwin, Elisha Jenney and William Kirby.

Their first efforts were directed towards the establishment of Illinois College at Jacksonville; some of these coming west at once, others remaining for a time in the East and devoting their energies to raising funds for the new project. As early as 1829, Sturtevant and Baldwin joined John Ellis at Jacksonville and the hill which Ellis and Lippencott had chosen was in 1830 crowned with Beecher Hall, the first college building in the state.

Beecher Hall might, indeed, be said to be the focal point towards which the intellect of that day, there in the West, drew as to a shrine. In 1833 Jonathan B. Turner, who was teaching in the college wrote to friends in the East, "You cannot find a village west of the Hudson, of the same number of inhabitants, possessing so many men of literary eminence and moral worth, or a community of greater refinement in taste and manners."

Not all of the Yale Band, it is true, were resident in Jacksonville. Asa Turner, Kirby, Brooks and Baldwin, all ministered to churches scattered through the state as far south as Vandalia, but the college was their spiritual citadel. Edward Beecher, brother of the great Brooklyn preacher and of that young female intellectual soon to fire the horizon with her stirring war novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," had been brought from the East—another Yale man—to be its first president; with Truman M. Post, Sturtevant, Turner and Dr. Samuel Adams, making up the first faculty—the "faculty of all talents." John Adams had come from "Andover Hill," accompanied by his pleasant family, to conduct the Female Academy; Dr. Hiram K. Jones had established the Concordian tradition of "plain living and high thinking" there on the opulent soil of the prairie, and had begun those Saturday morning discourses on transcendental philosophy which he continued on into the nineties. Elihu Wolcott, the abolitionist, was laying the foundation for the organization of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society and Douglas was school-mastering in the vicinity. Add to these such intellects as Samuel D. Lockwood, come from New York, one of the first trustees of the college, and Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois from 1824 to 1848; add, also, those Kentuckians, Wm. Thomas, called "The Thomas Marshall of Illinois," the "Father" of Jacksonville's eleemosynary institutions; John J. Hardin, leading lawyer in Illinois until his death at the Battle of Buena Vista in the War with Mexico; the Duncans, and many other highly talented families from the south whose names have gone down honorably in the long descent of "first families," and you have a community of such ability and brains as few villages in the new West or elsewhere could boast.

Also, there were ladies: and these, whether in homespun or in silk, made contributions to the social life other than those traditionally yielded by the distaff. *Mrs. Ellis, the

* Georgia L. Osborne: Pioneer Women of Morgan County. *Journal Ill. Hist. Soc.*, April, 1925.

charming French bride of John Ellis, conducted in her three room cabin a boarding school for young ladies, some of whom came from Kaskaskia, Prairie du Chien and St. Louis; the while performing the duties of a clergyman's wife (for John Ellis was minister to the First Presbyterian Church), teaching a French class at night and, for all the elegance of her taste, giving her strength freely to what ever menial labors were required by the pioneer conditions of the time. So great was her interests in female education, working always to that end, that, though the cholera laid her low before the Academy which was her dream was an accomplished fact, yet her acknowledged part in its achievement was a considerable one and her pupils were among its first registrants.

As early as 1833, the society quaintly called the Ladies' Association for Educating Females, was formed with the wives of the faculty members conspicuously present—Mrs. Beecher, Mrs. Sturtevant, and Mrs. Baldwin. Its president was Mrs. John Tillson, a writer, and the wife of one of Illinois' early educators; and its vice president was Sarah C. Crocker who, through the recommendation of Mary Lyon, had become the first principal of the Academy. The daughters of John Adams—for twenty years instructor of Phillips' Academy at Andover—though a little appalled at the simplicity of the women's dress—slat sunbonnets for head gear and dresses of shocking scantiness, six yards being deemed "ample" for a gown—cheerfully spread their Brussels carpet on the Academy basement living-room floor and comforted themselves with the assurance of such cultural beginnings as was indicated by "the Art Association and Horticultural Society"; and such evidences of musical taste as were pointed by the presence in the community of "six pianos." Mrs. James Edwards, who with her husband accompanied Julian Sturtevant to Illinois and who assisted in the publication of the *Western Observer*—even to the task of setting the type by hand, in the defection of intemperate journeymen printers—must, likewise, as its first woman pub-

licist, have added to the variety and intellectual strength of Jacksonville society.

But the home in which the austere culture of the East and the grace and charm of the South commingled, was the house of Governor Joseph Duncan built in 1835. He too followed, but with less fidelity than that which Doctor Chandler observed, the lines of the mansion left behind in Paris, Kentucky. This *house was destined to become, and to remain throughout many years, a place of princely hospitality. Here were entertained with equal urbanity and warmth, such distinguished guests as †Daniel Webster and his wife and daughter, Col. and Mrs. Wm. Hamilton and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, the widow of "The Conqueror"; and such droppers-in as made up the vast list of relatives and friends, political constituents, itinerants, travelers from afar and socially-minded neighbors. It is no wonder that the Duncan cook exclaimed in exasperation, "All dis here house needs to be a hotel is de hangin out of de sign."

If, on coming to Jacksonville, the young wife of Governor Duncan, fresh from New York City, found the people who were to be her future neighbors looking "very rough in their homespun clothes" she soon, according to the confession in her diary, "learned to love and appreciate them." One has, from this same diary, glimpses of that trunkful of pretty clothes which she so goodnaturedly turned out for the delectation of her new friends, permitting them to be examined, tried on and copied until some of them were literally ruined; of the "white India muslin dress with the sky-blue sash" and of a gown of crimson silk, which she had worn in Washington at President John Q. Adams' dinner (her hair done in puffs secured by a tortoise shell comb); her embroidered stockings and black slippers adding the last note of elegance to the costume.

* This house, though shorn of its ample grounds, for Mrs. Duncan eventually gave the front lawn to the town for a park, still stands. It is finely designed and boasted the first formal garden in Illinois. It was bought by the D. A. R. to be used as a clubhouse. Elizabeth Duncan Putnam: *Life and Service of Joseph Duncan*, Transactions, Ill. State Historical Soc., 1919.

† 1837.

This house where clergymen, statesmen and educators were familiarly received, had also its ball-room on the third floor which often became the scene of gaiety and splendor when dancing parties were invited "for early candle light." And if one would complete the picture one needs only to observe the furniture—or such pieces of it as have been, like tardily returning ghosts, reassembled in the old house. The mahogany piano (one of the six, no doubt), the center table and bookcases with columns of mahogany, also; the girandole with colored pictures of Versailles and St. Cloud; six lithographs by Grévedon; and silver and glass, and many small pieces of bric-a-brac that spoke of elegance at the table and elsewhere in the house.

That record of manners, so integral a part of the history of any period—and but just now being written into the first chapter of our national life through the services of the Metropolitan Museum; the addition of the American Wing, relating for the first time, the personal expression of our forefathers to their public one—has been partially preserved to the Duncan home through the intelligent services of the Jacksonville Historical Society. The staunch integrity of the mahogany and the taste of the French lithographs must inevitably restore to the imaginative visitor, the very character and charm of that day that is gone.

Desolation has fallen upon the old Chandler house that reared itself so handsomely there in Panther Creek in the thirties, and no Historical Society has evinced an interest in preserving its household gods; but a casual inventory of its several items, cherishingly preserved by the descendants of its owner, though lacking the constructive unity of a collection, still serve to recreate the illusion of manners and customs, and something of the exigencies and amenities that prevailed there.

Since the transition of the Chandler household was made directly from the cabin to the new residence it is not likely that the furnishings from that source contributed very mate-

rially to the habitation. The house in Scituate, of which this was a copy, was built in 1729. It probably was fully furnished when the Chandlers departed for Illinois three years later, and it seems likely, having in mind the construction of the replica at the earliest possible moment, the furnishings may have been held in storage, or possibly, in the house itself, until that happy hour of fulfillment. Only conjecture serves us here for no word has come down covering the point. But if that presumption may be regarded as reasonable, it places the date of the purchase of the greater number of pieces as about 1830, which coincides with that moment in the history of American furniture when the last good cabinet work, dominated by a defined trend, was being made in the East.

The great day of Duncan Pfyfe was past, for the demands of the new wealth suddenly dominating New York in the third and fourth decade of the century was now entailing upon the chaste restraint of his previous style a luxuriance of scrolls, garlands, pineapples, whatnot, which resulted in the degeneration of his work to the status of what he himself scornfully stigmatized as "butcher furniture."

The Windsor chair, that perfect flower of the American cabinet-maker, had reached the final evolution of its development by 1820, and possibly its vogue was declining towards the thirties. At least no example exists among the Chandler relics. Chippendale, Sheraton and Hepplewhite, whose elegancies had banished the stout hickory and oak and pine of the 17th century, had had their cherished day and passed in long decline, yielding to the alien French influence which Duncan Pfyfe, that supreme "master of curve," interpreted in his finest period—an influence that was still reminiscent in the first quarter of the 19th century. But now, in the thirties, American cabinetmakers had freed themselves from the necessity of slavish imitation of European designers; the old faith between the architect and the furniture maker—which has resulted in the finest periods of English joinery—had reasserted itself—for good or ill.

A. R. H. Halsey, who is one of the trustees of the American Wing and an authority on American furniture, has given it as his opinion that "the cabinet maker of the 18th century was the equal of any abroad in technique and invention—which in cabinet making, even more than in most arts, is a trick of adaptation and combination of familiar elements." Even in the first quarter of the 19th century our court houses and churches were repeating the Greek temple lines and proportions, and the southern planter employed them in his ample plantation house. Georgian sternness had not yet relaxed the Puritan severity of the "great houses" of the eastern coast towns but, inland, the exigencies of use and wont were tempering classic formula and native workmen were exhibiting both taste and skill in their several metier.

Tradition credited several of the mahogany pieces of the Duncan house to local cabinet makers and undoubtedly some very fine work was done by western men whose names, even in so brief a time, have gone down to oblivion. There is, however, no evidence that any of the Chandler furniture was made in Illinois. It was chiefly of mahogany, the plain surfaces, the bandings and the styling of pedestals bearing the brilliant grain of crotched veneer which was in the grand style of the thirties. The Roman pedestal table, referred to in the prologue of this work, though a dignified and striking piece, is not in the line of "hereditary descent" of any known master craftsman. The great davenport, so large that it had to be cut down when, after the dismantling of the house, in 1884, the eldest daughter had need to adapt it to simpler living quarters, was reminiscent in arm and foot of the First Empire as interpreted by Pfyfe, but there is no further proof of so distinguished a paternity. Two *large sideboards, companions in the service of the dining-room, though not in duplicate, have each an architectural suggestion through the use

* These pieces belong, in the order mentioned, to Mr. Harold Shaw, Mr. Robert Ewing, Mr. Charles Frackelton and Mrs. Otto Dorr, all either grandchildren or great-grandchildren of Dr. Chandler.

of columns. †One has merely corner columns ending in carved capitals where they support the long drawer at the top; the other employs four columns, without capitals, though they also support drawers, and serve, as well, to divide the lower space into three commodious cup-boards, presumably for dishes but constituting in the recollection of certain grandchildren the most admirable of doll-houses; a small love-seat, without arms is, according to excellent authority, very rare—there being but five now extant—and these with a pedestal drop-leaf table make up the known items from this period in the furnishings of the house.

Three pieces in black walnut testify to additions to the furnishings made at a considerably later date; for Queen Victoria, whose name bears the opprobrium of the furniture belonging to the despised "black walnut era," did not ascend the throne till 1838, and the use of that wood did not come into full favor for at least ten years. Then, indeed, the high tortoise shell comb that held Elizabeth Duncan's puffs in place, had its correlative in the center decoration of the backs of chairs and settees; keystone motifs, grapes and roses supplanted the classic acanthus; while the admired drooping shoulders of the period belle found their complement in the polished back curve of sofa and love-seat. But for all the violence of the antiquarians, who maintain that nothing good has come from the American cabinet maker since 1840, there are to be found, belonging to the early development of this period, pieces so nicely proportioned that the eye is pleased by form not less than by the particularly fine patina which time confers upon that wood; pieces in which the simplicity of pencil mouldings supplants the fragrances of fruit and flower and offer even a hostage for the penitential haircloth of the upholstery. To this period belong three pieces in the Chandler inventory: a small sofa, an arm chair and a leg rest.*

† A charming brochure, telling the history of this piece, exists. It is called "A True Story of An Old Side Board," and was written by Mr. William Bird Shaw and dedicated to his "Little granddaughter of Harrilou Heights."

* These pieces, as well as the Roman pedestal table shown in the frontispiece of this book, belong to Mr. Carl B. Chandler. They were reproduced in *Better Homes and Gardens* for December, 1925, and elicited the praise of the Art Editor of that magazine.

Probably the first event of importance to be associated with the new house was the organization there of the Presbyterian Church, several members of the aforementioned Yale Band and other intellectuals connected with the College, taking a deep interest in the project. Notable among these were Revs. Turner, Baldwin and Sturtevant. The Record Book, under date of the first meeting reads, "The committee appointed by the Presbytery of Illinois, in accordance with request of sundry individuals to organize a church in Pecan Bottom near Panther Creek, met on this day at the dwelling house of Dr. Charles Chandler. Present Rev. Milton Kimball, absent Rev. Elisha Jenney. After a sermon the committee constituted by prayer, proceeded to examine the credentials of applicants. The following named persons were received by letter, viz. William Sewall, Elizabeth W. Sewall, Lavinia Ingalls, Marcus Hicks and Patty Chandler. The members then proceeded to the election of an Elder and William Sewall was duly elected to that office. After a short intermission and a sermon and other religious exercises, the committee proceeded to set apart the Elder elect. Accordingly William Sewall was solemnly ordained with prayer and interposition of hands to the office of Elder over this church. The church was then declared duly organized. After which the Lord's Supper was administered. The exercises were closed with the benediction. The meeting was solemn and the Divine Presence to some degree manifest."

The minutes are signed, as are all those for the next two years, by the name of the newly elected Elder, "Wm. Sewall, Clerk pro tem." This was on the 16th day of October, 1836. The dining-room was used for the meeting, the doors and windows all standing open, the porch on the south serving as a sort of gallery for such as could not be accommodated within. Many must have come from considerable distances, perhaps ten or even twenty miles. One sees, in imagination, the heavy wagons and ox-carts standing about the place, the horses, freed of their harness, tethered to fences or to the

A meeting of secondary persons having been
 called then took place in Room 73 above, at the
 dwelling house of Mr Chandler on Monday
 Evg 4 Oct. 30. 1838 - [] [] [] [] []

Resolved unanimously to erect a House for
 Divine Worship, size and dimensions hereafter to be
 agreed on ~~for~~ the convenience of the several Pro-
 vince's Denominations ~~existing~~ in that about
 this neighborhood ~~here~~ --

Resolved that a Committee of three be chosen to consult others not present at this meeting on the subject of a plan of building a stone for Bessie's and to express the sense of their meeting - Robert Cooper & Moses Bonny and William Saville were chosen to act on the

I will therefore be no longer to visit at Robert
 Lee's College house on Monday, Tuesday
 or 9 at early candle light

[Mr. Charles C. Baridier was called to the
chair and William W. H. Allen seconded.]

wagons themselves. Numbers must have arrived on horseback—both men and women. Little children, who could not be left at home, played games, no doubt, on the lawn or laid sleepy heads against their mothers' breasts. Glimpsed through the door the blue hills stretched away to the south, crowned with the autumn haze; and over all that brooding sense of something significant, something that should bring higher values to life there in the valley—the organization of a church. That moment when the Elder was ordained “by laying on of hands,” and “The Divine Presence to some degree manifest,” was a promise of a day when a House of God should stand among them and when those religious privileges, so long forgone, should be resumed.

Meetings continued to be held in this room for three years and one finds, betimes, presiding as Moderator, the Rev. Albert Hale and the Rev. Wm. Allen. Albert Hale became, in the years that followed, the close friend of Dr. Chandler. He was a man of unusual scholarship—a Yale man—and great distinction came to him.

The Record Book shows that during the three years when meetings were held in the Chandler house there was a steady strengthening of forces. Among those who “entered into the covenant” on Feb. 12, 1837, were the Doctor's brother Marcus Chandler, and Mary Chandler, his wife. The comment closing the minutes on that date is: “The meeting was solemn, many serious and some anxious.” Under date of Sept. 19, 1841, we find “Rev. Moderators Sturtevant and Turner present and administered the Lord's Supper.”

Only four entries, all in the beautiful clear hand of Wm. Sewall, are recorded during the time when church was held in this house. It is probable that minutes were kept only of those meetings when the Moderator was present, for tradition credits frequent services during the summer months, and Dr. Snyder says that Dr. Chandler often sent his carriage to Springfield and to Jacksonville, for speakers and for the singers. These official meetings are under dates of October 16,

1836; February 12, 1837; June 23, 1838; and September 24, 1839. Under date of September 20, 1838 we find the entry:

Jacksonville,

Examined and approved this far.

T. Tenny, Mod. of Presbytery.

After which no more till July of 1841, when the record is resumed, still being signed by Wm. Sewall, with the statement above referred to, showing the presence of Sturtevant and Turner. One wonders about that three year hiatus.

V.

ECONOMIC AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT.

The fall of 1836 saw a mounting wave of prosperity and enterprise sweep through the state. The previous year—following, and in a measure, resultant upon the discontinuance of the United States Bank, through the veto of President Jackson—the legislature had granted a charter for a State Bank with a capital of \$1,500,000. The establishment of this, as of other State Banks, throughout the country, was a measure which was believed greatly to better private and public conditions. In June of that year work had begun on the Illinois and Michigan canal, surveys for which had started as early as 1821. Plans for the project, believed to be vastly important in the development of the country, had troubled the deliberations of the legislature during almost every session since its inception. Appropriations of moneys and lands, and the passage of laws affecting various phases of the matter had been ineffectual; “reports,” those sole evidences of effort were elaborate—five thousand copies of one of these being published by the Senate and distributed through the State. Then, at a special session, a bill authorizing a loan of half a million on the credit of the State passed both houses. Governor Duncan negotiated the loan; the work was begun, and on July 4th of that year (1836), with great ceremony, eloquence and fireworks, the formal opening was celebrated.

That summer, too, began the great boom in land sold as town lots. Chicago, then but a village of a few dozen houses, grew to a city of several thousand inhabitants in the next two years, and plats of towns for a hundred miles around were auctioned off there in the public square. It became a very haven for speculators whose wares were often disposed of in the East and so insistent was this rage for creating town sites that some wag suggested that no land was likely to be left

for farming. Perhaps the first wave of that movement had been felt even in the previous year, for Dr. Chandler had made a tentative plat of Panther Creek but, evidently, had thought better of it since he took no definite steps in that direction till 1847.

Whatever his interest in the northern boom, one local item must have claimed his notice and even his keen interest, since it closely paralleled his own late civic effort there in Panther Creek, the organization of a church. For in this year a certain Mr. John Grigg of Philadelphia, built and dedicated to the use of the community in which it stood, a small chapel. Griggs Chapel was built at a point twelve miles down the valley and inland, perhaps five miles, from the confluence of the Sangamon and the Illinois rivers. It was the first edifice built especially for church services in the Pecan Bottom and was part of *a large colonization scheme promoted by the easterner.

Mr. Grigg, at that time, a wealthy lawyer residing in Philadelphia, owned, among other properties in that place, a department store, and was a member of the Lippencott Publishing Company. He was also the author of a book of deportment bearing the illuminating title, "The American Lord Chesterfield."

Whether or not Dr. Chandler had known Mr. Grigg before coming west is not indicated in any existing data, but the wife of that estimable man was Nancy McClellan, the daughter of James McClellan and sister of two distinguished brothers, Doctors James and Samuel, who founded the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and was the aunt of George B. McClellan who was appointed Commander in Chief of the Union Forces by Abraham Lincoln at the breaking out of the Civil War. She was a direct descendant of that old Revolutionary General, Samuel McClellan, whose homestead neighbored the original Chandler homestead across the corner at the common, in South Woodstock, in the Eastward Vale. Also

* Goodell correspondence.

the McClellan family had been allied with the Chandler family by marriage in times past and it might well be that the extensive land purchases which John Grigg made in Illinois in 1829, was the source of Dr. Chandler's interest in 1832. No information is vouchsafed us on that point.

Mr. Grigg did not at this time, if ever, make a visit to the Illinois country for the purpose of selecting his claims, but relied entirely upon the information furnished by the field notes of the original survey of this land, on file in the General Land Office in Washington. Yet his interests were extensive. Between the years of 1829 and 1839 he entered land in the state aggregating 50,000 acres, about 12,000 of which lay in Christian county. There a great mound of land, rising in the center of a vast plain appealed to his imagination as the exact, logical spot where the Capital of Illinois should ultimately be located. The coincidence of its occupying the geographic center of the state seemed also propitious, and with that dream in mind—a dream to suffer disillusionment in the legislation decision of 1836—he laid out the town of Mt. Auburn.

About ten thousand acres of the land listed under these entries lay in Morgan and, what is now, Cass county, and to colonize this land he brought from the East, and even from England, many families*. Griggs Chapel was one of his contributions toward the successful consummation of the enterprise in land. At the time of his death in 1864, much of this land was still in his possession and so passed to his heirs; indeed some of it was still held by his descendants as late as 1920. Neither John Grigg nor any of his family, however, ever lived on the land, but maintained residence in the East, where their wealth and social standing connected them with families socially important, two of his grandchildren even marrying into the nobility of Italy and Spain.

The simultaneous urge to growth felt everywhere through the state at this time began to express itself through senti-

* Among the families which John Grigg was instrumental in bringing to Illinois, appear the names of Harris, Knight, Garm, Haywood, Sudbrink, Dunn and Tull.

ments—voiced aloud from public forum and private fireside—which demanded what came to be phrased as a “System of internal improvements.” The Illinois and Michigan Canal would, it was believed, prove the first contribution towards solving the problem of transportation, but other means were needed. The farmers now breaking the vast prairie tracts to the plough, must have a way of conveying their produce to market and only the railroad could meet that need. All summer long this subject engrossed the people and when a convention, for the discussion of this problem, was called to meet in Vandalia at the time of the convening of the legislature, most of the counties sent delegates.

This body devised a set of recommendations which it submitted to the General Assembly; recommendations covering a system of internal improvements that “should be commensurate with the needs of the people.” The needs of the people were, it appears, immoderate; but the Legislature took upon itself the responsibility for a series of expenditures that burdened the commonwealth for many years. Railroads were to criss-cross the state with about 1300 miles of track; the Kaskaskia, Great and Little Wabash, and the Rock rivers were to be improved for the better service of freight boats; two hundred thousand dollars was to be distributed among the counties for local work and four hundred thousand dollars was voted for the canal. For all of this eight million dollars was voted by the state, the sum to be raised by a loan.

Perhaps the most incredible thing about this piece of stupendous folly is the personnel of the legislators; for the body sitting at Vandalia at this time was the famous Tenth Assembly. Among the names to be found on the roster of this assembly were those of John J. Hardin, already associated with the Jacksonville group—foremost member of the Bar of the State; Stephen T. Logan, to become Lincoln’s second law-partner; John A. McClernand, afterward General McClernand; Ewing Semple; Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. Adlai Stevenson admirably epitomizes

the moral and intellectual force of this group when he said in an address before the Illinois State Historical Society, that from these men were yet to be chosen "two Governors of the Commonwealth, one member of the Cabinet, three Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, eight Representatives in Congress, six Senators and one President of the United States."

The passing of the Internal Improvement Act in February of 1837, which marked the high tide of prosperity, was soon followed by the depression resultant on the suspension of specie payment by the banks. Governor Duncan called a special session of the Legislature and legalized the suspension of specie payment, but refused to alter the Internal Improvement system. Work which had, as authorized by the Act, begun on practically all of these projects at once, went blithely forward—a gay debauch of folly. Among others, the Northern Cross Railroad, which was to run from Meredosia to Jacksonville, was begun in May. Its twenty miles of rail were to be finished within the year at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars, and this road was destined to constitute the only item of that vast program to come to completion.

The financial panic that followed the suspension of the specie payment was felt in all parts of the country and Dr. Chandler sensing the consequent depression even in Panther Creek sold his store to C. E. Newberry and immediately invested the proceeds in land. On June 29th of that year, a Post Office was established and, Mr. Newberry being appointed as Postmaster, maintained it in his store.

Local politics, about this time, was focusing about the question of a division of the county, the northern portion yielding to a growing discontent with the dominance which was exerted by the strongly concentrated group of able politicians in and about Jacksonville. This agitation paralleled, in its smaller area, the agitation felt throughout the state over the question of the new Capital site; for the act of Congress providing for its establishment, in 1818, decreed that after the

twenty year term in which Vandalia should serve the State as Capital, a new site should be determined upon. That matter was now in the hands of the General Assembly and the same group of able statesmen who dealt out internal improvements with a lavish hand must bring this question to issue. That remarkable group of Sangamon county men, humorously known to history as "the long nine,"—their eligibility to the name being determined by their exceptional height—was particularly concerned over this question. Two senators and seven representatives, all but one of whom were Whigs, made up their number. They, of course, particularly desired the honor of state-head for their district. By chance the two issues, the one affecting the county and the other the State, came up for final decision at the same time and the day that gave the future Capital of the State to Springfield saw a bill passed naming the 3rd Monday in April (1837), for the two Morgan county factions to settle, by vote, the question of a division of the county on a line running through the middle of the Township seventeen, north. In the event that the vote carried for the division all north of that line was to constitute a new county, to be called Cass, whose county seat should be Beardstown. The vote carried for the division.

Dr. Chandler had been deeply interested in this matter, believing that it would make for the better development of this section, and now plans for the organization of the new county occupied much of his summer. On August first, an election of officers was held, and two weeks later the commissioners formally divided it into precincts and a general feeling of satisfaction prevailed.

It is interesting to note that in this, as in every other issue where public preferment might be supposed to offer some reward for zealous service, Dr. Chandler, though giving freely of his time and energy—his knowledge of affairs and his gift for organization making him a natural proponent—never sought an office nor accepted one. Dr. Snyder says of him in the Historical Sketch, "The welfare of his family was

the central object of all his efforts, and the care and education of his children his chief pride to which he gave much thought and lavish expenditure of means. He had an aversion to public life and no aspiration whatever for fame or notoriety. His natural gifts and superior attainments, under different conditions and in a broader field for their exercise would have accomplished greater results and gained for him much higher distinction than he attained in Cass County. But he was content to spend the utmost exertions of his life for the good of others in the obscurity of a frontier settlement remote from the best opportunities for social progress and personal advancement."

In this year two younger members of the Doctor's family came from the East. The sister Emily, for whom the second baby had been named, and Thomas K. Chandler his brother. This brought the number of Chandler brothers and sisters now in Illinois to five.

Emily Chandler, who was five years the junior of her brother Charles, was twenty-nine when she came to Panther Creek. She had been educated for a missionary and possibly the move westward was in line with this intent, but she immediately became a member of the Doctor's family and, Lavinia Ingalls having given up her school, she opened another in a spare room of the Doctor's house.

Thomas Chandler was twenty-six years of age when he arrived from the East and, like his brothers, proceeded to enter land. Marcus' farm was two miles farther up the bottom than that of Charles, and Thomas chose to enter eighty acres still farther to the east by about three miles. Marcus had made a clearing and had built a cabin and, though working between-whiles at his trade, was steadily bringing his land into a state of cultivation. But Thomas, who had been educated for a minister and teacher, found the rewards of such fatiguing labor few and uninspiring. Though he persevered for four or five years, in the end he gave it up in disgust and moved to Mississippi where, for a time, he conducted a young

ladies' seminary. That impulse, however, which originally turned him to the West, must have persisted, for shortly before the Civil War he moved to Texas, engaged in raising cattle and cotton, and died in 1868, possessed of considerable wealth.

These recruits to the Chandler family in Illinois must have contributed greatly to the Doctor's satisfaction. Several years previous another sister, Lois, the wife of Mr. Dwight Marcy, had come with her husband to join the settlement and several other families, related by marriage and blood, such as the Lyons and the Rickards, had joined in the migration from the East and had taken up land in the valley. Though the land boom of '36 had abated with the suspension of specie payment, yet growth and development were very apparent in the newly settled country and certain evidences of progress could not be gainsaid for at least one railroad was under construction, and the long dreamed of canal was advancing its great furrow through the land.

At this time, however, when matters of county and state were engrossing the interest of the valley, a question having significance, national in its scope and bearing, was gaining speed and force in certain centers of the East and West and awaited only an overt act to urge into violence the question of Abolition. It is probable that no wave of public sentiment ever had a more rapid or riotous growth than that which held in righteous consecration the freeing of slaves on American soil; for whatever economic forces may have been at the base of this great civil problem, the issue was carried forward and, indeed, fought out to its final conclusion through the violent energy promulgated by idealism and religious zeal.

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of Henry Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, in Boston, in 1831, and the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the East, that group of earnest men focused about the little new college at Jacksonville, had lit the torch of Abolition in the West. In that dangerous contingent belonging to anti-slavery forces

in Illinois, were Beecher, Sturtevant, Wolcott, Post and Jonathan B. Turner of the college, while Elijah P. Lovejoy at Alton, his brother Owen, at Princeton, and Richard Eells at Quincy, kept the fires brightly burning throughout the state.

The college unit was, indeed, a formidable one. "In all the west," said one commentator, speaking of these men, "there was nowhere else to be found such an able, determined and courageous group of Abolitionists."

Six years had sufficed to bring their efforts into full strength; but in other quarters were men who, though regretting the existence of slavery and opposing its insidious growth, deplored no less the means to its overthrow. In that very session of the legislature that had fathered the Internal Improvement Act, and had removed the Capital from Vandalia to Springfield,—on March 3, and just before its adjournment—Abraham Lincoln had introduced into the *lower house his now famous protest, stating that "The institution of slavery is founded both on injustice and had policy," but had declared it as his opinion that "the promulgation of abolition doctrines tend rather to increase than to abate the evil." Samuel D. Lockwood, Wm. Thomas and John J. Hardin, representing the conservative forces, stood with Lincoln on the legal phase of the question. In the autumn the smoldering unrest in Alton fanned into flame and in one of the riots the Lovejoy press was thrown into the Mississippi and a growing alarm was felt throughout the state. The murder of Lovejoy, resulting from the determined effort on the part of the Abolitionists to reestablish the paper, was another of those shots "heard round the world." And about this time the sister of John Hardin, Lucy Jane Hardin Chinn, whose husband had been employed as surveyor for the Northern Cross railroad, came up from Kentucky bringing with her into this debated territory, two slaves; thereby raising the question on fresh grounds, since it brought it for the first time into the courts of law. On their arrival in Jacksonville the slaves were declared free; the girl,

* Nicolay and Hay, Vol. I.

Emily, being taken into the family of one of the Abolitionists. Marcus Chinn, of course, instituted suit to recover his "property" and the case, well defended, dragged along in the courts for three years, keeping the issue before the people and finally resulting in a verdict for the girl.

The Post Office, now established at Panther Creek, to which mail was brought from Beardstown several times weekly, must have kept the community easily in touch with these stirring events. It was customary in these pioneer post offices for all papers to be freely opened by the postmaster, should curiosity prompt him to do so, and frequently he acted in this way as a public purveyor of news to the whole community. At Rogers, now Athens, and at New Salem, it was usual on stage days for a goodly crowd to be in waiting for the arrival of the mail, drawn less by personal expectation of letters from abroad than from the wish to share in the general intelligence dispensed there from this source. Doubtless the practice obtained in Panther Creek, as well; and probably, too, as at these other towns, the *Louisville Journal*, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the *St. Louis Republican*, the *Sangamo Journal*—a Springfield publication, the forerunner of the *Illinois State Journal*—and Robert Goudy's *Illinois State Gazette*, published at Jacksonville, found their way into general circulation not only in Panther Creek but in the whole of the Pecan Bottom.

Dr Chandler's practice, taking him to points far and wide, must too have given him unusual opportunities for discussion of these questions of the day; and that very group of men who were fathering the little church—Baldwin, Sturtevant and Turner—were among the most determined and influential of the Abolitionist leaders. Yet, though an Easterner, a humanitarian and a Whig, Dr. Chandler was not an Abolitionist. Probably he stood with his friend, Lincoln, and felt that the doctrine of his friends at Jacksonville, and their violent activities in that direction, "tended rather to increase than to abate the evil."

VI.

DOMESTIC INTERESTS.

Yet, for all these disturbing events, life went on richly in the valley. Soon the new house, though so spacious, was crowded by the accommodation of the school, so the Doctor built that year, at his own expense, a small house, twelve feet by twelve, and fitted it with benches and desks for the use of the community as a school for three years free of charge. Possibly space, even less than the need for quiet, prompted the move, for on April 2nd of that year (1838), he and Mary Chandler were made glad by the arrival of their first son whom they named Charles in honor of its paternity. By the time the school house was finished Mrs. Ingalls thought fit to resume her teaching and Emily Chandler, relieved of the necessity, continued to share the hospitality of her brother's house for two years longer, when she married Dr. John Allen of Petersburg.

Petersburg was a small village twenty miles up the valley and situated, like Panther Creek, on the Sangamon. It was but lately surveyed and platted by Abraham Lincoln and was fast being populated by the people from New Salem two miles farther to the south. New Salem, now famous because of its six years' association with the young manhood of Lincoln, suffered from the physical disadvantage of its location. Perched on a high bluff above the Sangamon, its inaccessibility had been a distinct disadvantage and bar to growth. The vision of Lincoln had been quick to perceive this fact and no sooner was the new town laid out than the people from the hill began to seek residence there.

*Dr. Allen had but just effected this change when Emily Chandler became his wife. He had formerly married Bar-

• Dr. Allen's associations with Lincoln are connoted in all Lincoln biographies dealing with this period of his life. It was Dr. Allen who found him suffering and delirious from malarial fever soon after the death of Ann Rutledge, and who after taking him to the home at Bowling Green, attended him until he was recovered.

bara Thomas and had built for her the two story log house facing Main Street, in New Salem, and nearly opposite the Berry and Lincoln store. Across the old Springfield road which passed him on the east, stood the Rutledge Tavern of sacred memories. In this cabin he organized the Temperance Society, conducted the first Sunday school in the village and held, for the benefit of the religiously minded, "preachings" on Sunday afternoons; the Rev. Wm. Berry—father of the intemperate John Berry, Lincoln's partner—and other pioneer preachers, holding forth on the tenets of their faith. Dr. Allen was a Dartmouth man and a Presbyterian and his remarkable and outstanding characteristics made him a notable and long-remembered figure in the community in which he lived. One fixed rule to which he adhered was that a tithe of all his earnings should be given to the Lord, and when it was necessary to attend the sick on the Sabbath day his services were gratis. His first wife having died, his marriage, therefore, to the cultured and religiously minded† sister of Dr. Chandler was a particularly suitable alliance.

The Allen wedding was the first to be solemnized in the mansion house though it was not to prove the last. Nor was it the only event portended by joyous anticipations for that year, on December 7th, another child was born; a boy whom the Doctor named Harrison Tyler, thereby testifying to the satisfaction which he felt in the great Whig victory which had rewarded the violent and somewhat picturesque "Coon skin campaign" of the previous summer. Just one week before the birth of the child, however, the household was saddened by the death of the Doctor's sister, his senior by seven years, who left, besides her husband, six children.

† With her husband, Mrs. Allen lived many years in Petersburg, leading a life notable for its asceticism and religious devotion. The author's mother, Frances Osburn Craven, who as a child was a playmate of Emily Allen's youngest daughter, Mary, recalls that in that house food for the Sabbath was always prepared on the previous day, and even the table set in readiness, so that as little labor might be performed as possible. After her husband's death in 1864, Mrs. Allen moved, with her family now consisting of one son and four daughters, to Jacksonville, where she died in 1877. One of her surviving daughters married Dr. W. H. King, a noted physician and surgeon of the State.

Lois Chandler had married in 1817, Dwight Marcy, a member of that fine old family of Woodstock founded by John Marcy.* She and her husband had joined the westward exodus from that place and had thrown in their fortunes with the other members of the colony at Panther Creek.

But December held in its gift a still greater bereavement for Dr. Chandler, for just three weeks after the birth of Harrison Tyler, on December 28, 1840, Mary Chandler died. Puerperal fever, that arch-enemy of every child-bearing woman of that day, laid her low; and the house that had been built to satisfy her wish, and which had in the four short years of its occupation witnessed one marriage and two births, should know her form no more. Five small children remained as testimony to the love which this fine woman had borne a deeply affectionate husband. Mary Jane, who at the age of three had come with them into the Illinois country, Emily and Louise, born to the pioneer cabin, and the two sons of the new house, Charles and Harrison. These, with the two Fuller children, orphaned by cholera plague, made up the bereaved household. Jonathan Baldwin Turner came from Jacksonville to preach her funeral sermon and again those doors were opened to the community who came, this time, to pay tribute of affection and respect to the woman, loved throughout the country-side for her personality, her courage, her unfailing kindness and her sincere and pious life.

The year of 1841 was the beginning of the decade in which Dr. Chandler's merchandising activities were at their height. About this time, with his brother Marcus, he bought back the stock of goods which he had previously sold to Mr. Newberry and which he, in turn, had sold to a man named Chase. Elisha

* Among the distinguished descendants of John Marcy was Wm. Larned Marcy who had just then completed his second term (1833-39) as Governor of New York and was to serve as Secretary of State (1845-49); and as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Franklin Pierce. Two ex-presidents served as pall-bearers at the funeral of this remarkable man. Several fine portraits are extant. One hangs in the city hall of New York City, one in the State Capitol, Court of Appeals room, at Albany; and one "by Francis Bicknell Carpenter" (the famous painter of "Lincoln and his Cabinet"), in Woodstock Academy where he was a student before going to Brown University in 1804.

Olcott, one of the men who had come to Panther Creek from Connecticut, became their chief clerk and during the next nine years their business became extensive in its scope, and highly lucrative. The building erected for the purpose was the first store to be built in the settlement. It stood at a point just opposite the present depot of the Illinois and Midland Railroad and remained on the spot for many years. There they conducted not only a general store, but bought and shipped by way of Beardstown—and in very considerable quantities—all sorts of produce; grain, skins, nuts, feathers, honey, butter and eggs, wool, potatoes, dried fish and many other commodities, to the St. Louis markets. A pork packing establishment, as well, was built about that time, and as many as three thousand hogs were bought and packed and shipped during a single season. From time to time too, Dr. Chandler added to his original land holdings until he owned about one thousand acres. During this period of his life he became what was considered in that community, to be a man of wealth. His medical practice was, from the first, extensive and it so continued for many years. As early as 1838 his day-book showed an average credit of about a thousand dollars a month though at the time of his death, in 1879, more than forty thousand dollars in uncollectable accounts was discovered, making an average, over the last fifty years of his life, of about a thousand dollars a year for the debit side of the ledger—not taking into account the great number of services to the poor and distressed, for which no charge was ever made.

On September 10, 1841, Dr. Chandler remarried and his children again felt the tender care of a mother and the house a mistress. His choice was Miss Clarissa Child, the younger sister of that public spirited woman, Lavinia Ingalls. Whether Miss Child was visiting her sister in Panther Creek during this summer, as a certain report has it, or whether he returned to Woodstock to seek her hand in marriage, she was at once accepted into the community and among the connection of her husband, as a worthy successor of Mary Chandler

and the house so amply planned for the conventions of generous living, again resumed its place in the community life. She at once assumed the very considerable duties of her new position and gave to the orphaned children the perfect solicitude of a true mother. Harrison Tyler, the infant—always her “Dear Harry”—so claimed her tenderness that it was said by children born to herself in later years, that he was her favorite child; and he himself was wont to say, when he had reached maturity, that her devotion had been so complete as never to have allowed him any conscious sense of that great loss that had come to him by death almost at his birth.

Clarissa Child came from a family of men and women distinguished not less for their splendid physical development than for their intellectual attainments. Her maternal grandfather was Judge Calvin Goddard of Norwich, Connecticut. Many honors came to him through his public service: He served for many years as Mayor of Norwich; he was twice elected to Congress; was speaker of the House of Representatives in the legislature of his state; was Judge of the Supreme Court and of the Supreme Court of Errors in Connecticut.

Two of Clarissa's brothers as well, rose to places of high attainment in the East. Asa, the eldest, a Yale graduate (1821), was a lawyer of prominence not only in his native state but in Baltimore, Maryland, as well, and in New York City; and under President Jackson served as United States District Attorney for the State of Connecticut; while Linus Child, the third brother, (Yale 1824) also a lawyer, was admitted to practice in the courts of Worcester, Massachusetts, and from that place was six times elected a member of the State Senate. From 1854 to 1862, he was connected with several large manufacturing corporations in Lowell. It was while chairman of the Whig Central Committee, at that place, that he personally introduced Abraham Lincoln at the Lowell meeting on September 18, 1848, when the latter was making

his first speaking tour in New England, following the adjournment of Congress.

The son of Asa, Calvin Goddard Child, but seven years old at the time of his aunt's marriage to Dr. Chandler, was to have a brilliant career in the years to come, justifying his exceptional inheritance.

Shortly after leaving Yale (1855) he received the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel on the staff of Governor Buckingham, whose private Secretary he was during the Rebellion. In 1870 he was appointed United States District Attorney for Connecticut—an office thrice confirmed; he was counsel for the New York and New Haven Railway Co., and other large corporations in suits of importance. At the time of his death,* on September 29, 1880, both the *New York Times* and the *New York Tribune* gave his passing elaborate notice as a leading member of the Connecticut Bar.

Dr. Chandler's marriage to Miss Child took place in September, and on July 4th previous, the Church record breaks the silence of three years to state that "Rev. Moderators, Sturtevant and Turner present, and administered the 'Lord's Supper.' " The place of this meeting is not given but the next three entries covering the dates of September 19, 1841, March 27, 1842 and April 24, 1842, all state that "Church and Congregation met at a house near Dr. Chandler's." This house was the little building which Dr. Chandler had erected for their convenience and for use as a school. It is not till August 27, 1842, that we find that said "Church and Congregation" met in the Presbyterian Church erected for their convenience and comfort while enjoying "Devine Worship." So that we know that the new church house so long hoped for had become a realization.

Definite steps toward this end had been taken, as we find by the "Sewall Diary," as early as January in 1841. Under date of Friday of that month, William Sewall records, "Went to Dr. Chandler's agreeable to a previous notice, and took

* Genealogy of the Child, Childs and Childe Families.

measures with many of the Church, and people worshipping agreeable to view of the Presbyterians, which were calculated to facilitate the building of a decent place near Dr. Chandler's." Eleven days later he notes that "Mr. Thomas Chandler has taken the contract* (for) the building of the Meeting House* at \$850.00," and on the following day we learn that he "went to work in woods getting saw logs for lumber for the Meeting House, accompanied by other subscribers." Reflections of that devout labor which these faithful ones performed towards the project is discovered in many entries of the next eighteen months. Wm. Sewall himself, besides many days of manual labor, contributed a hundred dollars in money and in June of that first summer while in the East, begged contributions for the Panther Creek Church from friends and acquaintances to the amount of about seventy-one dollars.

The building, a plain rectangular structure, consisted of two rooms and occupied the ground where the present Congregational Church stands. Dr. Chandler gave the ground for it as for the several other churches that later came to serve the spiritual needs of the village.†

The revival of interest in the church was probably brought about through the zeal of Jonathan B. Turner who had recently been ordained to the ministry and who was, at this time, teaching in Illinois College at Jacksonville. Since his name appears as minister in each Record Book entry from December, 1841, to August, 1843, he may be called the first regular pastor of the Panther Creek Church, though he was not resident of the village.

Jonathan Baldwin Turner was perhaps the most remarkable man of that highly remarkable group of men who came from the East in the thirties with avowed intent to "Increase the moral power of America." Though not a member of that early unit known as the "Yale Band," yet he studied in the eastern university and came West immediately after his grad-

* Though Thomas Chandler took the contract, the church was finally built by Marcus Chandler, Thomas having gone East in the meantime.

† Snyder: Historical Sketch.

uation in 1833. He taught in Illinois College for fourteen years preaching, meanwhile, at such near-by churches as Waverly and Panther Creek. In 1843 he edited *The Illinois Statesman*, the second Abolition paper in the state, Owen Lovejoy's *Liberator* being the first. In his middle years he became famous as a horticulturist and agriculturist, and his interest in this work led him to the promulgation of the famous "Land Grant Plan" which provided for the establishment of higher institutions of scientific learning by federal aid. This plan, sometimes spoken of as "The Illinois Idea," was formally laid before the convention at Grantville (Illinois) on November 18 and 19 of 1851. It was finally incorporated in bill known as the Morrrell Act, in 1862, and became the means by which a system of national education for the industrial classes in each of the states of the Union received aid for the establishment of colleges and universities in the form of land grants.

By the terms of this Act, Illinois received four hundred and eighty thousand acres of land from the government, from the sale of which a sum of money was raised to be kept in perpetuity as an endowment for a State University. This plan was called by Stephen A. Douglas "The most democratic scheme of education ever proposed to the mind of man," and resulted in the establishment, throughout the nation, of fifty-four institutions of learning.*

The Rev. Turner's name appears for the last time on the records of the Panther Creek Church in April of 1842. On that day several persons of interest to this story, were received into the church "by vote," among them Dwight L. Marcy, the brother-in-law of the Doctor, Thomas Chandler his brother, and Clarissa his wife. The latter was not a recent convert but came in by letter.

One more meeting is recorded in that year, the Rev. Sturtevant presiding, after which occurs an hiatus of more than three years. The Sewall Diary, however, reports occa-

* Ill. State Hist. Soc. Journal : April-July, 1924.

sional meetings—about a dozen—at the Meeting House and half as many at the residence of Dr. Chandler. Then, in 1845 two more meetings are recorded, after which no more in the hand of the faithful scribe and clerk of the little pioneer church. The failing health of that devout and zealous man was already fixing a limit to his strength and on April 7, 1846, just ten months after the date of his last entry on the Record Book, he died at the age of forty-nine.

Whatever the cause of that three years breach in the continuity of church services—and there seems no definite information available on that point—it is known that a certain question, about which divers opinions were strongly maintained, were slowly approaching decision not only in this, but in other Presbyterian churches throughout Illinois. It was the growing interest in those elements of humanitarianism that were embodied in Congregationalism. It is possible that in Panther Creek community it may have amounted almost to a schism. William Sewall was not in sympathy with any change that might affect the original intentions which fathered the building of the church. The minutes of the meeting called on October 22, 1838, for the purpose were long preserved in an old account book of Dr. Chandler's, still in existence,* and explicitly set forth the original thought of the "six persons" who were the organizers and read as follows:

A meeting (of) six sundry persons living near Panther Creek in Pecan Bottom, held at the dwelling house of Dr. Chandler on Monday evn'g, Oct. 22, 1838. Resolved unanimously to erect a House of Divine Worship, size and dimensions hereafter to be agreed on, for the convenience of the several Denominations being in and about the neighborhood—

Voted that a committee of three be chosen to consult those not present at this meeting on the subject of a plan to build a House of Worship and to express the sense of this meeting—Robert Leeper, Amos Bonny and William Sewall were chosen to serve on this committee—

* Owned by Mrs. Otto Dorr, Chandlerville, Ill.

Voted that we adjourn to meet at Robert Leeper's dwelling house on Thursday Eve'g at early candle light. The record further states that Dr. Chandler was called to the chair and William Sewall chosen Secretary.

It is not quite four years until the minutes show the Meeting House to be in use and it is then referred to as a Presbyterian Church, indicating a change from the first intention of building a house for "All Denominations." In the summer of 1841, as we have seen, Mr. Sewall had begged contributions from Presbyterian friends in the East for the project so that it is not surprising that he was not in sympathy with the growing sentiment in favor of re-organizing the church under a Congregational form of government.

This matter came definitely to issue under the ministry of the Rev. Socrates Smith whose pastorate began in the latter months of Mr. Sewall's life, but we do not find the question brought to a vote till October of 1847 when the vote carried, unanimously for the change and to join "the Congregational Association in whose bonds the Church is included."

It is not surprising, considering the strong supervisory interest taken by such men as Sturtevant, Turner and Pond, that the little church at Panther Creek came finally, to this "unanimous vote." Indeed the wonder is that it should have delayed so long, for as early as 1835, a Congregational Church had been founded in Jacksonville in violation of that friendly "Plan of Union" in the East specifically giving over the West to Presbyterianism. The growth of Abolition found nowhere greater opposition than in the Church, save only among those organized under Congregationalism. Dr. Chandler was not, at this time, a member of the church which he had dowered and sponsored, but for all his aloofness to Abolition, his approval of the change is indicated by the fact that the committee appointed to draft a constitution for this new form of church government met at his house and drew up the form which the church presently adopted.

Early in the forties some sudden stimulus to scientific thought resulted in an interest in the medical profession which outcropped simultaneously in the several well-populated centers of the state. In 1842 plans materialized for the founding of three separate medical schools, and charters were applied for. St. Louis University, whose Medical Department was headed by the redoubtable Dr. Pope, had up to this time, dominated the field of medicine in Illinois, but now, as by concerted effort, the Frontier State proposed to break these bonds and to train her own young men for the profession. The addition of a Medical Department to Illinois College was undoubtedly the first effort in this direction. It antedated, by a few months only, the founding of Rush Medical College in Chicago and of the Franklin Medical School at Charlestown. The latter institution, in its very first year, fell foul of that indictment, the peril of which scandal shadowed all such schools in that day, the accusation of lending authority to the abominable practice of grave robbing for the purpose of dissection. As result it found itself under the necessity of abandoning its enterprise without even being granted a charter. Rush too, suffered from this bug-a-boo, and even staid Jacksonville thought it advisable to state, as among its equipment, specimens for dissection "from abroad."

It had long been in the plan of Illinois College to widen its educational field by the ultimate addition of theological, legal and medical departments. Only one of these was to come into realization and that for a term of but five years. That medicine should be undertaken first was almost imperative, for Jacksonville was now the center of about two hundred rural doctors who generously warmed to the need of instruction for the younger men. Its inauguration was largely due to the presence on the faculty of Dr. Samuel Adams who called to his assistance Dr. David Prince of Quincy and Dr. Henry Jones. Plans for the department were under advisement for about two years and on November 1, 1843, the school opened its doors with a faculty of four instructors. Dr.

Prince taught anatomy and surgery, Dr. Adams, chemistry, Dr. Jones, obstetrics and Dr. Daniel Stahl, theory and practice of medicine. Though only fourteen were in attendance on that day, yet the beginning was not regarded as discouraging. The course covered sixteen weeks and the fee was fixed at sixty dollars; an additional five dollars being charged for "tickets for private dissection.*"

Among the qualifications necessary to the obtainance of a degree from this school was the obligation of having attended two full courses of study with some regular practitioner. The practitioners were called preceptors. "After all," comments Dr. Rammelkamp, "the chief education of the pioneer doctor was obtained from the preceptor." This attendance consisted in "riding" with the doctor, whose instruction he had undertaken to receive, on his regular rounds, assisting where possible, studying the cases under treatment and applying himself to the course of reading laid out for him, usually availing himself of the doctor's medical library.

These preceptors, chosen from all over the state, made up what was known at that time as the Board of Censors, a body varying in number from ten to fifteen. Once a year the censors went to Jacksonville to pass on the qualifications of the students and to recommend such as passed their examination creditably, to the faculty and trustees for the honor of receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

Dr. Chandler served on that board between the years of 1844 and 1848, during which term there appears to have been but five censors. Not only during that term of his official service, but during almost all of the years of his active practice, some young man aspiring to a medical education, rode with the Doctor, receiving his instructions and becoming the object of his fatherly care.

Referring to this first Medical faculty, Dr. Rammelkamp says in his Centennial History, "Outstanding in personality and ability was, undoubtedly, Dr. David Prince who served

* Illinois College : A Centennial History, by Charles H. Rammelkamp.

throughout the existence of the school. He ranks among the really great pioneer doctors of the state, the results of his work being recognized even abroad." This is not saying too much, judging by other appraisals of his service by historians of that period. His friendship with Dr. Chandler—so long and faithfully cherished—in all probability dates from this time when the latter, periodically reporting at the College in the performance of his duties, met the latter and shared with him those enthusiasms for the developing phases of preventive medicine which were engrossing the scientific interests of the profession at the moment. Certainly they labored together in the introduction of quinine into the practice of the West and doubtless many other phases of therapeutics engaged their mutual interest.

Dr. Prince became from this time a familiar figure at the Chandler home. Here he met the woman who became his wife, Lucy Manning Chandler, the daughter of the Hon. John Chandler of Fredonia, New York, the eldest brother of Dr. Charles. Lucy Manning was then a young woman of twenty-four, on her first visit to the West. Their marriage took place at the Doctor's house on May 10, 1852, after which, of course, the bonds uniting the two households became doubly strong and remained unbroken throughout their lives. The passing years brought many laurels to the fame of Dr. Prince* and his great usefulness, as that of Dr. Chandler, continued to the end of his life. On the breaking out of the Civil War he was attached to the staff of Brigadier General John T. McClermand. In later life he established an infirmary for the surgical treatment of the sick near his home in Jacksonville.

The third of the institutions of Medical learning to see the light in the year of 1844 was Rush Medical College; the only one of the three to carry its venture to ultimate success. It started with a faculty of seven and, with Dr. Daniel Brainard and Dr. J. C. Goodhue as organizers, it made an

* Dr. David Prince was the father of the late Dr. Arthur Prince, the distinguished specialist of Springfield.

auspicious beginning. It is likely that Dr. Chandler felt for this institution an interest scarcely less keen than for the one at Jacksonville, since Ephraim Ingalls, previously referred to as the brother-in-law of the Doctor's second wife, was among the early entrants.

The first child born to Clarissa and Charles Chandler, was named Alice Child, but her death was untimely; pneumonia causing her demise in May of 1851. Two sons, also, were born of this second marriage, John T. and Linus Chandler, and it was not until 1847 that the first of those marriages which were, one by one, to break the integrity of family life, occurred. On New Years Day of that year, Mary Jane married a young attorney from Beardstown, John Bird Shaw. The Doctor's family was growing up; but it was not inconsistent with the history of the large families of that day, that, while the youngest member of a family was yet in arms the eldest was leaving to set up a household of its own.

Panther Creek, for all the rapid development of the Pecan Bottom had, by this time, but twenty-five or thirty houses in it; yet, small as it was, Dr. Chandler decided it was time to carry out the plan which, as we have seen, he had considered at an earlier date and, after having one Sweeny survey it, *platted it off. It provided for a common adjoining the church, similar to the one at South Woodstock and elsewhere in the East, while another common, now known as Elmwood Park—which serves as a forum for public speaking and a place where band concerts and the like are held in the summer—came into the town's possession by a droll miscarriage of plan. Its gift relieved the Doctor of an amusing embarrassment.

On the previous year Dr. Chandler, feeling the settlement had need of a wagon-maker, had sent for a man noted for his exceptional work. He had known Levi McKee in the East; he had, in fact, been among those who had planned to come

* Plat filed in Beardstown April 29, 1847.

west with the original colony. For some reason, after delaying for several years, he had finally settled, not at Panther Creek, but at Carthage, Illinois, a town near the Mormon settlement at Nauvoo. Now, Doctor Chandler offered him, as inducement, free land for a home site and likewise for a shop to be located "on the main street of the town."

At the time of writing the Doctor had expected to plat the town so that Main Street should coincide with the old Springfield-Beardstown road which deflected in a southeasterly direction after crossing Panther Creek; but later consideration made him decide to lay Main Street parallel with that road, but one block west—or northwest, to be exact, since the town is laid out with the quarter section of the compass—probably for the reason that such an arrangement would make the stream of travel pass more directly through the village from the creek bridge.

In accordance with this later decision the street approximating to the old road, and the one on which Mr. McKee had built his shop, became Second Street. Thus, quite without intention, the terms of the contract with the wagon smith were contravened. The latter drew the Doctor's attention to this breach whereupon he made good his intention by abandoning the entire block lying between the shop and Main street and by converting it into a park; an arrangement entirely satisfactory to everybody concerned. The Doctor and McKee continued to remain the best of friends and the smith amply justified his patron's good opinion of his skill by many years of application to his trade, during which time the excellence of his workmanship became known far and wide. His name and that of his wife appears on the register of membership in the Record Book of the first church and they were, throughout their lives, esteemed members of the community in which they lived.

On the year following the platting of the town an echo of that "Internal Improvement" slogan, once so familiar to the ears of the legislature, again broke the stillness of the

valley for there was stirring talk of a canal* which was to tap the Sangamon at Miller's Ferry and be carried on a diagonal line across Cass County to Beardstown where it should discharge its waters into the Illinois.

Miller's Ferry was the main crossing on the Sangamon between Menard and Mason counties. In 1835 a plan for a canal, starting from this point, had been projected as a private enterprise under the name of The Beardstown-Sangamon Canal Company; one of those many dreams of progress destined never to be realized. At this ferry, in anticipation of its commercial possibilities, Abraham Lincoln had platted out the town of Huron. Mr. T. G. Onstot, one of the biographers of Lincoln, has told of this place. He writes, "R. J. Onstot of Mason City, has the plat of Huron. . . . the land was bought by a syndicate before Menard county was laid out and was held for a county-seat. . . . the blocks run north and south. Much of it (the plat) is in Lincoln's hand writing. I recall that when the committee that was appointed to locate the town came to Salem a large crowd followed. . . twenty or thirty men on horseback with about a dozen dogs following. They stopped before my father's† shop."

The town of Huron never had but one house in it—that of Samuel Watkins. When the county of Menard was carved out of the larger county of Sangamon, Petersburg was chosen for the county-seat and has retained that authority ever since. Whether as an investment (in anticipation of the value which the proposed county-seat would give the land in that section) or merely as a place for recreation when he should wish for a time to retire from his strenuous life on the Circuit, Lincoln himself, entered land‡ in that locality, though not in

* Goodell Correspondence.

† The Onstot Cooper Shop was, and is, at the extreme end of New Salem (now a State Park, two miles from Petersburg, Illinois). It is the only one of the original cabins that has been restored to its old site. It was before the open fire, fed to a bright blaze by the shavings of the cooperage, that Lincoln used to sit in the evenings and apply himself to the study of surveying and, later, law.

‡ The Book of Original Entry of Lands of Mason County shows also the names (1836) of Hobly, Miller, Fuller, Yardley, Revis, Hohelmer, Watkins, Morris, Van Bergen and Grigg as having taken up land in this vicinity (1835-6-7). See, Sec. 4, Twp. 19-R. 9 N. of 3rd P. M.

Huron, and built himself a cabin to which it is remembered that he sometimes came.

Now, twelve years later, the *interest in the canal was again revived, this time with some prospect, as it would seem, of success. The Northern Cross Railroad—which had been completed from Meredosia to Springfield, in 1842, was proving of enormous service in the regions through which it passed. But there was still no transport connecting this valley with Beardstown, the river port from which all produce going to the St. Louis and New Orleans markets must be shipped. Although the General Assembly had, four years earlier again declared the Sangamon navigable to where the Principal Meridian crossed the river, that point being about ten miles below Decatur, yet no attempt at such commercial utilization of the stream had proved successful and the idea of a canal seemed an inspiring one.

At Miller's Ferry,† according to the report of Army Engineers, there was a fall of 33 feet and the plan was to lead the water from that level, inclining the canal bed until it reached the Illinois at Beardstown. According to the lines of this survey the Canal would have passed directly through Panther Creek, so the impetus which this artery would have lent to trade may be imagined. Great interest was felt in the enterprise and Dr. Chandler, among others, agreed to take stock. But for all the enthusiasm of the few, difficulty was found in financing the enterprise and after a few years the matter was dropped. It was merely another of the many failures that made up the considerable rejecta of those years during which the country suffered from the disorganization of its monetary system. By the time prosperity again smiled upon the farm lands the age of steam had arrived and inland water as a method of freightage was an idea already outmoded.

* Just who the moving spirits were in this second enterprising effort to put a canal through this section of the country is not known but the survey was made during Lincoln's term in Congress with a view to persuading that body to make an appropriation for its prosecution.

† Goodell's Correspondence.

In 1849, two misfortunes came to Dr. Chandler. The first of these—first in importance if not in time—was a serious injury due, indirectly, to the exhaustion entailed by the long rides which his enormous practice still made necessary. The roads in that part of the country were now being better established and more negotiable to wheeled vehicles than formerly, and the Doctor had given up horseback riding for a two-wheeled cart, or sulky, for use on his long trips. Perhaps because of this more restful means of transit he had acquired the habit of napping when especially tired, and it was while in one of these lapses from consciousness that his horse became frightened and he was thrown from his seat with consequent shock and internal injury. This was, unfortunately, followed by an attack of pneumonia from which recovery was slow and cardiac lesion and other associated symptoms resulted, troubling him for many years. It is believed, in fact, that this misfortune bore an immediate relation to his death nearly thirty years later.

The second catastrophe was the burning of the Chandler Brothers' establishment—a heavy loss. They immediately rebuilt the store, but in the following year persuaded, perhaps, by an exceptional offer, sold their holdings to Mr. William Way.

Thereafter, *Marcus Chandler devoted himself chiefly to his trade during the remaining years of his life but, nevertheless, kept a directing hand upon several important interests.

Besides the farm, which lay a mile or so east of the village, and which he continued to operate even after moving into the town, he owned an entire business block on the west side of Main Street. On the southeast corner of that block he built, and conducted to the end of his life, a general store; and he retained an interest in the †packing-house which he had previously built for the Chandler Brothers at the extreme southern limit of the business section of Panther Creek.

* Historical Sketch: Dr. Snyder.

† This building later was converted into the Park Hotel and finally into a residence.



MARCUS CHANDLER.



MARCUS CHANDLER HOMESTEAD, CHANDLERVILLE, ILLINOIS

In 1851 he built for himself and family, on South Main Street, the handsome dwelling which was regarded for many years as second only, in dignity, to the one owned by Dr. Chandler. No reliable data is available regarding his other construction work in those latter years, though it is more than likely that he built the store owned by Dr. Chandler and a certain Mr. Sanders which stood on Main Street opposite the Marcus Chandler store. But when one recalls that besides the items already enumerated—and, of course, many less important ones—he had to his credit the Congregational Church and the fine residence of Dr. Chandler, built in 1836, it is evident that his contributions to the village were considerable.

Like his brother, he was a man of large interests and exceptional enterprise. His untimely death from blood-poison, due to a splinter in a finger—and from which he suffered for more than a year—was much lamented throughout the valley. He died in his fifty-second year.

The pause which Dr. Chandler's accident gave to his professional activities seems in no way to have abated his interest in business though confusion, in point of time, seems to cover his several enterprises. "Farming, trading, buying and selling," are enumerated by Dr. Snyder, but the exact order of his various undertakings may not be clearly determined by the several accounts. For instance, although the Chandler Brothers had sold their business to Wm. Way in 1849, yet in 1850 we find him writing to his daughters, Emily and Louise, then in school at Monticello, "I have not yet sold the store and do not know when I shall." So it is evident that he had bought a second store after selling to Way, or that he owned, at the time of this sale, a second store. It is definitely known that, with Marcus Chandler, he owned the store and warehouse opposite the site of the present Jacksonville and Havana Railroad depot, and the packing-house on South Main Street; and that at one time or another he owned a store opposite the Marcus Chandler general store, a grain elevator adjoining the railroad; and that in the latter years

of his life he built and operated a hardware store and a drug store on North Main Street.

Monticello Seminary, where Emily and Louise Chandler were sent to school in 1850, was located at Godfrey, Illinois, a few miles inland from Alton. It had been built in 1837, by Captain Benjamin Godfrey, one of the old time sailing masters of which the Massachusetts coast was so productive. His life was one richly starred with romance. Having run away to sea as a lad of nine he became, in time, a ship's captain sailing out of Chatham, and a merchant prince. In the course of his life he had amassed and lost two large fortunes when some strange circumstance turned his steps towards Alton, where, entering, this time, the mercantile business, he presently laid the foundation for the third fortune. While on his way to the Mississippi river town he became converted to the Christian religion, and so cast about for some means through which he might dedicate his life to the service of God. The remark of a child, aptly repeating its mother's phrase, impressed him with the thought that since children were thus early moulded by their mother's character, the shaping forces of education should be of greatest influence when applied to young women.

He, therefore, proposed to build this seminary and provided one hundred and ten thousand dollars for the purpose, stipulating that it should be, and should always remain, strictly non-sectarian. One other proviso went into the contract: it stipulated that the Rev. Theron Baldwin should become its first principal.

Theron Baldwin was a member of that previously mentioned Yale Band that had come to Jacksonville to establish a college. He had arrived under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society and had been most zealous in its interests. An Abolitionist of the most rabid type, it is probable that his devotion to this cause more than any other, bound him to Captain Godfrey.

Rev. Baldwin was but reluctantly released from his service to the Missionary Society and we find Captain Godfrey declaring before that body at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1834, when his project was in contemplation, "I consider it of as much importance that this institution shall come into existence and do the work which I have in view as that every soul now living in the state of Illinois should be converted."*

Not only did Theron Baldwin undertake this work but with him went his wife—who, it will be remembered, was one of the founders of the Female Educational Society in Jacksonville—and her several daughters. Indeed, the family began to live in the new building even before it was finished and presumably remained in residence there during the seven years of his incumbency as Principal of the institution. One of these daughters, eighty-one years later, wrote to its Principal, Harriet Rice Congdon, "It is difficult for anyone now, to realize that Captain Godfrey's gift to found the Seminary in those days casts in the shade the benevolences of Carnegie and Rockefeller in these times. It is an historic school, a Woman's College as my father founded it."

It was with no trivial conception of his responsibilities that the Rev. Baldwin entered upon his duties. While the first building rose upon its foundations there amid the primeval forest oaks whose last human familiars had been the Indians—this "Godfrey's Folly," as it was called in derision by its neighbors—he set about visiting the more important institutions of female learning in the east. During the summer of 1837, he visited four seminaries in New York state, two in Vermont, Northampton in Massachusetts, and at South Hadley sat on a pile of brick with Mary Lyon watching the construction of Mount Holyoke Seminary, the while discussing systems of education.* But in the end his own alma mater

* Early History of Monticello Seminary. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1924.

* While the instruction was mainly in the hands of females, as set forth in its first catalogue (1839-40) yet the severity of the examinations was notorious and Harriet Rice Congdon suggests that the small size of the early graduating classes may have been due to the fact that the examination in mathematics, of the candidates for diplomas, was conducted by a West Point officer. The first class was graduated from the Seminary in 1840.

—Yale—fixed its ideals and, to an extent, its curriculum upon the new college in the wilderness. Chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, geology, mineralogy, logic, moral-philosophy and political economy were among the courses for the advanced classes.

When Monticello opened for classes, in April of 1838, Emily Chandler, the young sister of the Doctor, who was to marry Dr. Allen three years later, was among the sixteen pupils present, for the school records show that she was enrolled for 1838-40; Mary Jane, his eldest daughter, attended during 1846-48; and now in 1850, besides his daughters Emily and Louise, his nieces, Lucy Manning Chandler and Caroline, the daughter of Marcus, were in attendance. A goodly showing of the name from this community.

During the early fifties the daughters of a number of notable families in the state appear upon the roll; here came the Misses Edwards, whose father Ninian had been the third governor of the *commonwealth* as well as its Territorial governor; the sprightly Matteson girls whose father was the eminent gubernatorial incumbent (1853-57) were here and a contemporary records that while in residence they “achieved a pitch of elegance in their rooms never hitherto attained by any student, namely they had a bureau.” Two of the daughters of Mr. James L. Lamb, of Springfield were enrolled during these years. One wonders if his lemon-colored carriage, which was the vehicular glory of Springfield—comparable alone, for elegance, to the great coach of Governor Edwards—conveyed them thither. Hannah Lamb was to become the wife of still a third governor of the state, John M. Palmer, and her sister, who married G. R. Brainard, was to become the mother of Mrs. Brand Whitlock, whose husband served as our minister to Belgium during the World war. But the chief glory of these scholastic years was the presence there in the little new seminary of that sweet singer of the East—the protégé of Whittier—Lucy Larcom. She graduated in the class with Lucy Chandler (1852) having maintained herself,

while getting her academic training, by teaching in the preparatory department of the school.

Another student from the Valley had attended Monticello in its beginning years, Catherine, the daughter of Wm. Sewall (1840-42). The Sewall Diary shows that on December 2, 1840, Catherine Sewall had "paid in advance for board and tuition and books for the terms ending in March, \$24.44." Such a sum seems incredibly incommensurate, but the privileges of female education were far more costly, at that date, in Illinois, than appears upon any ledger; for Catherine's father, on the 30th of the preceding November had, by way of taking his daughter to her destination, "sat off with two horses and a wagon" for that remote point. He had spent the first night at Jacksonville; by the following evening they had come within two miles of Carrollton, and on the third day of the journey had "arrived at the Seminary by the middle of the P. M." This appears to be a satisfactory journey as to time consumed, for the comment follows, "Roads delightful, being frozen." It is interesting to note that on March 15, of the following year, the patient father again records, "Sat off with Dr. Chandler's buggy, and my two horses, for Monticello to bring Catherine back for vacation."

It is not surprising to find the Chandler girls, now they had reached school age, in attendance at Monticello for it was the foremost institution of female learning in the state. Moreover, the Doctor's interest in the school had probably grown through close association with the man who fixed upon Monticello his own moral and scholastic ideals in the first years of its existence, Theron Baldwin. Baldwin, as those other Jacksonville men, Sturtevant and Turner, had, as we have seen, taken a keen interest in Panther Creek church from its inception, and when in the neighborhood frequently, if not invariably, stayed at the Chandler house; and there existed, besides, a close community of tastes between the two men, harking back to many associated interests in the East. There was also slight family connection, for the wife of Theron

Baldwin was Caroline Wilder, the fourth child and third daughter of Persis Chandler who had married Daniel Wilder, an architect and master-builder, at Burlington, Vermont. Persis, moreover, had testified to the esteem in which she held her maiden name by bestowing it, as a middle name, upon her second and third born—Persis and John.

Whether or not the tuition had increased when, ten years later, the Doctor's daughters entered Monticello Seminary, the hardships of travel probably had not been appreciably diminished, for there was still no railroad service in this direction. Doubtless, water travel was sometimes resorted to in making this journey, for under date of December 23, 1850, Dr. Chandler writes his daughters that he hopes "the spring will soon be here and the river open and my health good enough for me to visit my dear daughters."

Although, as we have seen, Dr. Chandler greatly furthered and encouraged the organization of the church at Panther Creek, and sponsored the building of the Meeting House, giving the land and, according to Dr. Snyder, one half the money for its erection, yet he did not become a member until 1853. But this letter to his daughters throws an interesting light upon his religious views; and a certain passage, referring to the "uncertainty of life," seems to indicate that his recent accident, so nearly fatal in its final consequences, together with his continued ill-health, had led him into serious thought along such lines.

The aforesaid letter,* on this theme, reads as follows: "We have no steady preaching here but expect to next week. Your privileges on the Sabbath of attending meetings are much better than we have. I hope and trust you value them. We require teaching for eternity as well as for this world and I trust you both realize that our stay in this world is short if we live to the common age of men compared to eternity. I wish I was capable of giving my children better religious in-

* This letter is in the possession of Louise Chandler's eldest son, Mr. C. C. Frackelton of Petersburg, Ill.

struction. I have been heretofore so much engaged in professional duties that prevented my having any system of religious instruction in my family. Living so long this way I must confess I have become too used to it and besides my health is so poor it unfits me in great measure for the important place that I occupy but I hope you will not think less of God for his many blessings in sparing our lives and allowing us the privileges that we enjoy. We all ought to do some good in this world so that when we come to die that we could say that the world is no worse for our having lived in it. We can be of some use not only to ourselves but others. We can be, if we choose, good examples for others. We can cultivate peace with one another. We can prepare ourselves to instruct others in morals and religion as we have opportunity..... I know that you are doing better than I can do for you at home, and this satisfied me to have you away from home. I know that you are doing well. You have both of you always been good girls and obedient daughters and I always expect you to be, more, I almost know that you always will be. I must close.

From your affectionate father,

Charles Chandler."

VII

DR. LIPPENCOTT COMES TO TOWN

The turn of the century brought to the village of Panther Creek a young man of undoubted gifts and brilliant promise, who was destined to write a colorful chapter in its history, and a fortune teller gazing in the soft palm of Emily Chandler, would have hit upon an infrequently true, if alluring prophecy when he stated that a "strange man was about to come into her life."

That strange man was a young physician recently graduated from the department of the University of St. Louis then known as Pope's Medical College, and just now arrested in his search for a suitable opening for his professional life, by the intelligence that Dr. Chandler's "rider," young Parmenion Lyman Phillips, promoted, since the former's accident, to full professional duties, had but just then gone to Virginia to fill the vacancy left by Dr. Schooly who had joined the forty-niners in the California gold rush.

The arrival of Charles Lippencott at this moment was opportune for Dr. Chandler, and fortunate for himself; and when the young ladies returned from Monticello for the summer vacation, they were perhaps not quite disconsolate at finding, in close association with their father—possibly, even, a member of his household—a young man of high Scandinavian coloring, sturdy figure and fiercely curling locks, whose intense blue eyes, in moments of emotion, stirred certain vibrations in the beholder.

The young doctor though, in the common acceptance of the term a self-made man, came from parents distinguished by the best traditions attaching to our pioneer stock. His mother was, before her marriage, Catherine Wyly Leggett, the sister of Wm. Leggett, editor of the *New York Evening Post*—which paper was probably the foremost vehicle mold-

ing the thought of that turbulent day—and the granddaughter of Major Abraham Leggett of Revolutionary fame. She had become, on October 11, 1821, the third wife of Thomas Lippencott, living in Edwardsville, Illinois, and just then occupied in editing *The Spectator*, a paper that had been established by Governor Ninian Edwards.

Thomas Lippencott, the Doctor's father, was one of those early adventurers who had floated down the Ohio (1817) from Pittsburg to Shawneetown. The overland trail had taken him to St. Louis by way of Kaskaskia, from which point he had drifted to Alton, opening there a store carrying the sign, "Lippencott and Co." over its log door-frame. It was at this place that he and his wife—the first wife, Patsy Swift Lippencott, who had converted him to Christianity—had taught the first Sunday School in Illinois.

Within two years, death had bereft him of his pious consort and a second, Henrietta Marion Slater, whom he had espoused, had died within a few months following her wedding. It was six months later that Catherine Leggett had come to solace him in this strange land; to rear the little daughter, then but four years old, which the first wife had borne him, and herself to bear him eleven children, the first of which was Charles. Catherine Lippencott had just died when her son had launched his professional life there in the Sangamon Valley.

Since Dr. Lippencott had been associated with not less than four institutions of learning he might be said to have had a peripatetic education. Indeed, he was not far from the truth when, on arriving at McKendree College and being asked as to his home he replied, "I have no home. I am a Methodist Circuit Rider's Son."* This was only figuratively true, for his father had, after serving three terms in the legislature, been licensed to preach by the Missouri Presbytery and since that time, as until his death, had devoted his life to the ministry.

* Historical Sketch: Snyder.

The exigencies of that life, and of an increasing family, made assistance to his children, in the higher paths of learning, impossible; but so initiative and industrious a boy as Charles was in no way deterred by this fact. Many means of self help were open to industrious youths, and by dint of these, from farm work during the summer, occasional terms of country schools to teach and other itinerant employments, he managed to acquire a liberal education in life; while at McKendree's and Shurtleff College at Alton, and such private instruction as he was able to get from whatever men of learning lived in his neighborhood, he was able to enter Illinois College at Jacksonville in 1844. He was then nineteen.

It was not unnatural that the young man should have turned to Jacksonville for his final training for the anticipated degree; not only because it was the leading college in the state, but because of his father's part in its inception. For it will be remembered, it was Thomas Lippencott and John Ellis who were appointed, as a commission, by the Missouri Presbytery to investigate sites and possibilities for the proposed establishment of that very institution, and had selected Jacksonville for that purpose. As one of the founders, therefore, Thomas Lippencott had been closely associated with the institution, serving as trustee and sustaining always its aims and ideals. His intense sympathy with the Abolition movement had bound him closely to the Yale group. His eldest daughter, Charles' half-sister, had, on growing to womanhood, married that *W. S. Gilman who became the junior member of the firm of Godfrey, Gilman and Co., whose senior member had founded Monticello Seminary. It was in the warehouse of this firm that Elijah Lovejoy had been killed on the night of November 6, 1837, which tragic event had sounded the knell of peace between the states. In the death of Lovejoy, Abolition may be said to have had its baptism of blood.

* W. S. Gilman was a brother of Arthur Gilman the founder of Radcliff College. Emily Chandler, the niece of Gen. Lippencott, recalls that letters from the daughter of this man came from abroad when she was in Spain with her close friend Alice Longfellow. *Who's Who* for 1931 gives the names of two of the sons of W. S. and Abia (Lippencott) Gilman: Benjamin Ives, Essayist, and Theodore, Banker (N. Y.).

While at Illinois College two influences, even more than the benefits of the academic course, came to bear upon Charles Lippencott. The first was found in the firm bond of friendship which this dynamic youth came to hold for the man whom Lincoln named, "The Little Schoolmaster," Newton Bateman. Bateman had graduated from the College the previous year and had immediately entered upon that work which was to make him one of the potent influences in all matters of education in the state throughout his life. Bateman, now teaching a country school, because he was refunding money borrowed for his education, felt the pinch of poverty as keenly as Lippencott, but every Saturday the two boys allowed themselves one extravagance; on that evening they invariably went into the village and regaled themselves with a glass of spruce beer and some ginger cake. Sometimes the regimen was varied, says Dr. Snyder, who tells the story, but if so disappointment followed the deviation and they found themselves regretting the beer.

Newton Bateman became, in the years that followed, successively head of the school system in Jacksonville, Principal of Jacksonville Female Academy, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and finally, President of Knox College. Many honors came to him, as to Lippencott, but the friendship born of that early association, the intense interest in the questions of the day which had intrigued them there, the desire for the success of those issues that involved their passionate ideals, never faltered and the news columns of the *Sangamon Valley Times* reported the visits of the "Little Schoolmaster" to "Flat Meadows," which became the home of his friend near Chandlerville, even to the last years of Dr. Lippencott's life.

The second personality with which the boy made contact, wielding a shaping force upon his life and thought, was Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas was twelve years the senior of Lippencott. Though a Vermont man by birth, he had come to Jacksonville in 1833, teaching through the winter at Win-

chester. In the following year he had opened a law office at Jacksonville and began that long and meteoric career in law and politics that was to take him to many places of high distinction; a path that stopped only at the White House steps. Their friendship is believed to have accounted for Dr. Lippencott's conversion from Whig to Democratic principles.

"The strangest and most inexplicable feature of his personal history," says Dr. Snyder, "was his political affiliations. Despite the teaching and example of his father, and brother-in-law, Mr. Gilman, life-long and bitter opponents of the democratic party; notwithstanding his own activity as an agent of the underground railroad; in spite of the influence of those distinguished Jacksonville leaders of the Whig party, John J. Hardin and Governor Joseph Duncan, and of all the professors at Illinois College; and the fact that nearly all of his associates, and such esteemed intimate friends as Newton Bateman, Dr. Samuel Willard and Dr. Chandler, were radical Whigs, yet Dr. Lippencott was a democrat. Not of the passive sort either; but a bold, aggressive defender of the democratic party and its principles—and he continued to be a member of that party until after his enlistment in military service in 1861."

Charles spent one year in the College and then after teaching two terms of a country school to re-finance himself, entered the newly established Medical Department of the same school. He had determined upon the career of doctor. Contact with Dr. David Prince was probably responsible for that decision for his admiration for the man had been awakened during his first term of study. But though he spent two years in that department he was destined not to become an alumnus of that institution. Going to St. Louis, during the third summer to find employment in his brother-in-law's warehouse—for the firm of Godfrey, Gilman and Co. had moved to St. Louis after the tragedy—he was persuaded by Mr. Gilman, who furnished him the required assistance, to enter Pope's Medical College and take his degree from the Uni-

versity of St. Louis, which he did, graduating in the spring of 1849.

Dr. Lippencott's reception into the community of Panther Creek was cordial in the extreme. His popularity was inevitable for his morals were exemplary, his spirit genial and buoyant and in addition to these gifts of disposition and personality, he presented a strikingly handsome figure, was an unerring marksman and was notable for his exceptional horsemanship. He was, in short, a man marked out by nature for high adventure and for love.

It is no wonder, therefore, that sweet Emily Chandler, the Doctor's second daughter, returning from her studies at Godfrey, should find her father's protégé a man to her liking and that she yielded to his immediate and impetuous suit. Yet, for all the fervor of young love, for Emily was then in her seventeenth year, it was not without the solemnity of profound consideration that she took this important step. The old Record Book of the Presbyterian Church shows that on *November 9, 1851, Charles E. Lippencott and Miss Emily Chandler confessed their faith and became members of the church. That date, in relation to the next important one on her calendar, is eloquent in its implication. For on Christmas day following, they were wed. Another happy memory for the T-shaped house; holly and orange-blossoms, figuratively at least, happily commingled; and mistletoe—shall we say—for the several younger sisters, and the various young girl cousins of Emily, met for the occasion? Was it in the long dining-room, one wonders, that the pretty scene took place—or in the stately parlor with its mahogany gleaming in the soft candle light? But the imagination alone must supply the missing items. We only know that they were married, and that Professor Jonathan B. Turner, performed the ceremony.

Panther Creek was now no longer Panther Creek, but Chandlerville. Dr. Lippencott had seen to that on first com-

* On that day too, the names of Caroline Chandler (daughter of Marcus) and of Ann and Susan Keithly, (sisters of Sarah, who married Perry Fuller) were added to the roll.

ing to the village. It was, of course, a very small village and had, presumably, no immediate prospect of becoming a city; but its patron was the good Doctor who had dominated its scattered forces, had platted it into a town and dowered it with parks, schools, churches and other municipal appurtenances. He was, besides, the father of the fair Emily. Perhaps the sweet old garden of the Chandler house had already witnessed the dedicatory of that first kiss between the lovers which always hallowed the spot in the memory of the future General.

So a petition was framed requesting the change of name, honoring Dr. Chandler—which being signed, to a man, was forwarded to those friends of Dr. Lippencott in Washington, Senator Douglas and Congressman Yates—and the thing was done. It was the first of many tributes of respect which Dr. Lippencott was to pay to the father of his wife; and to that counselor and friend who was to engage his affection and profound respect for a quarter of a century.

But even as the wedding bells rang out, plans were in the making that should impose a long separation upon the wedded pair before the year was three months gone; signs and portents threatening the placidity of the new life and starting many a terror in the hearts of women waking in the night; for certain young men in the countryside were planning a caravan for the overland trip to California.

Knowlton, the eldest son of Marcus Chandler, was the originator of the plan as he later became its organizer. Henry L. Ingalls had gone west in the famous gold rush two years before and, as we have seen, had brought home some gold. The westward trail was, by this time well marked and much less hazardous than in that earlier day. There was still gold to be prospected, without doubt; and no finer opportunity—lacking a war—could have presented itself to a group of young men spoiling for adventure.

Blood was up in the valley, for no one could tell where lightning would strike next; what mother's son, or brother,

or husband, for that matter, might suddenly develop that far-away gaze which meant that the fever of longing had set its strange fires in his heart. Through the winter of fifty-one and two, preparations were on foot. Doubtless the skill of Henry McKee was requisitioned for the making of some, if not all of those seven heavy wagons that must navigate the plains, climb the mountains and endure the arduous wear of that long trek. "Build me strong, Oh, worthy master!" sang the great ship to its builder in Longfellow's lyric line; and so might have sung these "ships of the desert," preparing for as perilous a voyage as ever faced the frail crafts of Columbus. In the construction of one of these precaution was overdone and, it came, because of its heavy axles, wheels and frame-work, to be known as the "ox-killer." More than once it suffers that scornful epithet in the Knowlton Chandler Diary. With the approach of spring plans rounded to completion and, as in the Woodstock exodus many years before, the "goers" were forced to distinguish themselves from the "stayers." Chandler, their leader, was but twenty-one; and an auspicious if hazardous setting forth into life the trip was to prove to him.

They started on the 29th of March. Dr. Lippencott was among their number. He was but three months married; but in spite of that fact—or because of it—he joined the company. To have remained was to have faced an endless round of small unstimulating duties, and a slow, if assured, accumulation of wealth; but before him, at the end of that long trail, he saw fortune awaiting; life dangerous and dramatic; perhaps fame. Emily was safe with her parents. She had the courage to see him go, the courage to wait; and a faith that would hold through the long silence. She too, was of the blood of "goers."

Knowlton Chandler's Diary furnishes us the only record we have of this hegira, and that a meager one. Five men, besides himself, are mentioned, though a *sister, yet living,

* Mrs. Frank W. Carr of Chandlerville.

assures us that there were others. These were Charles Lip-pencott, three of the Marcy boys—Benjamin, Henry and Charles—and the youngest brother of Dr. Chandler's wife, Rensselaer Child.

One wonders how far their anticipations out-ran the actual record of that trip. They were to travel one hundred and fifteen days to reach their goal and to be gone five years. But none of the principals were to die of that courageous odyssey. If there were no great fortunes for those patient oxen to transport eastward, there was much experience gained and perhaps some wisdom, and but one tragedy.

The Diary appears to have been written chiefly to make a record of desirable stopping places for any who should come after, or for comparison. Water, pasturage and wood are always noted, and the approximate length of the day's journey. But even into this dull citation a certain color of reality creeps between the lines. One gets, somehow, a vision of those great rivers whose crossing was so difficult; the Red, the Missouri, the LaPlatte. Of the increasing dreariness of the treeless plains, where buffalo chips were burned in place of wood; of the sinister suggestion implicit in crude crosses marking the graves of former argonauts, felled by disease or killed by Indians. Then the long weary marches through the desert, taken at night for greater comfort; a naive disappointment that no Indians were encountered and, later, the contemptuous reference to their fleeting forms glimpsed at a distance. There were occasional outbursts of admiration when nature had presented dramatic values in landscape; Chimney Rock, Scott's Bluff, Independence Rock. And then, after long, painful ascent, the Great Divide; the promised land lying just beyond—that Land of Heart's Desire—California.

There were fevers and pestilences; there were hardships innumerable; and doubtless there were despairs. The master wagon—that old "ox-killer"—was a nuisance and had to be traded off or abandoned. It was finally traded off. There were quarrels too, and one member of the party, whose fretful

spirit had been a cross for all concerned, suddenly "went bad," and trading all his goods (a pair of oxen and much equipment) for a horse, rode off into the desert alone and was never (in this account) heard from again on the whole of the trip. There were acquaintances made along the way; now lost, now found again; now heard from "ten miles back." Once there was a dance. And there were beards—what beards!

In late summer they reached their destination.

The next five years in the Golden State held many exciting things in store for Charles Lippencott, but very little gold. His first stop, Downieville, was in Yuba county, and located in the very heart of the most ambitious gold mining operations of the moment. Yuba has since been renamed for the mountains in which it is located, Sierra county, and Downieville is now its county seat. It is bounded on the east by the Nevada state line.

Immediately on reaching that place Lippencott organized a company and set to work to wrest his fortune from those obdurate mountains. The splendid optimism of the man, his rugged build and his genius for leadership would have seemed precisely to have fitted him for this new life now presented to him here in the golden west; and there are indications that he entered upon it with gusto. A souvenir of this period* is preserved in the form of a portrait of himself, outfitted as a pick-and-shovel miner in a red flannel shirt, done on a cigar box by an itinerant artist. He sent this amusing, if inelegant presentment of himself, to his wife. It was a memento which she always affected to regard with disdain but which she kept, none the less, to the day of her death.

"Pay dirt," however, not proving so attainable as the Doctor had hoped, he turned from the more direct method of seeking fortune and became a mining broker and promoter.

* This "portrait" is in the possession of Dr. Lippencott's nephew, Dr. Wm. A. Lippencott, now living at Berkeley, Calif.

Whether this might have proved more successful we do not know, for about this time the turbulent political status of California drew him into its maelstrom, absorbing his physical and mental energies until he shortly found himself becoming not only an influence in public affairs in the county and state, but an aspirant for office.

To Charles Lippencott, whose flair was for politics rather than for medicine or finance, it might well appear that a great career could be carved from those diverse materials of which the new state now showed herself to be possessed.

California had attained her statehood in September of 1850. She had entered the Union as a Free State, but the pro-and anti-slavery parties were, for all that, engaged in a struggle for supremacy with a violence and hostility amounting almost to civil war.

Lippencott's experience with those same conditions in Jacksonville and Alton, in Illinois, had given him a familiarity with that situation and he was prepared to throw the forces of his violent partisanship, his political acumen and his considerable power of oratory, into the struggle waged by the anti-slavery party. The leader in these ranks was David C. Broderick.

Lippencott became the leader of the Broderick party, and in 1854, two years after his arrival in the state, was nominated by that party to represent Yuba county in the legislature. He was elected and took his seat in the upper house on the first Monday in January of the following year. This was the meeting of the sixth general assembly of the state. Once a member of this "fighting body" he was felt to be a powerful influence, and in the contest for the election of a United States Senator, his maneuvering and his vote prevented the joint meeting of the two houses necessary for that consummation; a strategic victory for the Broderick forces.

The two aspirants for the office were Broderick and the Hon. Henry S. Foot, a Virginian by birth, but long a resident of Mississippi and a leader of the pro-slavery forces in Cali-

fornia at that moment. His part in this crucial conflict brought Lippencott into prominence and made him an acknowledged and dangerous proponent of the Anti-slavery party. This fact had its part in embroiling him in the tragic episode whose outcome was to throw a darkening shadow across the whole of his future life.

The immediate *casus belli* was the fruit of that gift of satire and infuriating invective which, added to his father's heritage of a facile pen, made Dr. Lippencott an opponent as much to be feared on paper as on the public forum. At this time the Broderick allies had secured, for political uses, two columns of a newspaper—the only sheet in Downieville—known as the *Sierra Citizen*, and had made them a powerful factor in promulgating the doctrines of the party.

The occasion for the employment of this gift of ridicule, with its disastrous consequences, was in connection with a Fourth of July celebration at Downieville at which a woman, nationally prominent through her work in the Temperance field, was slated for the chief speaker of the day, Miss Sarah Pellet. Her time was greatly infringed upon by the man who preceded her upon the program, young Robert Tevis who had been asked to read the Declaration of Independence. The opportunity to release a little oratory on his own account and promote the cause of his own candidacy for a seat in Congress in the forthcoming election, seemed to him too good to miss. His flow of eloquence, in disregard of Miss Pellet's claim to the platform, was only stopped by a barrage of missiles, cat-calls and firecrackers.

The humiliation of this reception was intolerably augmented by an editorial in which Dr. Lippencott satirized the performance in the columns of the *Sierra Citizen*. The result was a rebuttal in which Tevis compelled the editor of the *Sierra Citizen*—under penalty of being himself served with a challenge—to publish, under Tevis' own card, a denunciation of Lippencott, as a liar and a coward.

Matters having gone so far Lippencott was compelled to challenge the young man to a duel. Public sentiment in these matters left him no choice. These were the rough and ready days, and to have failed so to respond to the insult against his personal integrity would have been to choose a course compelling him to withdraw from all further pursuance of his political career and to become a virtual exile from California.

Even after the terms had been arranged, mutual friends of the parties attempted a reconciliation and matters might have been adjusted but for the interference of a certain *Mr. Spear, who contrived, for some mischievous reason, to re-establish the animus.

The date of the duel was set for †July 14, 1855, following the fatal Fourth, and during that ten days' interval, public interest in the affair ran high. It was much more than a private affair of honor between two gentlemen; it was an important crisis in a fiercely waged political battle. The place selected was a lonely spot, high among the Sierras, surrounded by a forest of lofty firs, solemn in the extreme. It was not only remote from the town, but it had the advantage of being close to the state line.

In the early morning of that day the two parties approached the place on mule-back, reaching their destination at daylight, and prepared to take their places. But a dramatic interlude was furnished by the approach, at break-neck speed, of the sheriff's party, arriving to prevent the affair. In accordance with previous arrangements, anticipating the possibility of this interference, the duelling party therefore moved just across the state line out of the jurisdiction of the Yuba county authorities, and proceeded with the grim formalities.

* Dr. Snyder has ferreted out the further history of this man. He discovers that he left town when the outcome of the duel became known, but returned after several years to California, "harmlessly insane—either real or assumed." In 1860, in the battle of Pyramid Lake, an encounter between the whites and the Piute Indians, he was captured by the latter and burned at the stake.

† Dr. Snyder gives this date as July 7, but the California State Library advises that the duel took place on the 14th.

Physical opposites—the one tall and very thin, the other stockily built, robust in appearance, these men faced each other across the prescribed thirty paces; and just as the rising sun touched the topmost branches of the trees, responding to the signal—they fired. Tevis fell, shot through the heart. Lippencott was unhurt, only a lock of his hair had been cut from above his left ear.

The duel which popular feeling had forced to an issue, now, viewed in the light of its tragic consequences, shocked the community to its depths. A few minor wounds by which honor had been satisfied would have contributed to the satisfaction of the dramatic instincts of a people to whom the arts had denied a disciplined emotion; but the death of Tevis was an undeniable tragedy in the light of which duelling became the thing it is—a menace to civilization.

Dr. Lippencott, fearing apprehension, remained in Nevada territory for a time until assured of immunity from prosecution, and then returned to Downieville and his seat in the legislature. But popular feeling had now turned against him, and it had turned against the duel. Romance had gone out of it, and gallantry. The people had seen, at last, how it could be made a vehicle of mob-madness to compel two men having no personal animus, having not even previous a personal acquaintance, as in this case, to become potential, if not actual killers. It was one in a series of five political duels that had sullied the fame of California and it was not to be the last. One more was to go into the record of the state; that in which Broderick himself, in 1860, fell at the hands of his opponent for the senatorial favor, Judge Terry; an affair stigmatized by the press as a “political murder”—and then no more. Governor John R. Tanner, of Illinois, many years later when delivering an eulogy to the memory of General Charles Lippencott on the occasion of the dedication of the Lippencott Memorial Hall, at Quincy, Illinois, said: “This memorable duel did more to free California from the pro-slavery element than any other one thing.”

But the death of Tevis laid a heavy shadow upon the spirit of the victor in that affair. The duel was reported and discussed in all the larger journals throughout the country, and for many years came in for comment, defensive or explanatory, where his friends were concerned. It came to be classed among the great American duels. Journalism did its best and its worst for it. One writer said of Lippencott that he was so deeply remorseful over it that thereafter "he never smiled again."

There is no doubt that, however, unavoidable he may have felt the affair to have been, he was gravely saddened for a time; and the death, by the same vehicle, of his friend Broderick, three years later, only confirmed this feeling. His father, the Rev. Thomas Lippencott, had come to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church at Chandlerville the autumn following his son's departure for the west, and the knowledge of the effect of the tragic news upon him, and upon his son's young wife and her family, must have been nearly intolerable. Moreover, Charles Lippencott believed that by the consequences of this duel he had ended all further prospect of a political career. But though he was always loathe to speak of the affair—and he was not a man who might be lightly asked—yet those who knew him in later life remembered him as a jovial man. He was one of those whom Roosevelt described as "caring intensely both for thought and action" and his days, whether in good fortune or ill, were animated by "the fury of living." There is no doubt, though, that at the core of his being there was always a haunting regret.

At the expiration of Dr. Lippencott's term of office he quitted California. His friend Broderick had been elected to the United States Senate and he went to Washington to see him take his seat; after which he returned to Chandlerville to resume his place in the family life and in the community from which he had departed, a soldier of fortune, to take up again such remnants of his medical practice as remained to him.

VIII.

LIFE AND LOVE IN THE VALLEY.

What time Dr. Lippencott had spent in the west must have seemed to him, returning empty-handed both as to gold and honors, "as the years that the locust had eaten." The little village that had seen him off clothed in the glamour of one about to wrest fortune from the pursuit of high adventure, though it was soon to resume its allegiance, was then not disposed to receive him kindly. Word had come back through the mouth of one of those same argonauts who had set off with him so blithely, that the duel had not been a political one but was fought in defense of a prostitute; and with that false report the whole town had suffered sea-change. His sainted father, shocked to his very depths, had himself crossed his son's name from the roll of communicants on the Record Book of the church. His young wife, now twenty-three years of age, had, at the first word of criticism from her family, deliberately walked out of her father's house and since that time had supported herself by teaching school. Yet for all this splendid fidelity there must have been some reserve of pride in her that would not ask, and in him that would not seek to justify his act; for an episode, deeply touching in its implication and belonging to the last six weeks of his life, comes down to us from the pen of his wife's niece* who was his secretary during the years when he was Governor of the Soldiers' Home at Quincy.

This niece (the third Emily), one evening, when they had returned from their duties at the Headquarter's Building and he was resting till dinner should be called, asked him to tell her the true story of the duel. Only a great confidence in his kindness could have inspired this question for few indeed had ever dared to broach the subject to him.

* Mrs. Emily Dyer of Shelton, Conn., the daughter of Charles E. Chandler and his wife, Cordelia Beard.

Lying on the old leather couch where he had, with declining strength, come to spend more and more time, reverting with increasing frequency to the past, he outlined to her briefly the whole affair. The impersonal beginning that led up to the deadly quarrel; the defense of the New England spinster who had been robbed of the time allotted her on the program, and who had, in the discussion afterwards, come in for defamatory and even scurrilous remarks from the Tevis partisans (the almost invariable fate of women who essayed the public forum in those days); and, finally, of the duel itself.

At this point he made an explanation, perhaps never offered by him before. He did not, he said, believe in duelling, and he had not wished to fight. But no one, not a coward, could refuse a challenge in that day and in that state. He had, however, sent a warning to Mr. Tevis that he was a "dead shot" with a rifle and was as result, jeered at as a "cowardly Yankee" afraid of the affair. He had, until the last moment, still no intention of killing his man; but as Tevis' second placed him in position he had *laid his hand over his heart* to indicate the vital point at which his adversary was to aim. It was a fatal gesture, for with instantaneous decision Charles Lippencott reversed his intention and, at the signal, fired—with what result we know.

As the story progressed his wife (the second Emily), who had been knitting in the next room, came in where her husband lay lost in the dark scenes of his reminiscence, and sat listening to the recital. It would have seemed to have reached its end but the Doctor—now the General—mused on. This thing had gone deep with him. For it was not only that he had been forced into a thing from which he felt that he had no recourse and which must always hold for him depressing memories, but—what was almost as bad—on returning to his home he found that the false word of an enemy had gone before him and that he had thereby been condemned, without a hearing, even by his father. It had been a bitter thing to bear. "And," he continued, "not a damn soul stood up for

me against that liar's story." But here his wife broke in: "Charles," she said, "*I've* stood by you and loved you all my life and you know it. And yet today, for the first time, I hear the story from your own lips. *Why* have you made me suffer all these years?" The old man lay for a while looking at the ceiling, and at, perhaps, the scene of many grief-borne years. "Emily," he replied, quietly, "you were never the one to ask me."

Dr. Lippencott was to find many changes in Chandlerville, upon his return—and very little "practice." Dr. Newton L. Read, a young man from Ohio, had come to take up the work he had left and was now firmly ensconced in the village life. He had become a member of the Congregational Church and had in other ways established himself as an integral factor in the community in which he was to spend the remainder of his life. The Rev. Thomas Lippencott had finished his term of service with the church and, with his new wife (the fourth), formerly Mrs. Lydia Barnes whom he had married at Alton just before coming to Chandlerville, departed for Pana, Illinois, saddened by the shadow of his son's deed and borne down by increasing years.

Dr. Lippencott's political activities were now confined entirely to efforts on behalf of others. His application to professional duties was perfunctory and uninspired, and he expended his intellectual energies upon work which, if brought to completion, would have engrossed his labors for many years; for at this time he began and, indeed, carried to a considerable degree of accomplishment, a Commentary on the Bible.

Strange as such a pursuit may seem in a man dedicated by temperament to action, he was excellently equipped for such a task for he had, from his earliest years, been a profound student of the Bible, and his studies had, of course, been assisted by his scholarly father and by the many eastern scholars who frequented his home. Probably the several institutions of learning with which he had made contact had

furnished him courses that assisted this line of study, particularly in Jacksonville where the Yale Band were in full force. But a more important factor yet, was the motivating force of his intellectual curiosity which inspired him to seek for unexplored sources of information concerning any subject that interested him. Even now he was master of a forceful style. "His English" said his secretary* "was the English of the King James version of the Bible and of Milton. On the night-stand, by his bed, copies of these books were always laid." Those who have seen this unfinished work have pronounced it a scholarly thesis.

Lippencott's friendship with Knowlton Chandler, the companion of the overland trail, remained unchanged among all of these changed conditions. Chandler had returned possessed of some wealth. How much was due to the mining adventure is not known, but it is probable that at least a nest-egg was gained there. He had gone to St. Louis, however, before returning home, and had bought and managed a hotel there for a time. On reaching Chandlerville he laid off an addition to the village, known as the Knowlton Chandler addition, and entered into several business enterprises such as a drug store at Chandlerville and a lumbering project at Bath. In 1859, the year of his father's death, we find him entering politics and aspiring for the office of Circuit Clerk in the interest of which campaign Dr. Lippencott "stumped" the county. For this office, however, Chandler was defeated.

The T-shaped house had—in that five year interval—witnessed two weddings; for Lucy Manning Chandler, the Doctor's niece, on finishing her work at Monticello, had married Dr. Prince of Jacksonville, as previously mentioned; and in the spring before the return of Dr. Lippencott, Louisa, the Doctor's youngest daughter, solemnized her nuptials to a young man from Petersburg.

It is likely that Louisa made the acquaintance of †David Frackelton when visiting the Allens in that place for he was,

* Mrs. Emily Chandler Dyer, previously referred to.

† In 1861 Mr. Frackelton moved to Chandlerville and, in partnership with his father-in-law, conducted a general store; but shortly after the war "R. & D. Frackelton" again consolidated, establishing a bank at Petersburg with which he was connected until his death, nearly forty-five years later.

like them, a member of the Presbyterian church. Though of Scotch descent, he had been born in Dromore, County Downs, Ireland, and with his brother Robert, had come to America thirteen years before, learning the merchandising business; and now under the firm name of R. & D. Frackelton, the two young men had a very good business of their own.

Louisa, too, was now a member of the church at Chandlerville. She joined "by letter," showing that she had, indeed, "prized those opportunities for religious training" which her father had wished to give her. There is even a hint the wish was retroactive, since on that same day, July 24, 1853, Dr. Chandler himself joined the church which he had helped to found.

But now religious opportunities in Chandlerville were offered through other ministrations than those of the Congregational Church, for the Methodists had built a Meeting House of their own. For this too, the Doctor had given ground and a liberal donation, and it was now a flourishing organization. For several years the people of this sect, had been slowly growing in numbers and influence. They had met in the residence of Squire Amos Bonny, who lived a half mile south on the Beardstown road, and in the Doctor's much used dining-room. Itinerant circuit riders, the most stirring of which was the great Peter Cartwright, furnished them spiritual instruction. The "Sewall Diary" reports these meetings and the writer's more than occasional attendance. After the Presbyterian, (now the Congregational) Church was built, it was rented to them for service, for stated Sundays for about three years; after which, chiefly through the zeal and enterprise of Elisha Olcott, the former clerk of the Chandler Brothers in their store and warehouse, they were able to erect a *building of their own.

* This building stood where the Methodist Church stands today, on Mechanic Street, two blocks east of Main, and adjoining the school house grounds on the west.

A school house, too, had lately been added to the town. The little one-room structure which the Doctor had built to serve the first needs of the community, and in which Lavinia Ingalls and Emily Chandler (the first Emily) had taught, had long outlived its usefulness, and had been converted into a residence for Flora Hicks, a deserving old woman who was one of the Doctor's pensioners. The larger log house, set in dense woods, which had replaced it, had likewise been abandoned. Then, for a time, the Presbyterian church had been made to do double duty by conversion to school purposes during the week—a civic economy familiar to many pioneer communities. It was during this period of the school's history that a certain Miss Hosford was sent by Governor Slade of Vermont, her salary guaranteed by Dr. Chandler; and Peter Rickard also had instructed here for several terms. But in 1851, the real foundation of public school work had been laid by a woman, come from the east, Miss Helen Cotton. After a number of years she ended her professional work to become the wife of *John Goodell, another of the Woodstock colonists, and so remained in the community.

It was in the middle of the fifties that the building which was the forerunner of the present school, was erected on the site now so occupied—another frame structure. Ray's Arithmetic, the McGuffey Readers and the "Blue Spelling Book" were now in full operation, all contributing, however punitively, to the enlightenment of the younger pupils. But though Monticello and Jacksonville Female Academies and Illinois College might serve the advanced educational needs of the more fortunate sons and daughters in the community, yet many boys and girls, eager for higher instruction, must necessarily go untaught for lack of such advantage. So Dr. Chandler undertook to remedy this matter. He arranged for the large upper room of a building adjoining the packing house to be used for a select school; each pupil being required to fur-

* After her death John Goodell married for his second wife, Harriet Sewall, the daughter of the diarist.

nish his own desk and chair. A certain Miss Butler, a graduate of one of the eastern colleges, was put in charge. Tuition was asked, of course, and students came from all up and down the valley to avail themselves of this opportunity. Grammar, higher mathematics, natural philosophy and the beginnings of Latin were taught. This school, having in its promise the germ of a little academy, went on splendidly until the *outbreak of the Civil War robbed it of its young men and disorganized all such enterprises.

* The data on these first schools was furnished by Miss Clyde Carr, a teacher in the present school at Chandlerville, whose article "Chandlerville Private and Public Schools" appeared in the *Chandlerville Times*, Feb. 12, 1926. Miss Carr is a granddaughter of Marcus Chandler and a niece of Knowlton Chandler.

IX

THE COMING OF THE RAILROADS

But a matter of wider import, one touching the people in a neighboring portion of the state and, indeed, the whole commonwealth, was now awakening, in breasts once stirred by the Internal Improvement slogan, a new hope: a hope of deliverance from the bondage to conditions which the limitations of transportation forced upon them. Another of those economic cycles, carrying prosperity upon its crest, was just now sweeping over the country and its proof was seen in the first band of steel rails laid by the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company between Springfield and its western terminus, commenced in 1849 and completed three years later. This followed hard upon the Northern Cross road which, as we have seen, though begun in 1837, did not reach Springfield till 1848.

The Chicago and Alton line performed an enormous service to the country through which it passed. Our old friend, Benjamin Godfrey had been one of its chief promoters as well as its construction contractor, and the road was so closely associated with his genius that, in 1853, his fellow citizens presented him with a *silver pitcher bearing on one side the picture of the first Chicago and Alton train and on the other the building of Monticello Seminary, done in repousse. Captain Godfrey was, further, awarded the contract for the extension of the road to Bloomington though, through financial embarrassment or other reasons, he afterwards retired from the project.

But the most significant item in the whole period of railroad expansion was the organization of the Illinois Central road, incorporated by an act of the Legislature in 1851.

* Early History of Monticello—by Harriet Rice Congdon.

"Nowhere, perhaps, in our country," says *a student of this period, "can we find such a direct and immediate revolution in the life of a large section of territory, due to a single influence, as in the case of the prairies of central Illinois. Within the decade, 1850 to 1860, the coming of the railroad changed this portion of the state from the lair of the wolf and the feeding ground of the deer, to the most prosperous and most cultivated region of the United States. Never have frontier conditions of life, and frontier attitudes and ideals, been so quickly trampled under foot. Never has the commerce of a large section of country so quickly turned its back on long established trade routes. Never has the birth of energy, the sudden dawn of a new era, been such a tangible thing as in central eastern Illinois between these years."

The enormous treeless plains of this section of Illinois—except for the timid encroachment of the prairie farmer, inhabiting the thinly timbered banks of water courses—were, in the border counties such as Coles, Cumberland, Clark and Edgar, yet as unbroken as when, fifteen years earlier, Washington Irving had seen them. Irving recorded his impressions in a book which he called "*A Tour of the Prairies.*" These vast meadows, to which the French missionaries gave their own correlative place-name, were regarded by travelers at that time as being among the great natural wonders of America, "Second only," says Mr. Harper, "to Niagara Falls." This level land whose flatness is imputed to the visitation—during the glacial period—of the American ice sheet, covering it to the thickness of a mile or more for nearly a hundred thousand years, astonished not less by its stupendous area than by its beauty:

"I should despair" wrote the Father of American Literature, "of being able to convey to your mind any idea of the glories of the autumnal flora, covering these immense natural meadows like a rich carpet. God has here, with prodigal hand, scattered the seeds of a thousand beautiful plants, each

* *The Railroad and the Prairie*—C. A. Harper. Transactions Ill. State Historical Society, 1923.

suited to its season, where there are no hands to pluck and few eyes to admire. After the early grass of the spring begins to shoot up through the blackened surface of the scorched soil, it becomes spangled with a host of flowers, the prevailing colors of which are white and blue. These, as summer advances, give place to a race in which red predominates and, when the yellow suns of autumn decline over the west, their mild rays are greeted by the appearance of millions of yellow flowers which, far statelier and of ranker growth than their predecessors, rise over their ruins and seem to clothe the undulating surface of the prairies with a cloth of gold. The great predominance of the *Heliotrope* and *Solidago* species gives this tint to the landscape; at the same time there are many showy and beautiful plants, products of the same season, of less glaring colors. Such are the *Asters*, from the large and beautiful species, which displays its clusters of blue and purple flowers, to the small, delicately leaved varieties seen in the more open grounds. You observe whole districts covered with the tall and striking flowers of the tall *Eupatorium* and everywhere, among the long grass, the *Diatris*, or rattlesnake's master, shoots up and displays its spike of red flowers. Then there are exquisite varieties of *gentian*, with their deep blue, and a thousand other flowers which I cannot undertake to describe. At this season the dwarf sumac, in hollows and on such parts of the prairie as have remained untouched by the autumnal fires, becomes a striking feature of the open ground from the blood-red hue of its leaves and fructification."

But it is likely that the prospective inhabitants of these prairie acres felt little concern for their beauty. Sterner necessities dictated their choice of a future home. These plains, enriched by a millennium of vegetation, were deemed valueless by James Monroe, who argued that "land too poor to grow timber was too poor to grow corn." Certainly they were devoid of windbreaks and of material for fencing or for the construction of cabins. The sod house was not, even at this time, an infrequent sight. Engineers of the Illinois

Central road found a hundred and thirty miles of unbroken plains southeast of Chicago. "In 1835," wrote one of these men, "we rode for twenty miles on this division without seeing a tree, house or any living thing save an occasional prairie dog."

The only economic use which these prairies served was ranging ground for the great herds of cattle which a few cattle-kings maintained there during the grazing period preliminary to the time when they should be driven east to be sold to feeders, mostly in Pennsylvania, who, in turn, prepared them for the spring market. Among these men, still a part of the agricultural annals of the state, we find the names of Harris, Funk, Strawn and Holderman.

The Illinois Central, unlike other lines soon to be built in the state, had for its primary motivation the opening up of the region for settlement and maintained, regarding its enormous land holdings, a wise and just sales policy whereby inducements were held out only to those wishing actually to inhabit the land which they purchased. The result was a tremendous increase in population in the prairie counties; towns sprang up as if by magic where no towns had been, and villages crouching timidly on the edge of wilderness, became cities almost over night.

The increase in these counties—1850-60—says C. A. Harper (*The Railroad and the Prairies*) was 187 per cent. Champaign increased over 600 per cent, Livingston 300 per cent. Iroquois over 100 per cent. The number of acres under cultivation increased from 744,000 to 2,902,000. Many new developments followed and contributed to the general prosperity, such as the invention and manufacture of horse-driven machinery, the importation of blooded stock and the experimentation in the growing of new crops. The telegraph, the newspaper and the free school all followed in the train of this forerunner of prosperity—the railroad.

Machines adapted to more and different uses, and to large areas were required for this new land and necessity mothered

the invention of them. The steel plow which John Deere and Wm. Parlin, both Illinois men, perfected for incising that thick prairie sod formerly requiring three yoke of oxen, when the old wooden mould boards and cast iron plow shares must accomplish the tearing of the tough roots by which the native grasses had laid hold upon the earth, was one of the most important aids to this work. The threshing machine conferred an inestimable service to agriculture, saving the farmer not only time and labor, but a waste in grain as well; and in that decade the long development of the reaper came to its final perfection.

The propagation of cereal grain crops had long been limited by the lack of just this implement. The necessity of harvesting them just at the moment when they had reached the proper ripeness; the hazard of storms, of rainfall, of labor shortage, all had conspired to make the small crop a necessity. Now the reaper, which had been a Carthaginian dream before the time of Christ, which had found its place in the literature of Pliny, and under English social conditions, diverting farm labor to factories in the 18th century, received a further impulse, had, by the development of agriculture in the United States, been forced to perfection.

Cyrus Hall McCormick by 1834, had patented his epoch-making machine and, after six years of patient experimentation, placed it on the market. But a certain necessity, forced upon the most intrepid innovators, waited upon his success; for the farmers had yet to be educated to its use. By 1847, he had established his factory in Chicago, foreseeing that Illinois, not Tidewater Virginia, was the future capital of wheat. Year by year his out-put increased, as confidence in the efficiency of the machine grew. Then the great invasion of the Illinois Central Railroad, opening to markets such an agricultural section as the world had never known before, completed his triumph.

But the impulse stimulated by these several cognate forces, though having the startling effect of novelty in the

prairie counties, was not reserved for them alone. Sangamon county, whose acreage was already largely under cultivation, increased in value, it is estimated, one hundred per cent. Richard Yates, returning from his four years in Congress, accepted in 1855, the presidency of the road whose organization was just forming, the Tonica and Petersburg. It received its charter January 15, 1857, in the very dawn of that year which, rounding another of those major cycles—twenty years from the Internal Improvement catastrophe—approached a financial panic which paralyzed industry and retarded the fine sweep of prosperity which the decade had ushered in.

This panic, felt so keenly in the East, arrested the development of a railroad which had been begun north of Chandler-ville; one which, though it was not surveyed to pass through that locality, was expected to be of general service to the valley. The Illinois Valley Railroad was organized early in the fifties, receiving its charter in 1853. It was designed to operate between Pekin, in Tazewell county, and Alton. It was to follow the course of the Illinois river as far as Beardstown and the right of way had been secured for it as far as Bath—at that time, the county seat of Mason county. One hundred thousand dollars had been subscribed and a good deal of the grading accomplished when the project had had to be abandoned for want of funds.

But the “panic year” did not daunt Richard Yates, whose little line involved an obligation of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. His records show that though “sweating blood,” in his son’s phrase, he not only paid the interest on the sum but wiped off five thousand dollars of the total debt. The financial crisis which stimulated Yates to hold on apparently challenged Dr. Chandler to begin, for it was just at this point that he took a hand in the affairs of Illinois River Railroad. “By his influence,” says *Dr. Snyder, “the route of the proposed road was diverted from its original course to Beardstown and down the river valley, to a line directly

* Dr. Charles Chandler : An Historical Sketch by Dr. J. F. Snyder.

south from Bath, through Chandlerville and Virginia to Jacksonville.”

Calling to his assistance his friend, R. H. Thomas and his colleague and former “rider,” Dr. M. H. L. Schooley of Virginia, he succeeded in effecting a reorganization of the road. An *election of officers and directors was held at Chandlerville early in September of 1857. At this meeting the several counties and the principal towns through which the road was surveyed to pass, subscribed to a sum amounting in all to three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Nowhere in the list of officers chosen at this election does the name of Dr. Chandler appear. “After all his exertion for the road, and his subscription of many hundreds of dollars to its capital stock—every cent of which he lost as did all of the other Cass county subscribers—with his characteristic diffidence he would accept no official position in its management,” wrote Dr. Snyder. But it is a more likely supposition that he wished to stay behind the machine rather than to become a part of it. Such methods, indeed, characterized all of his promotional work. But his interest in the enterprise designed to bring prosperity to his valley, was not the less personal and intense for that, and his acumen is evidenced in his deed of gift of a right of way through his property—indeed, directly across the lower end of his long lawn—in which he showed a general knowledge of such matters exceptional in his day; and showed, besides his splendid public spirit and civic pride, a keen foresight of possible unpleasant complications. Thus, he not only stipulates that no ditch shall be made across his lawn, where the road passes through it, but that he shall have the right to prevent any ditch being made near Panther Creek so as to turn the water, when the banks are full, upon or to overflow the town or his own lands. A depot and switch-yard are to be located upon a fixed portion of this right of way; and last, this “conveyance” is subject to a

* This election showed the following officers: R. S. Thomas, President; M. H. L. Schooley, Secretary; Thomas Plasters, Treasurer. The Directors were: Judge M. Thomas of Morgan Co., R. S. Thomas of Cass Co., J. M. Ruggles of Mason Co., and Joshua Wagonseller of Tazewell Co.

promise that "a good and sufficient fence" be built on either side of the railroad within a year after the completion of the road.

The contract was let in May of 1857, for grading, bridging and furnishing ties between Pekin and Jacksonville, a distance of seventy miles. Work began at once and in two years the strip between Pekin and Virginia (passing through Chandlerville) was completed. The northern lap, from Pekin to Peoria was not finished until 1864, and the southern one, from Virginia to Jacksonville, till five years later. It is *said that the first conductor to take the train over the road was the Doctor's son, Charles E. Chandler, then a young man of twenty-one.

* Goodell Correspondence.

X

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS FORMED

The part which the Illinois River Railway played in the industrial expansion in Illinois had, however, no correlative in the contribution which that section made to the stream of political thought gathering its vast forces from the North and East and South, and concentrating for action in centers within whose radii the little village lay. There were no men of marked political genius in the town or neighborhood in those years. Dr. Chandler was not so inclined and Dr. Lippencott, though now returned, in the late fifties, had missed his turn. He who had gone after adventure in strange lands had left behind him, unwittingly, the big political drama that had, in fact, been preparing since the founders of the Illinois College, one of whom was his own father, had sowed there in Jacksonville the seeds of that rank flower—Abolition. In the fertile soil of Illinois it was to attain, in the short space of two decades, its Gargantuan growth. The anti-slavery sentiment which their humanitarianism fostered with fanatical zeal was the most powerful influence in the many-factored movement that was to bring about the birth of the Republican party. Here the Anti-Nebraska movement was to receive its first impetus from the organization of a society, having Elihu Wolcott for its chairman, designed to unite the disintegrated forces of the Whig party, the Free Soilers and Abolitionists into a single forceful unit whose chief function was to keep the slavery question before the people. As they waxed in strength they were able to bring to their forum the ablest men of their day; and they bought and distributed five hundred copies of Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" throughout the immediate community.

But it remained for Paul Selby, editing just then the **Morgan Journal* at Jacksonville, to conceive the idea of put-

* *The Morgan Journal*, now the *Jacksonville Journal*.

ting the power of the press back of the movement by suggesting a convention of Anti-Nebraskan editors—a project which came off in February, 1856, at Decatur. At this convention plans were made for the Anti-Nebraska State Convention at Bloomington on May 29th, following, at which the Republican party, as it is now known, was born. Now, indeed, had the star of empire come to pause over the “Frontier State,” for on that historic date the battle for democracy was fought out—its infinitely diverse forces warring in seemingly irretrievable conflict. “Then came the time” said* Albert J. Beveridge, “to wield the discordant elements of the Convention and the constituencies they represented into a harmonious unit, intent on fighting a common foe. . . a hard task. . . the only man there who could perform it was Lincoln. And perform it he did in a speech which, judged by its effect, then or thereafter, was the greatest piece of oratory he ever performed.”

It was Jesse K. DuBois, who had arrived sour and morose from Lawrence county—refusing even to attend the first session of the convention—who remarked to Whitney at the close of that address that it was “the greatest speech ever made in Illinois”; and added, with what prophetic vision few could have endorsed at that time, “it puts him on the track for the Presidency.”

A far cry this would have seemed to Dr. Chandler, remembering the hour, twenty years before, when the young surveyor, tall and gaunt, had arrived to run that disputed line on his newly entered land. A far cry, indeed! Yet this man who could “weld the discordant elements” of the convention into the firm outline of a great national party, an almost superhuman undertaking, had but a few weeks before, pleading at Beardstown the case of Duff Armstrong, tried for the murder of James Metzker, reviewed the meager years of that early period of his life there; had told, the tears pouring down over his deep-lined face, of arriving friendless and pen-

* Abraham Lincoln: 1809-1858: Albert J. Beveridge.

niless at New Salem; of the warm friendship which he had formed there for the parents of the accused—with old Aunt Hannah, and with Jack Armstrong, the famed wrestler of Clary's Grove who had died the day the indictment was placed against his son—those faithful friends whose cabin home was always his to share in hardship or prosperity! And yet, remembering that deep sincerity and that mastery which he wielded over emotions and men, the Doctor may have foreseen that many strange doors might open to his hand.

But Lincoln, the politician of the Convention, the big brother and friend of the Armstrong trial, that varied and many-sided Lincoln, was to travel several times perhaps, before he assumed the Presidency, the long low valley of the Sangamon. Twice at least, history has noted that performance and on one of these occasions Dr. Chandler played the host. Two years after the Bloomington Convention, after he had been endorsed for the Senate at Springfield, and the old Hall of Representatives had rung with the eloquence of that "House Divided" speech that sounded the war-cry of a nation; just as he was about to begin that series of joint debates with Douglas that would leave a trail of brilliance, of humorous anecdote, of persiflage and of close-reasoned argument throughout the state, Lincoln came again to the valley.

At a point on the Beardstown road about half-way between Beardstown and Chandlerville—a place called Walnut Hill—from a crudely improvised platform under an enormous walnut tree, he and Douglas addressed the people on consecutive days. The Lincoln Memorial Highway Association has placed at this spot a marker which reads:

Walnut Hill Grove

Stephen A. Douglas spoke here in this grove on August 12, 1858, and Abraham Lincoln spoke here the following day, August 13, 1858, on a goods box under a large walnut tree, as candidates for U. S. Senator.

The Lincoln speech was set for 11 o'clock and about three hundred were in attendance, standing or sitting on the grass beneath the shade of that great tree while the summer sun poured down its noonday rays. Dr. Chandler, of course, was there to hear his friend, and later brought him to his home in Chandlerville for lunch. Afterwards, in his phaeton, he drove him to Bath, a point ten miles distant on the Illinois road, from which point Lincoln went by steamer to Havana, where he was booked for his next engagement. In token of this visit the Lincoln Memorial Highway Association has erected before the site of this house, a marker bearing the legend:

Charles Chandler Homestead

Abraham Lincoln spent the night in this house in 1836 while surveying for Dr. Chandler and was entertained on August 13, 1858, while campaigning for U. S. Senator.

Dr. Lippencott probably heard the speeches of both Douglas and Lincoln, but his allegiance to the "Little Giant" never wavered and he supported him on the stump and by his vote both for the Senatorship and for the Presidency. The Cass County History (Perrin 1882) takes interesting note of this event at Walnut Hill and relates a further association with it:

Stephen A. Douglas, the great American orator and statesman, made his first public speech in Hickory Precinct, under a walnut tree, long since dead and removed. The Little American Giant and the giant of the forest alike have yielded to the withering touch of time and decay and passed away. Several years ago the old walnut died, and Gen. Lippencott, in his deep veneration for the name of the great American champion, purchased the tree, had it made into furniture and canes. The latter he presented to his friends, and they are now carried in every state of the Union and will be treasured by father and son for generations to come as relics of priceless value.

The friendship which Dr. Chandler cherished for Abraham Lincoln was to prove, in ways inconspicuous to the casual historian, of some real service to his friend, but chiefly through the contacts which he was able to make for him with people in places of influence in the east.

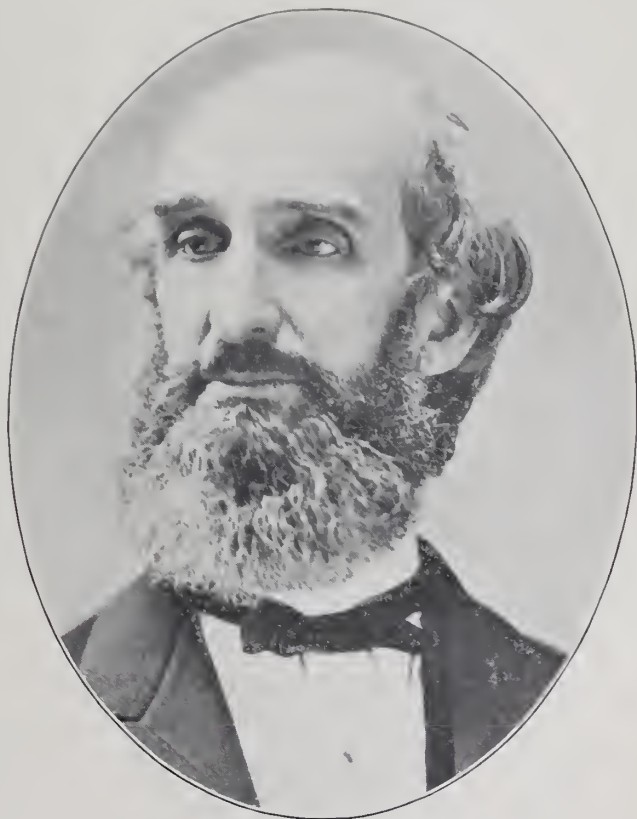
One of these "fortunate conjunctions" had its part, doubtless, in paving the way for the invitation to make the Cooper Union speech; the event which, more than any other single incident in Lincoln's career, marked a decisive turning in that path which his political genius was finding out; for it was this *speech which opened to him the door of the East and of the nation at large.

The man through whom the invitation came was *Henry Chandler Bowen, the founder and editor of the *New York Independent*, an anti-slavery Congregationalist paper and one of the leaders of radical thought in the East. It was the firm of Bowen and McNamee, silk and drygoods merchants, which Bowen had organized five years after coming to New York, that, when boycotted in the South because of his public denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Law, issued a card stating that "its goods and not its principles were for sale,"—a retort for which it was long famous.

Henry Chandler Bowen was a native of Woodstock, Connecticut, where a remote progenitor had, like Deacon John Chandler of the Doctor's line, aligned himself with the "goers" when the Woodstock contingent broke off from the Roxbury group. Six generations of collateral ancestors had fixed, through various ties of blood, marriage and propinquity, a bond of close sympathy and friendship, and a frequent inclusion of the name of Chandler in the Bowen genealogy testifies to the mutual esteem which the two families enjoyed. Thus, it was Mary Chandler, the grandmother of Henry C. Bowen who supplied his middle name; by coincidence

* On Feb. 27, 1860, he (Lincoln) delivered the remarkable address at Cooper Union, New York, which was instantly recognized as the ablest discussion of the slavery issue ever undertaken by a public speaker, and his national reputation dates from that day. "Lincoln the Lawyer," by Frederick Trevor Hill.

* Intimate Character Sketches of Abraham Lincoln: Henry B. Rankin.



HENRY CHANDLER BOWEN.
Editor of the New York Independent.

his second wife's mother had borne that name; the mother of Mr. Bowen's daughter's husband was Miriam Chandler and she, in turn, handed it on to her son, Henry Chandler Holt.

Dr. Chandler and Henry C. Bowen had sustained from their boyhood a close friendship and though as young men diverging interests had set their feet on different paths—the one leading to a pioneer village in Illinois and the other, a year later, to New York City—yet that friendship was never allowed to lapse. Dr. Chandler's frequent returns to the East sustained the continuity of their intercourse; and when the firm of Bowen and McNamee wished to retain a lawyer to protect their interests in the West, it is more than probable that his choice of Abraham Lincoln was based upon the recommendation of Dr. Chandler or, at least, was arrived at through knowledge of him gained in this way.

Nor can one doubt that as the eyes of the East turned more and more to the Middle West, where the real issue of the slavery question was being fought out, that the vague outline of that incredible new genius arising there became significant, at least to the great New York editor, as the Doctor shed the light of close personal knowledge upon his friend.

Lincoln had not yet been mentioned for the Presidency, even by that innermost circle whose increasing power was vested in the newly formed Republican party there in Illinois, when a *committee of young men from Beecher's church in Brooklyn, seeking to recoup the deficit which their Lyceum course had incurred, asked Mr. Bowen to suggest a speaker, political in type preferably, who might be billed for a popular lecture at Cooper Institute. Bowen named them this new man in Illinois and at their request, engaged him by letter for February 27th of the following year.

Before the speech had been written and given to his two secretaries for verification and reference—a task requiring two weeks, so heavy was its documentation—plans were in

* *Intimate Character Sketches of Abraham Lincoln*: by Henry B. Rankin.

making, however, for the presentation of Abraham Lincoln's name before the Decatur convention to be held in May; and it was shortly after that event that Norman P. Judd placed it—with what result we know—before the National convention in Chicago.



CAPTAIN KNOWLTON CHANDLER.
19th Regt., Ill. Vol. Inf.

XI

CHANDLERVILLE AND THE CIVIL WAR

Following hard upon those stirring events which placed Lincoln in the presidency and Richard Yates—Lippencott's old friend—in the governor's chair in Illinois, came the seceding of the South and the firing on Sumpter. Immediately after the humiliating events of that disaster, President Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand volunteers and, in response to an order from the Secretary of War, Governor Yates called for six regiments of militia for immediate service. Then "there was mounting in high haste." That shot at Sumpter changed the allegiance of Lippencott from the Democratic to the Republican party and he declared himself, unequivocally for the Union. Immediately he set to work to assist Knowlton Chandler in the organization of a company in response to the Governor's demands. Luther S. Allard was active raising men in and about Virginia. When the two contingents were united, there being a greater number from Virginia, Allard was made Captain and Chandler First Lieutenant. Soon, however, Allard resigned and Chandler was promoted to take his place. His unit became a part of the 19th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. It was Miss Butler, the principal of the little select school, whose address, touchingly expressive of those women who had made it, presented a flag to Captain Chandler. In behalf of his company he received it gratefully, vowing that wherever he should go "that precious emblem should go with him." "At Murfreesboro," says an historian of that engagement, "that beautiful flag which bore him company was torn to shreds by the bullets of the enemy, being typical of his own fate on that fatal January 2, 1863."

Captain Chandler met his death at the battle of Stone River, being instantly *killed in the very moment of victory,

* Cass County History: 1882.

while leading his command in the charge which decided the day.

But Dr. Lippencott, though zealous in the organization of the company and eager to offer his own services, could not persuade himself to the immediate step. The California experience, during which he had left his young wife for so long a period, was still a heavy memory; there was now an infant, as well, to consider, and he could not at first convince himself that he was justified in again abandoning them even in his country's cause. But news of the defeat of the Union forces at the battle of Bull Run gave a challenge to his patriotism that could no longer be withstood and in less than a month he had organized a company of forty-five men and had reported to Governor Yates as ready for service. At Camp Butler, Company K, as it was subsequently named, was recruited to full strength and on August 26, 1861, Dr. Lippencott was chosen Captain; his company was incorporated in the famous 33rd regiment of Illinois Infantry. It came to be known as the Normal regiment from the fact that so many students from the Illinois State Normal University, located at Normal, Illinois, were of its body. Charles E. Hovey, the head of the school, was appointed by President Lincoln as its first Colonel.

These were sad days for Doctor Chandler's little town. Six of its sons had left with Knowlton Chandler and twenty-four with Lippencott. Ten more went with the 14th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and thirteen with the 114th. With the last contingent went Marcus P. Chandler, Knowlton Chandler's younger brother, and Harrison Tyler Chandler, Dr. Chandler's second son, home from his first year's work at Phillips Academy where he was preparing for Harvard.

But Chandlerville, though she contributed so generously to the Union forces in the war, was by no means a unit in political sympathy. There was a strong intermingling of southern families which produced a dangerous undercurrent. The secret order of the Golden Circle was, at a later date, be-

lieved to have an organization in the neighborhood, maintained for the "aid and comfort" of the enemy, and the movements of the leaders were regarded with uneasiness. An incident, nearly disastrous in its results, came out of the nefarious activities of this element just preceding the outbreak of the war.

An old man who was an instructor in the village school, was very free in the expression of Abolition and pro-Union sentiment, and his influence was felt to be very effective in shaping the sentiment in the community. Threats had occasionally been made against him and one day a rumor reached Emily Lippencott that this band of ruffians proposed to capture the schoolmaster that night and give him a coat of tar and feathers. Both Dr. Lippencott and Dr. Chandler, the presence of either of whom would have had a restraining influence on such a movement, were temporarily out of town and Mrs. Lippencott thought with apprehension of the horror that night might bring forth.

Linus, her little son, was yet a babe in arms and she had no one else staying with her in the house. That evening she put the child to sleep and closing the doors, sat, with no lamp lighted, listening for sounds of commotion in the streets. After a time she distinguished the noise of men moving in a body and the low muttering tones of their voices. They came steadily up the street and then, to her dismay, turned suddenly in at her door, rapping sharply. This was the moment she had feared, but lighting her lamp she opened the door and demanded to know what they wanted. They explained rather quietly, that they wanted the schoolmaster and, knowing she was his friend, thought he might be hiding there and demanded to search her house.

She stood aside at that, without further protest and permitted them to come in, only requesting that they go quietly; she had, she explained, only just gotten the baby to sleep. So they searched the little house, two of them tiptoeing awkwardly as they went into the room where the sleeping child lay in

the middle of the bed. They looked about, peered under the bed and in the closet and then went away satisfied.

After they had gone she sat for a long time thinking over the adventure. The danger to herself had not been great, but it had been an exciting moment and she shuddered to think what violence those rough men would reek upon the schoolmaster if they should find him. After a time the street noises died away. There were no more echoes of passing feet and she felt that the marauders must have given up the search and gone home for the night.

Then she got up from her chair by the lamp and went into the bed-room. She picked up the baby gently, and laid him in his little crib; then she turned back the immense feather bed from the straw mattress underneath and *released from durance the little old Yankee gentleman*. Very gently and very, very quietly she let him out into the night and he stealthily departed from her house and from the town where free speech was intolerantly received and so summarily punished.

Mails arriving at Chandlerville, during those years of the war, were of tremendous importance to Dr. Chandler since they were the sole means of communicating with the youths from that section now at the front—many of whom he had delivered into the world. Among these were the three sons of his brother Marcus, and two members of his own family, Harrison, his eldest son, and Dr. Lippencott.

Harrison Chandler, who had enlisted as a Sergeant, was in time commissioned quartermaster, though ranking as quartermaster-Sergeant. His regiment, the 114th Infantry, was sent at once into the deep South and almost the entire period of its service was spent there. It was attached to McMillan's Brigade, McArthur's division of General A. J. Smith's Corps, which Brigade was especially complimented by General Thomas in his report to the War Department.

It entered first upon the Tallahatchie campaign, returning to Memphis in 1863. In May of that year it was engaged

in the battle of Jackson where it lost five men; two weeks later it participated in the siege of Vicksburg with a loss of twenty men, killed and wounded; and June of 1863 saw it taking part in the battle of Guntown, a six hour engagement during which the regiment lost more than half of its men—two hundred and five out of three hundred and ninety-seven. Late summer saw it skirmishing in Arkansas and Missouri, but by December it was back at Nashville where it engaged in battles on the 15th and 16th of the month. After the surrender at Mobile, it was sent to Montgomery and there, after bridging the Alabama River with pontoons, remained on duty till ordered to Vicksburg to be mustered out on August 3, 1865.

During those years of service Harrison Chandler received no severe wounds but at some period of service in the South he contracted the typhus fever and the Doctor, receiving word of his condition, went down and brought him back to his home where he remained till his recovery was established. He returned, when he was able again to take up arms, and served till the end of the war.

“Company K,” which Captain Lippencott of the 33rd Illinois Infantry took out from Camp Butler in the first year of the war, was destined also, to distinguish itself by a valorous record. It was made up almost entirely of Cass county men and among them was Thomas B. Chandler, the third son of Marcus Chandler. Captain Lippencott’s regiment was ordered to southeastern Missouri where rebel bush rangers were troublesome and through that fall and winter it participated in a series of small engagements that scarcely exceeded the definition of a skirmish. In March of 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel Lockwood resigning, Captain Lippencott succeeded to his rank and in September, his superior officer being raised to the grade of Brigadier General, Lippencott was promoted to the rank of Colonel.

The spring and summer of that year was scarcely more gloriously employed by the 33rd in Arkansas, where, for a

time, it was engaged in nothing more important than scouting along the Mississippi river; but in March following, the regiment joined forces under General Grant, then investing Vicksburg.

The record of this regiment's service during the forty-seven days of this campaign, is one that has brought honor and distinction to its military history. "At Champion Hill, Black River Bridge and assaults upon the fortifications," wrote one historian of that event, "no troops of that grand army excelled those Illinoisans for desperate courage, marvelous endurance and perfect discipline. Though they fell before the shot and shell of the enemy, not one wavered nor faltered in his duty. Inspired by the loftiest sentiment of patriotism, their heroism added luster to the great state they nobly represented. Colonel Lippencott was in his glory. Where the battle raged most fiercely he led his men on, as eager for the fray and as fearlessly as when hunting deer in the Sangamon bottom. In a general assault on the main defense of the enemy, on the 22nd of May, he was wounded, but not so severely as to compel him to leave the *field."

In January of 1864 Colonel Lippencott re-enlisted "for the war," and with the veterans so declared was allowed a month's furlough. This contingent proceeded from New Orleans up the Mississippi to Cairo and from there to Bloomington where the "Normal" was welcomed royally. From there Colonel Lippencott went directly to his home. There were now two small sons in Emily Lippencott's care, Winthrop having been born on November 5, 1860.

After the reassembling of the 33rd at Camp Butler, a month later, it was again sent to Louisiana and there in the swamps and bayous served guard during the terrible months of that southern summer. It was not till the following March,

* It is a remarkable coincidence that four members of the Chandler connection, in their separate units, participated in this siege. Colonel Lippencott and Thomas B. Chandler of the 33rd, Harrison T. Chandler of the 114th, and Rensselaer Child (the old comrade of Lippencott and Knowlton Chandler on the overland trail) who had enlisted from California, but in Company L, 11th Illinois Cavalry (see Pension Records, Washington, D. C.). Child was wounded in this battle and died at Hospital No. 2, Vicksburg, Miss., September 13, 1864.

in fact, that it was relieved from this position. On the 3rd it left for Mobile to take part in the attack on Spanish Port. Again, at Fort Blakely, the 33rd was in reserve when news came of Lee's surrender at Appomattox. On May 10th, Lieutenant-Colonel Elliot, long having awaited promotion, Colonel Lippencott resigned his commission to permit the rank of Colonel to be conferred upon his friend. On February 17th, following, Colonel Lippencott was brevetted Brigadier General and after the fall of Mobile was given the title of Brigadier General of Veterans.

The news of the surrender of Appomattox, bringing to Chandlerville as to every other village, town and city in the Union a very abandonment of joy—expressed in the ringing of bells, the firing of salutes and in flags set floating to the April breeze—was quickly followed by an incredible pall of gloom, “like a great cloud darkening the land,” conferred by the tragic intelligence of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

In this particular section of the country where so many years of his life had been lived, and where so many recollections brought him near to the community, a personal grief was added to the deep sense of national disaster. The old Beardstown road that had felt his familiar presence through twenty years of association, which he had traveled on foot and horseback, by ox-cart and in Dr. Chandler's carriage, should know his place no more. Not the Great Emancipator, nor Mr. Lincoln the lawyer, but Abe the friend. Along that meandering road, and in the little towns it passed, emblems of mourning were seen upon the doors and flags at half-mast were draped in deepest black. All had lost a President, many had lost a neighbor, and Dr. Chandler and many others besides, had lost a friend.

Of the several Cass County units in the war the 114th was the first to be mustered out. This was in August. In September Colonel Lippencott returned, having, as we have seen, resigned to allow his friend Elliot to succeed to the colonelcy,

which title he himself had worn with gallantry for three years. But Lieutenant Knowlton Chandler was not among the returning veterans of the gallant 19th. He was already lying in the little cemetery that over-topped the town, the laurels of the hero upon his brow.

Back they came in broken groups, a sadly diminished number, all through the summer and fall of 1865. Some of them were ill, many of them broken. Four years had been taken out of youth; but the Union was saved.

XII

THE DOCTOR'S FAMILY

Harrison Chandler was scarcely home from the war before he turned his steps eastward with intent to get himself a wife. At Andover he had met and affianced the lovely Ellen Foster whose father was President of Phillips Academy and longer delay, now that the war had broken the formal pattern of his life, was not to be endured. He returned with her to Chandlerville and at once laid the foundations both of his domestic and his business life.

Charles, too, the eldest son, had "prepared" at Phillips, though for his advanced work he had attended St. Paul's College at Palmyra, Missouri, where his father's cousin, Wm. Beston Corbin, was president. For the medical career which he proposed to follow, he had gone to St. Louis University, and in 1859 he had married Cordelia Beard, the niece of his father's old friend, Thomas Beard.

Both of the younger sons, John and Linus were sent to Phillips and to Harvard. Linus graduated in law from the latter school and after a short experience in the office of Higgins, Swett & Quiggs, and afterwards with Nolton, Smith and Scales, terminated by the great fire, he returned home and opened an office of his own.

It was there he married Sarah L. Beane who, with her sister Ellen, had come from New Hampshire to teach in the public schools at Chandlerville and to share, while there, the home of their uncle, the Rev. Phineas Adams Beane, minister to the Congregational church at that place.

The entrance of the Misses Beane into the Chandlerville school, just then badly in need of inspiring scholastic influences, was timely and richly rewarded the perspicacity of Dr. Chandler at whose behest they had come west, for they proved worthy exponents of the exceptional pedagogical traditions

of their family. Of their father's several brothers, one was the founder of the Detroit Seminary of Detroit, Michigan; a second had the management of a like school at Beloit, Wisconsin; and the Rev. Adam Beane himself—like his brothers, a Dartmouth man—had only abandoned the principalship of the West Farmington Seminary at Farmington, Ohio, because of a conscientious conviction that he owed to the ministry—for which profession he had been educated—the remaining years of his life.

Both of the Misses Beane were graduates of Newbury Academy, Vermont, then one of the leading schools for young women in the East. They had had some experience as teachers before coming west and their success there had inspired the hope that they would bring about a radical improvement in the school at Chandlerville.

Their arrival, however, was awaited with considerable misgiving by two young lads among the advanced pupils there. The reputation which foreran the new teachers and which they heard continually stressed in the talk of their elders, aroused in the boys a fierce sense of antagonism, the more formidable because of the authority by which the new instructors were backed—the minister and Dr. Chandler. They had, moreover, good reason to know the force of this authority, for they were the minister's young son and the Doctor's eldest grandson. It was the latter, William Bird Shaw, who became the family's most beloved raconteur, who related, in later years, how these two young scamps, their hearts hot with rebellion and fully fixed upon a course of determined resistance to petticoat discipline, sneaked down to the station when the train bringing the teachers was due and, keeping well out of sight of their elders, found a point of vantage from which to size up these middle-aged, sharp-chinned, thin-lipped spinsters which their imagination had conjured up.

Instead, they were astonished to see descending from the train, two beautiful and most elegant young women dressed in a degree of fashion which Godey's Lady's Book had given

them to know as the latest Paris style; every accessory from hat-box to reticule, be-speaking the most feminine characteristics. As the train steamed away and the party moved down the streets, the boys disentangled themselves from the crowd and, following as closely as possible, observed every engaging charm and carriage and manner and when the parsonage door finally shut them from view remained leaning upon the gate lost in the strange bewilderment of enraptured adolescents.

The marriage of Linus Chandler to Sarah L. Beane, the younger of the sisters, took place on September 5, 1873, and the Doctor's satisfaction expressed itself in the gift of a house which he built for the pair on ground which the right-of-way of the Illinois River Railway now, since the first year of the war, the Peoria, Pekin and Jacksonville Railway—had cut off from the Doctor's own lawn.

Such interest as this story may lay claim to must center now, for a time, as indeed the village interest centered, around a figure collateral to the main theme, but one dominating by right of dramatic insistence, the little stage on which it moved. For Dr. Lippencott—now General Lippencott—"had come back." As the military hero of the community, the veteran of not less than ten great battles, he had cancelled the score of former failures and misfortunes; and since that change of allegiance which the call to arms, after Sumpter, compelled, he was now on the right side of the political fence and his friends were in the saddle. Richard Yates, his colleague of old "Illinois" days, had finished his term as Governor of the state and had gone to Washington as Senator from Illinois; Richard Oglesby was now in the gubernatorial chair; General McClermand, another war hero now back at Springfield, was interesting himself in politics and many another comrade was in the field. The profession of medicine for which he had never felt any great enthusiasm, as well as the role of Biblical commentator, was abandoned.

The social nature of the man—a temperament congenial to the career he was presently to espouse—now expressed itself in generous personal hospitality and in public entertainment; and the square frame* house which stood on a hill overlooking not only the town but a fine sweep of river valley—Dr. Chandler's gift to Emily Lippencott—became the scene of many pleasant festivities where the best intellect and ability of the region were gathered. Such men as his old friends, Newton Bateman, Dr. Wm. Jayne and Governor Oglesby knew this pleasant house and its charming mistress as well, and his influence brought to the public forum of the village many speakers of note.

Yet, for all his popularity and his many influential friends, his first essay for public office—a seat in Congress—for which he was nominated in 1866, met with defeat. The following year, however, he was elected to the office that his father had filled in the old Vandalia days, that of Secretary of the State Senate, though he presently resigned this place to accept the appointment of Doorkeeper to the National House of Representatives.

But better things were yet in store for him and, in 1868, he was elected to the office of State Auditor of Accounts of Illinois and re-elected at the end of his first term. This was the beginning of his period of great prosperity and of personal success.

Not only were the emoluments of office, at this time—under the fee system then obtaining—enormous but the country at large, or at least the northern country, was riding the topmost wave of prosperity so often incident to the post-war period. One of those eras of expansion was sweeping the land when unwarranted extravagances were preparing the way for a tragic repetition of the old "Internal Improvement" catastrophe. Prices were high and money seemed to flow from coffers long sealed by the exigencies of war.

* The title of this house descended by bequest to the grand-niece of Mrs. Lippencott, Mrs. Otto Dorr, who, with her family, now occupies it.

About the time of General Lippencott's re-election to the second term of office he bought from Dr. Chandler a fine tract of farm land adjoining the village—two hundred and forty-eight acres—which became the nucleus of the great stock farm which he called Flat Meadows.* He added to this by various purchases until he had—though not in one tract—more than eight hundred acres. He equipped Flat Meadows suitably with a house, large barns and various other out buildings and prepared for the extensive breeding and raising of fine stock.

With his wife and two sons he now lived in Springfield where the duties of his office and his political interests engrossed his time, but he installed Robert Stephenson, brother of his old comrade at arms, B. F. Stephenson—the founder of the G. A. R.—as manager and began the breeding of fine horses and cattle at Flat Meadows.

During his residence in Springfield he dispensed a lavish hospitality and Emily Lippencott, whose social gifts were not less than her personal fortitude, proved herself such a hostess as contributed widely to his fame. Here, as always, she was much admired. "You should have seen the respect the leading men of Illinois showed her," wrote her niece; and Governor Oglesby was perhaps more in earnest than in jest when he said to her husband that if he, the General, were half the man his wife was there would be no political height to which he might not attain.

Indeed, General Lippencott was looked upon at this time as the next logical aspirant to the †governorship of Illinois, and it was believed that but for the recklessness with which he rode the wave of his momentary prosperity and, perhaps, for the somewhat intemperate habits which the life in the

* When Zimri Enos, a famous surveyor of his day, surveyed Flat Meadows for General Lippencott he also made a plat of these lands and of the town. General Lippencott had a carload of limestone markers shipped in that were exceptionally substantial, being twelve by twelve inches at the top, dressed down one foot, and having a base eighteen inches square. "This located this section of the country for all time to come," writes Mr. John Goodell (Goodell Correspondence). "We find these corners extremely reliable and correct and in accordance with the original United States Survey." The plat is a very fine piece of work and now hangs in Mr. Goodell's office. It is said that the work cost General Lippencott one thousand seven hundred dollars.

† Snyder: Charles Elliott Lippencott: Historical Sketch.

gold camp and in the army had engendered—disaffecting the more conservative element in the Republican party—he would certainly have attained that high office.

These were great days for Chandlerville, for not only did General Lippencott open the doors of his own house to the friends from home, but many other doors as well, including those of the governor's mansion; and celebrities about the streets of the town became so common a sight as almost to obviate casual mention. But not only were individuals welcomed as the General's guests, but enormous rallies that were part of the campaign policy, were augmented by great entertainments provided at his own expense at Flat Meadows. One barbecue held there was long remembered. The guests arrived by special train chartered by the host and were feasted in such style as to suggest a Roman prodigality. More than five hundred men were entertained on this occasion and many speeches, delivered from a platform built for the purpose, were heard afterwards. An amusing bit of persiflage is recalled illustrating the *noblesse oblige* of the occasion.

Ex-governor Yates was the main speaker of that day and his remarks, preliminary to the main address, in compliment to hospitality, especially stressed the roast beef, asserting that its superior flavor pointedly proved the General's claim for the high beef quality of Short Horn cattle, for which Flat Meadows was fast becoming famous. At the close of the speech, and before introducing the next speaker, General Lippencott replied in humorous vein, expressing deep appreciation of the compliment to his herds and declared that had he known that Governor Yates' epicurean taste was as remarkable as his political acumen he would have roasted, in his honor, no less an aristocrat than the Duchess of York herself.

The Duchess, it was well known, was the prize Durham heifer whose acquisition—his last extravagance—had cost him ten thousand dollars; a price so immoderate in the eyes of the average stock man of that day—who felt that the best

cow on the market could be bought for a twentieth of that sum—as to be regarded as a piece of monumental folly. A Durham Bull, purchased for seventeen thousand dollars, still further outraged the sensibilities of the conservatives and when the heifer proved barren and the bull died the double disaster was dated back to prophecy.

As a matter of history the part which General Lippencott played in the development of animal industry in Illinois was of considerable service. Kentucky had long since begun to experiment with the building up of values by the infusion of thorough bred blood into native scrub stock. Other states were now following this method and in Illinois a few men were interested in introducing superior strains both of horses and cattle. General Lippencott was one of those interested in Short Horns, as the Durham cattle were called.

The rounding of the cycle, bringing prosperity to a sudden pause, resulted in the usual period of panic and those breeders found heavily encumbered with herds, bought at an absurd price, must take a heavy loss. This financial climacteric found General Lippencott so involved. The total loss of his breeding animals, in which twenty-seven thousand dollars was invested, was the last ruinous collapse of his wave of prosperity.

Though he had not bought so heavily in horses as in cattle, yet he was greatly interested in that branch of stock breeding also. His famous stallion,* Rock Island Bashaw, was a noted progenitor of good horses in the valley. The colts of this sire and their descendants, ran into thousands and he was regarded as a great benefactor. The Bashaw was a splendid all-purpose farm horse.

After General Lippencott's second term as State Auditor expired he moved to Flat Meadows and for a time continued to carry on the business of stock raising. Those years were rich in experience and in associations, for his hospitality, though less lavish, was always at the disposal of his friends;

* Goodell Correspondence.

but in 1884, the increasing burden of the heavy up-keep and the persistent low prices, led to that financial disaster, the seeds of which he had sowed so recklessly during his few years of prosperity. Flat Meadows was taken by the mortgage which he had placed on it in the height of his Short Horn enthusiasm; a great sale disposed of the last of his fine stock and with his family, he again went to live in the frame house on the hill.

Less than three years were spent there, however, when he received from his friend Oglesby, now for a second time elected to the Governor's chair, the appointment making him governor of the newly erected Sailors' and Soldiers' Home at Quincy. The Home, an institution splendidly built and equipped, stood, as it stands today, in the midst of eighty-two acres of ground (though one hundred and forty acres have been added since). General Lippencott was admirably suited to his new office and entered upon his duties with enthusiasm in March of 1887. He was then sixty-two years old. Both he and his wife found his new position a congenial one and at once were taken to the hearts of the veterans for whose welfare they were responsible.

After leaving Flat Meadows General Lippencott had sustained a slight stroke of paralysis, but had immediately recovered and was now apparently in robust health; but near the end of that summer he was stricken with apoplexy. He was taken to a Springfield hospital for care and treatment and there made such strides towards recovery that he again returned to the Home; but a second stroke followed shortly, to which he succumbed.

His funeral, a military one, of course, was conducted by the Stephenson Post of the G. A. R. of Quincy. He was interred at Springfield in Oak Ridge cemetery with the pomp and ceremony accorded only to a man whose public service had been an important one. The guard of honor immediately following the hearse, as the cortege passed from the church to the cemetery, was composed of white-haired veterans from

the Home, dressed in full field uniform. In the list of honorary pall-bearers one reads the names of his closest friends: Governor Oglesby, General Palmer, General McClernand, General John Cook, Colonel Wickersham, Hon. Shelby M. Cullom and Hon. O. M. Hatch.

Soon after the death of her husband, Emily Lippencott was appointed Matron of the Home. The love now bereft by the death of its last dear objects—her husband, her three sons, her father and mother—now expended itself with all its depths of tenderness and solicitude upon the aged men placed in her care; a solicitude indeed, repaid by the unbounded devotion which they returned to her until her death on May 21, 1895.

Scarcely had she been laid beside her husband in that cemetery whose chief eminence is dominated by the tomb of the Great Emancipator when the veterans began laying plans for a memorial that should honor this beloved woman. As these plans became more ambitious it was decided to make the memorial a joint one, honoring General Lippencott as well, and so to the private contributions of veterans other sums, representing profits from the Home store, were added and on December 20, 1900, the building which was the fruit of this effort, the Lippencott Memorial Hall, was dedicated, Governor John R. Tanner formally presenting it to the State.

The Lippencott Memorial Hall, erected on the parade grounds of the Home, is used for religious exercises, entertainments and the like and has a seating capacity of about a thousand. It is a very handsome building, the finest of the very fine group now there on the grounds, and keeps green the memory of the Home's first governor and of her whom the veterans of the war-between-the-states endeared by the name of "Mother Lippencott."

XIII

JOURNEY'S END

The death of Dr. Chandler antedated that of his illustrious son-in-law by eight years. He passed away in 1879. He was on the credit side of that ledger that allotted him three score years and ten, and though he had still practiced his profession yet, since the accident which he had suffered in 1849, resulting in a cardiac injury, he had abstained from its more arduous labors such as the long rides and the night calls involved. His interest in business continued, but new ventures were less alluring and, as opportunities offered, he disposed of various land-holdings so that his outlying possessions required less and less attention.

The death of his wife, Clarissa, on March 11, 1873, was the one sorrow dimming those placid years, a grief that was never quite assuaged though after a time Mrs. Shaw, now a widow, came with her son, to live with him and to maintain for him a home in that house where so many births and marriages and deaths held their unrelenting memories. It was as though the little Mary Jane who had taken that first adventurous ride with him up the old Beardstown road on a day in June, forty-seven years before, and who had been the consolation of himself and Mary Chandler during the first lonely months in the little cabin home must, with the relentless logic of love, come now to bide with him till he had reached his journey's end.

During the six years that remained he must often have pondered over the astonishing development of the Illinois country as the past unrolled itself before his inward vision in a long retrospect. That lovely valley of the Sangamon which Thomas Beard had shown him from the bluff above the present town of Chandlerville, and which now revealed a panorama of varied fields and richly fruited farms was, in itself, symbol and token of the progress of the commonwealth.



DR. CHARLES CHANDLER.
Taken about 1850.

Nowhere in the history of America, perhaps, has development along many lines been so astonishingly accomplished in a brief period of time as is shown in the records of Illinois in that quarter of a century following the establishment of the Illinois Central Railroad in 1851. During that time the expansion exceeded the most extravagant dreams of the visionary; for not only had she attained to the foremost place among the states in agriculture, but the enormous growth of her live-stock interests—to which General Lippencott's unfortunate experiments were a small contribution—had made Chicago the shipping center of America. With the establishment of the Chicago Stock Yards Company in 1865, Cincinnati, that "Porkopolis" to which the drover had long turned his steps, passed from the center of shipping interest and the City by the Lake became, in the ironic phrase of one of her poets, "Hog Butcher of the World." At the middle of the century the whole of Illinois boasted but one hundred and ten miles of railway. Now she counted her mileage by thousands and no less than four steel roads came into Cass county alone.* Manufacturing, which in the early decades was represented in Illinois only by the "mass production" of jewelry which John Kinzie, the founder of Chicago, furnished to the Indian trade was, in 1870, estimated at seventy-eight millions.

In education the Frontier State scarcely could be said to have kept step with her advance along commercial lines yet, here too, she could show progress. The four-room brick building which by now served the village of Chandlerville as a school, sustained a typical relationship to the state at large. The Free School Law, which Joseph Duncan had labored so faithfully to have enacted, had resulted in the district school, that "lone outpost of the alphabet" which placed the opportunities of a rudimentary education within the reach of every child, however remotely situated. Twenty colleges and many industrial and parochial schools were in existence and the

* Illinois Resources, Development, Possibilities. Ill. Chamber of Commerce.

“Land Act,” whose basic plan Jonathan Baldwin Turner had promulgated, had paved the way for the University of Illinois.

The great Fair at Philadelphia, in 1876, by which America celebrated her hundred years of national independence, was witnessed by Dr. Chandler on what was probably his last journey to the East. In that Exposition he beheld the products of a young nation, from infancy to maturity, crystallized in a magic microcosm. And he beheld the nucleus of that development in the arts—so nearly insignificant at the moment—which was to receive its first great impulse from the stimulating impact of foreign talent upon native genius.

Doubtless on that visit he met many old friends, for the genial and sincere nature of the man conduced to long unbroken friendships; and it is remembered that among the pleasant contacts which came into his later reminiscence was a meeting with the Philadelphia publisher and philanthropist, George W. Child.

On July 2 of 1878, Dr. Chandler celebrated his seventy-second birthday with a family party. Though it might not have been suspected from his apparent health, it was to be his last anniversary. Most of the Doctor's family were still residents of their native town. Mary Jane now made her home with him; *Harrison T. had become the local banker; †John was a druggist with a store of his own on Main Street; and Linus was the lawyer of the village. The Lippencotts were, at this time, on the Flat Meadows farm which adjoined the Doctor's home; but Charles, who had abandoned the profession for which he had been trained and was traveling for a firm of druggists, must come from Knoxville, and Louise Frackelton from Petersburg. Seven sons and daughters with their wives and husbands, together with sixteen grandchildren, made up the Doctor's party.

* Harrison T. Chandler later became one of the founders of Chandler & Price Company, manufacturers of Gordon printing presses, located in Cleveland, Ohio.

† John T. Chandler married Miss Emma Morse on July 1, 1867.

The occasion was, of course, a pleasant one—the last of the happy memories that the T-shaped house should hold: for every grandchild, from the eldest down, loved this home and loved the “grand old man” who was its patriarch. One episode alone, nearly marred the tranquillity of that day; for one young descendant whose years were less than three—and whose name appears on the fly-leaf of this work, yielding to a sudden onslaught of the wander-lust, surreptitiously absented himself from the party and, contriving to reach the station without detection, boarded the train where, standing upon the rear platform, he prepared, as the train swept by the house, to wave the assembled group upon the lawn an impressive farewell. The officious interference of the conductor, suddenly discovering the culprit, put an end to his fine adventure by returning him to his family—under escort.

Many special features had been planned into the day, as though to make it one that should be remembered by every little guest—unless one except the two babes-in-arms, the sons of Harrison and Charles, born on the same day and named by them in one another’s honor. But the crowning event was the presentation of an arm-chair, the gift of all to the doctor. It was placed under the great catalpa tree in the side yard. A canopy was stretched above the chair, for the July sun could not be disregarded, and while he sat so enthroned with Caesar, the aged Saint Bernard, his constant companion, at his feet, the children sang a little song written in his honor and for which they had been duly trained.

It was General Lippencott who made the presentation and the tribute which he conveyed, though couched in the flowing rhetorical phrasing of that day, sincerely expressed the emotions of love and affection with which Dr. Chandler was regarded.

“They feel,” he said in the course of the address, speaking for the guests assembled there, “how no activity in business, no crowding care, no incident of your busy and full life, has ever defrauded them, or any one of them for a moment, of

your affection, your sympathy or your care. And not least precious of all that crowns this anniversary of your life with happy and enviable feeling should be to you the knowledge that you have won, and now hold, not only the highest respect and pride of all your children—but their best affection and tenderest love. And let me say for those who have entered your family, by marriage to your daughters and your sons, that these feelings have won their full sympathy; and they, also are proud and happy to call you father.”

The following year was to mark the death of three members of this happy group. In January, Winthrop the second and last surviving son of General and Emily Lippencott, succumbed to pneumonia and in September, John Chandler died of consumption. It was midway between these dates, on April 17th, that the Doctor passed from life. On the day previous he had taken John, then wasted by disease, for a ride behind “old Crocket,” the horse that now took him on all his errands about the town and country-side. As he lifted the emaciated form of his son from the carriage to the ground a neighbor, glancing at the touching spectacle, reflected sadly on the strange anomaly whereby age reversed the usual order of life by serving youth. On the morrow, seeking to arouse the sleeping form, his daughter found that death had been before. The Italians have a saying that “Whom God loves he lets die in his sleep.” Providence had granted him this ultimate benignity.

The funeral ceremonies were conducted by a friend of many years, the Rev. Albert Hale, the same who preached the funeral sermon of Abraham Lincoln. A heavy, driving rain fell steadily, but a great concourse of people came to pay respect and to follow his ashes to the grave.* “A stranger could have read in the faces of the people,” wrote one who attended this ceremony, “that a good man and a great had fallen in death.”

* Because of this heavy downpour, actual interment was delayed until the following day.

Standing by the bier, his voice choking with grief, Dr. Hale paid a last tribute to his friend and to "his almost perfect character as a man." He said, "There is no purity of mind or character which can excel that of his manly heart. There is no kindness, even of mother, sister or wife, which can surpass the tenderness which dwelt in his nature; there is no courage higher or truer than that which always made him ready to devote himself and his to what he felt to be the right. And those who have known him longest and most intimately do not more admire him as a physician than as a man.

As a man—one of their best, truest, noblest—let the men of Cass County mourn him, and above all imitate him."

EPILOGUE.

The T-shaped house, long passed from family possession, suffered a shameful end. That sturdy structure which should have endured through hundreds of years, has actually fallen, bit by bit, till not a single upright stands upon those stones by which the superstructure was rooted to the earth. Only the old catalpa tree, whose aged branches once sheltered the birthday party, keeps green the memory of that happy time. Beneath this tree the marker placed by the Lincoln Memorial Highway Association stands.

But the village which Dr. Chandler founded still thrives in the pleasant valley and a fine broad highway, sweeping past, makes easy those contacts with the outside world once so hardly accomplished by the old Beardstown Road. The feet of the century have been swift and its gifts prodigious; but none have equalled its gift of splendid men. Men of the pioneering mould; those "goers" whose vision saw far beyond the horizon that rimmed their little world and set their feet on paths that were hard and strange and sometimes perilous; so to become essential factors in that new and ampler world that is always and everywhere about us in the building.

Of this gift Charles Chandler was a part; and his contribution to the civilization which he helped to found was not less precise and integral than that which the remarkable qualities of his mind and character conferred upon the four generations that now—after a hundred years—make up the roll of his descendants.

And Death, who had plucked him by the ear, like Virgil's Syrian Dancer, had been his friend; for during the whole of his three and seventy years he had LIVED.



W. S. G. ALLEN, CO. "F," 12TH ILLINOIS VOL. CAVALRY

CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF WINTHROP S. G. ALLEN.

BY HARRY E. PRATT

The following letters were written by Winthrop Sargeant Gilman Allen of Greenfield, Illinois, to his sisters Hattie Allen and Jane Allen Tunnell, and his brother-in-law W. A. Tunnell. W. S. G. Allen was born in Greenfield, July 20, 1837, the son of George Washington Allen and Caroline Henderson Allen. His father founded the town of Greenfield, was its postmaster, miller, merchant and landowner. Winthrop graduated from the local seminary, then helped his father run the flour mill till he enlisted in Co. F, 12th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry on October 7, 1861.

The 12th Ill. Vol. Cavalry was organized at Camp Butler in February, 1862, and remained there guarding Confederate prisoners until June 25th when it was mounted and sent to Martinsburg, Virginia. The regiment had a notable escape from Harper's Ferry on September 14, 1862, and was later attached to General Slocum's Corps. In the winter of 1862-63 he was in the vicinity of Washington scouting. The rigors of camp life forced him into the Columbian hospital in Washington during most of the year 1863. The latter part of his service was in the quartermaster's department as clerk at Springfield, Illinois, where he was honorably discharged on January 25, 1865.

Returning to Greenfield he conducted the flour mill until it was sold in 1876, then turned to grain dealing until his death in 1901. He never married. He was a man of culture and musical talent, particularly known as a fine violinist.

His letters are now in the possession of his niece Miss Elsie Allen, Greenfield, and his only surviving sister, Mrs. Caroline Allen Noftsker of Rock Island.

Harry E. Pratt.

[W. S. G. Allen to his sister Hattie.]

Camp Butler,
November 13, 1861.

Sister Hattie—

I have commenced twice to answer your letter but before I finished it something has broken in. I will try again however as I have a chance to send it down by John Linder. We are still here but do not know when we may leave. There are many reports from different persons some say we will stay here, others say we are to go to Cairo, but none knows anything about it. We have been assigned to Logan's Regt. at last but I would have preferred to have been with Cavannaugh's Cavalry Regiment and if the matter had been left to the Company we would have stayed with him (Cavannaugh) but the Captain considered himself bound first to Logan.

We have had no election yet but expect to have soon, it is very uncertain how it will terminate. We are getting along very well with our drill. Jack Drennon drills us most. The Captain drills less than any other man in the company. We drew our uniform about ten days ago. I need not describe it as I suppose you have seen some of the boys at home since that time. I received a letter from Sake¹ last Monday morning but have not answered it yet, but I shall in a few days. I suppose father is about well by this time I was very much concerned about him. To speak of myself particularly, I am fat and hearty, feel better look better and *am better* in every respect than I ever was. My weight is 160 pounds, 13 more than I ever weighed before. So you may tell all the folks that they need not to think of me when it rains, freezes, thaws or snows for I am bound to live well since we get our living without price. I have no more time to write, in the next I hope to be able to give full particulars. My love to all.

Yours truly—

W. S. G. Allen.

¹ Sarah Ann (1830-1908), his second sister.

“No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted.” Gen. Grant.

Camp Butler,
March 21st 1862

Sister Jane:—

According to promise I seat myself to write you a few lines. I arrived here safely Tuesday evening, having stayed over night at Judge [Lewis] Solomons, 8 miles this side of Scottville. The next day after we arrived we were reported to the Colonel who sent for us. We found Old Ephriam (Capt.)² there with the most triumphant grin on his countenance you ever beheld, and looked as much like Satan as anything of life could. The Lieut Col (Davis) asked us a few questions and told us to consider ourselves under arrest and to report ourselves at 9 o'clock the next morning.

Col. Voss having arrived in the night we reported ourselves to him before Capt. saw him and he said our excuse was sufficient, he having knowledge of the roads knew them to be in such a condition that it would have been injurious to our horses to have come back within the time. I write the above particulars because I suppose you will hear of our arrest and may be misinformed about it and also that you may see the difference between our Capt. and Col. The one seems to do everything in his power to make his men miserable and at the same time appear to be compelled to do so by the orders of the Col., while the other wishes to enforce strict discipline, while using his good sense in their favor, without prejudice to the service. He (Gilmore) was so wrathful because we were not here Sunday morning that in a frenzy he said that if we were not punished, he would give no more furloughs, or he would resign and as he has already given the first, he will make himself a liar or he will resign, go home and plow or hoe corn which is the only office he can fill with honor or profit.

² Gilmore, Capt. Ephriam M., rank Dec. 31, '61, resigned June 28, '62.

I understand that the Col. says that he considers the prospect of the Regt. being disbanded very good, and if we are not disbanded he says we will stay here all next summer. Tell Ben³ I forgot the money he had for me and as I borrowed money to come home with I must have it. Get \$2.00 from him and send it up in your next. Write soon. My love to all.

Yours affectly,

W. G. Allen

Co. F 12th Regt

Ill Cavalry.

“THE FEDERAL UNION IT MUST BE PRESERVED”

Camp Butler Springfield, Ill.

Tuesday Morning, Apr. 8th 1862

Sister Jane:—

Your letter of the 30th ult. I have just received and read, and although more than a week old was read with pleasure. I am glad to hear of your good health and that you all seem so satisfied and contented with yourselves and the world—I wish I could say as much for myself, that I was satisfied with my lot. I wish that I could see some encouraging signs in the future for me to build my hopes upon. I have aspirations like every other man has and ought to have, and when this is the case you know that unless there are some hopes for him, the prospect or rather the future must look dreary indeed, now this is how I feel today and I fear, I ought not to attempt writing while I have such a fit of the blues, and it is just such a drizzly, rainy, damp day as most surely brings the blues with it, and makes one most despise camp life. But as you see I have *filled* one page, and have *written* nothing yet.

The prisoners still escape one or two at a time. There are some farmers near the camp who are suspected of harboring them. One of them was visited by a detail from our com-

³ Allen, George Benson (1840-1887) brother of W. S. G. Allen. Ben bought large numbers of horses and mules for the government during the war.

pany, under Sergt Matlock⁴ last night, and his house and premises searched, but they found nothing suspicious, and after watching his house during the remainder of the night they came home. There is some talk about camp being broken up and the prisoners being sent to Camp Douglas. Col. Morrison, I understand, has gone to St. Louis to confer with Gen. Halleck on the subject. I think the camp will be broken up soon, as it was continued as a recruiting post, and as the recruiting officers have all been called in and Col. Morrison ordered to his Regt. the 8th Regular Infantry. I do not see what use we could be here after the prisoners are gone, for they must send them to some safer place where they can be kept with greater security,⁵ I am very well at present and I hope to continue so.

My love to all.
Yours truly,
W. S. G. Allen.

Camp Near Martinsburg, Va.
July 26th 1862

Dear Sister Hattie—⁶

I suppose you with all the folks think yourself neglected by my not writing to you oftener, but I only promised to write to some of you once a week and I think I have kept my promise tolerably well considering the disadvantages a soldier naturally labors under—and now at this date and length of time since I received your last—it is a great task to undertake the answering of it—but I have just received a letter from Sake and Howard of the 20th inst. the first I have received from any of you for some 6 or 8 weeks. I was very glad to hear from you all and to know that you were all well and in such fine spirits.

⁴Matlock, Sergeant James M., enlisted Oct. 7, 1861; promoted to Second Lieutenant, Jan. 28, 1862.

⁵The 12th Ill. Vol. Cavalry was organized at Camp Butler in February, 1862, and remained there guarding Confederate prisoners until June 25th, when it was mounted and sent to Martinsburg, Virginia.

⁶Allen, Harriet "Hattie" (1834-1889) sister of W. S. G. Allen.

I do not know why I cannot hear from some of you oftener. I have had nothing from Ben for 3 months or more. I made some inquiries of him in a letter with regard to our affairs with him but received no answer to them. I wish he would write to me and tell me all the business prospects, as I suppose he is better acquainted with them. I wrote a letter to father last week which I think you may have received ere this. I am still in the best of health as the boys generally are. I think our company stands camp life rather better than any other in the Regt.

I gave you in my letter to father some account of our being ordered to pack up and be ready at any moment for an attack from the enemy. We are still ready, but the cause of alarm proved to be guerrillas and now we are living and feeling as safe as at Camp Butler. The boys were greatly pleased lately by receiving their carbines; they are a very convenient and pretty as well as destructive and terrible weapon—they are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ long barrel 2 ft. breech loading, and rifled. They are the celebrated Burnside patent, one can load and fire them 10 times per minute with care and take a very deliberate aim, in some target practice the other day a ball was shot 400 yards through a sheet iron car which is about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick and almost through the other side.

This morning the Colonel and Major Sherman at the head of four companies started for Harpers Ferry about 17 miles distant, ours was among the number, but as I belong to the band I could not go—they took two days rations with them so I suppose by that they will be back by tomorrow night—

Monday Eve July 28" [1862]

I was compelled to stop writing the above on account of the flies being so very troublesome. They are almost as bad here in camp as mosquitos are in Illinois along the swamps, and I suppose it is as well as I have just received a letter of the 23d inst from you, and it certainly was unexpected for such an instance of promptness is very rare with both of us.

The flies have all returned, they only went to Winchester and back again meeting with nothing by the way. I have lately been to the mountains west of this place. We had some very fine views from its summit. It is now cherry time here. I have never been at any place where there were so many *dewberries*, *cherries*, *whortleberries*, &c as here, we all literally feast ourselves. Cherry particularly are fine and abundant. On one tree alone, which is about 8 feet in circumference and about 50 ft high with wide spreading branches there are more than 40 bushels of cherries.

These trees have been planted many years and need but little attention, they are generally found in the corners of the fences along side of the roads, I wish I could send home some of the sprouts; they are called the "Heart Cherry."

I believe it is decided that we shall stay here and keep possession of this portion of the State, protect the Railroad and keep down guerrilla parties &c. The people are most "secesh" and the ladies turn their backs upon a union soldier.

I should like very much to go home and see you all but this is impossible until the war is ended, until the rebellion is put down and then what a happy time we soldiers will have once more ourselves looking to no one, asking no one, obeying no one but ourselves. Are any more of the people about town volunteering, how is recruiting going on, do the citizens offer bounties? I hear that the Eastern States are doing nobly, and that our own noble State is not far behind. I hope Illinois will sustain the reputation she now has of being the first in the War for the Union. Does Ben have any idea of volunteering? I hope not until it is still more necessary. Capt. Gilmore's resignation has been accepted and he will start for the west in a few days. He is more like what he was before he joined the army than ever. We have no hard feeling now. I have nothing more to write. My respects to your visitors and love to the family.

Your affectionate brother
W. G. Allen

Paw Paw Station, Virginia.

August 22nd 1862

Dear Jane—

I received a letter from Hattie and Ben day before yesterday dated the 10th inst. and forwarded from Martinsburg and indeed I was very glad to hear from you. All of 3 weeks have passed since I had heard from G. [Greenfield]. In my last to Ben I mentioned that we were under marching orders to some place west of Martinsburg, and it transpired that the day after (the 13th) we went aboard the cars in the evening and the next morning found us at this place 23 miles east of Cumberland, Md. This place has been threatened by Gurilla parties for sometime past and on the night of the 10th a party of some 35 or 40 in number attempted to fill up the mouth of the tunnel a short distance from here, and since that time have committed deprivations in various places, such as forcing loyal men into their army, and plundering others, stealing horses &c, &c, and in order to capture or disperse them we were sent here to reinforce this place already occupied by a company of the 54th Penn Regiment. From the time we arrived until this date nothing has been done except a company has been sent out now and then scouting round the mountains but they have been unable to see anything of Bushwhackers or Gurillas or to hear of any farther deprivations and it is supposed that they have gone farther into the Mountains or to Jackson's army at Gordonsville. Yesterday four companies started on their return to Martinsburg leaving two at this place, F. and G.⁷ We do not know how long we shall remain here, but we think it will be but a short time. We do not object to their allowing us to stay here as there is scarcely any thing to do and we have no difficulty in getting out. We have been living in fact off the enemy ever since we arrived here. Every other day we mount our horses and start out for some secesh from whom we draw all the hay, Green corn, potatoes, vegetables &c we need, giving them a receipt for

⁷ They were attacked on September 7th by 800 Confederate cavalry.

their value, which we tell them will be paid if they take the oath within the time given them. We are all living very healthy and as far as I am concerned I never enjoyed as good health this time in the year in my life, we have cooked, ate and slept out of doors until last night when we moved to a vacant house and barn in the neighborhood.

Well, Jane, I do not know how long it has been since I have written to you before, but I know it has been a long time since I have seen anything from you. I understood some time ago that you had been very sick but I suppose you are well as usual by this time. I should like to see you all very much little Effie^s with the rest. I wonder if she knows where I am now. Well I really have hopes that this war will soon be over and that the most of the troops will be at home by Christmas—surely the energies and determinations our government is showing will not be without a great effect on the leaders of the rebellion—it is already showing its effects in Europe and I believe that one great victory in this state will close the war and that afterwards nothing more will be required of us than to enforce the confiscation laws and hunt down small parties &c, &c. I should like to hear from you immediately after the receipt of this. What are they doing with regard to enlistment? Who are enlisting? What is Ben going to do, tell him to look out for the best place before he enlists and if Uncle Edd gets up a company I believe I should join it if I were him if I thought I could do as well. I shall write to him again if I can find time. I could find a great deal more to write. It is train time and I must close. Write immediately. Give my love to all.

Your affectionate brother.

W. G. Allen.

^s "Little Effie," born in 1859, was the fourth child of W. G. Allen's sister Jane.

Greencastle, Penn.
September 17th, 1862.

W. A. Tunnell Esq.,
Dear Sir:

I wrote a few lines to father this morning but supposing I should not have time to write full particulars of our Skeddaddle from Martinsburg through Harpers Ferry to this place I closed before I finished and without stopping to tell you how we had to move all our tents and baggage, our Quartermasters and commissaries stores and leave M. with nothing but ourselves, our horses and wagons (empty) and of our arrival safely at Harpers Ferry, for all of which we consider ourselves particularly fortunate. I will try to write what took place after our arrival at H- on the eve of the 12th. Being without tents we camped on the open fields within the batteries and after such a hard ride during the day, as might be expected we slept soundly. The next morning we arose with the sun, hungry but having nothing to satisfy it I prepared to take a look at the place and its fortifications. But having but little time to look about I only passed through and what I write may not be true in every particular.

The principal part of the City is situated along the banks of the river beneath a high bluff. It has but one street which runs the full length of the place, and the principal business of the place in times of peace was mostly kept up by the government at the arsenals which are now in ruins, the Baltimore & Ohio R. R. is also on the Virginia side and is built on trussle work on the river. The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal follows the mountain on the Maryland side. As you are aware the Shenandoah river enters the Potomak here which then passes through the Blue Ridge and as Jefferson says, It is worth a trip across the Atlantic to see it as seen from the Bolivar Heights it is truly a grand sight. By the junction of these two rivers there is three heights, the highest is the Maryland which is some 900 feet above the level of the river, the next is the Virginia, across the Shenandoah. On the Maryland

heights run many intrenchments and batteries, built on purpose for their defense. It is said that we had a volley of 4 fifty pounder Parrott seige guns and 1 one hundred and twenty four seige gun, then besides several field batteries on the side facing the ferry was a battery of four 50 pounder Parrotts which commanded the approach by the river up and down, but the principal defences were on the Bolivar heights in rear of the Ferry—here were three batteries, consisting of about 40 guns, connected by intrenchments and rifle pits, these were on the Virginia side and considered impregnable. The morning after we arrived we found we had quit one besieged place only to fall into another, for it was found late at night that the enemy had followed us from M. (Martinsburg) and now the place was blockaded on all sides and were preparing to attack our batteries on the Maryland heights.

At about 6 o'clock A. M. on the 13th the attack commenced and was continued until about noon when our men gave way and fled, having spiked the guns and crossed over the Ferry. We still had possession of the 50 pounders facing the Ferry and the enemy was shelled during the afternoon at intervals until dark, when the firing ceased and things wore a gloomy aspect, for it was known now that if the enemy had any heavy guns they would place them on the Maryland heights, the key to the whole position, and we could not dislodge them, also that they could place their batteries on the Virginia heights without being disturbed, and our fears proved true for the next morning found the rebels busily engaged erecting a battery on the Virginia heights. Our batteries began playing on them at an early hour the next morning but could not effect much being constructed almost altogether for defense in the other direction. The enemy kept displaying signals during the forenoon, and at about 12 they opened upon us, the first shell came right into our camp and produced quite a panic among both horses and men the latter having unsaddled, and now preparing to eat dinner, but fortunately did not burst, the next bomb bursted, and covered several of the boys with dirt

and dust and killing a horse of one of the other companies, but you may depend there was no waiting for orders then, some saddled and some left without horses, arms or anything, all ran for the trenches for dear life the shells following thick and fast, whiz, bounce, burst and blubber.

It was laughable after it was over but pretty serious while on hand. The boys all declare they had rather face "*double geared thunder and lightening*" than those shells. From this time they kept a severe fire upon our lower batteries until five o'clock when their fire slackened and at last ceased, when it was found they were advancing on both flanks, towards the Batteries on Bolivar Heights, after some pretty severe skirmish fighting the enemy appeared in battle order advancing in great force upon our left but were repulsed almost as soon as they appeared in sight by the fire of our infantry and artillery, it is supposed with considerable loss. In the meantime their whole line advanced within a mile and a half from our works and then they stopped and the firing ceased for the night.

The cavalry forces being of no use in defending the place it was determined about sundown that they should leave and accordingly at about 8 o'clock they were all assembled at the Ferry with no baggage, ambulances, sick, &c to encumber them, prepared to cut their way out if necessary to a safer place, especially as it had been determined that, if the enemy planted batteries on the Heights, to surrender the place next morning. The party consisted of the 12th Ills, 8th N. Y. 1st R. I. and 2 companies of the 1st Maryland. We anticipated bloody work, and many of us expected to fall in the passage, but we all promised faithfully to stand by each other and to go through, but providentially we found no enemy, having an excellent guide, until we arrived near Williamsport where we stumbled upon Longstreets baggage train from which we captured 104 wagons consisting mostly of ammunition, most of which were obliged to blow up to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

In our passage we passed two miles through a body of 20,000 men at Williamsport & Hagerstown, between which places we cut our baggage. It is said that this was the cause of the rebels falling back from Harpers Ferry, as they supposed that McClellan's whole army was upon them. It has been ascertained that the panic was so great that the remainder of Longstreet's baggage was burned at Williamsport for fear of its falling into our hands. We arrived here with 32 wagons safely where we are welcomed by all and our reception is so different from what it has been in Va. that we all feel as though we were in our own homes. The citizens have furnished us with food and forage. There being no commissary here they take us to their own home and give us "grub." I have since ascertained from a reliable source that the rebels have all crossed the river and are now fortifying, in order to dispute the passage of our troops, but persons who know say that they can be successfully driven from their batteries; they have occupied the western and southern banks of the Potomac and are going to make it their line of defense. Persons who were in the last battles say that the rebels have lost more than 50,000 killed, wounded, prisoners and missing since they came into Maryland. Their description of the late battlefield is horrid and disgusting, they say one will not want a second sight of it and 3,000 of our men were detailed this morning to bury them and that many of them will have to be burned as they are so much decayed that they cannot be carried away. Gen. Longstreet is a prisoner.⁹ None of our company have been hurt in any way although we have been under fire several times. We are all well except Matlock who has been left at a small town below here. It is feared he will have an attack of fever. It is not known what our next movement will be but I suppose we will stay here until the river is passed at any rate.

I have nothing more of interest to say, I don't know where to tell you to direct your letters. You had better wait until

⁹ Gen. Longstreet was not a prisoner. On the day this letter was written he was commanding the First Corps of the Confederate Army at Antietam.

you hear from me again. We are not assigned to any command yet. Give my love to all. Tell Emma and Morse that I was glad to have them write to me and also tell Carrie¹⁰ the same. But when I find time I will try and write something to them. Tell father I should like to hear from him.

Yours truly,
W. G. Allen.

Camp near Williamsport, Md.
Sept. 21, 1862.

[W. A. Tunnell]

I was not able to finish the within before we were ordered to leave and the next morning I could not mail it, so I will continue. We heard firing all day long in this direction from Greencastle, and since found that a very fierce battle has been fought near this place resulting in the defeat of the rebels with the loss of 40,000¹¹ so reported many of them still lie unburied. We passed only along the edge of the field, and the stench could hardly be bourn. It seems that the rebels had not time to bury their dead before they left being so hard pressed. McClellan's army are still watching them, they have possession of Williamsport and it is expected a battle will be fought tomorrow for its possession, though we can not rely on any of the reports here.

So you are better posted in regard to our movements than we are ourselves. We have not read a paper for almost three weeks and know nothing of the position of our forces. We are stationed on the turnpike leading from Hagerstown to Sharpsburg about six miles from Williamsport. The baggage trains passed up towards Williamsport this morning, are now reported to be returning. What this indicates it is hard to tell. There were many of the boys left at Harpers Ferry

¹⁰ Emma and Morse were children of his sister Jane, to whom the letter was written. Carrie, was his youngest sister, Caroline Melissa Allen.

¹¹ The Union loss at Antietam was 12,410. The Union Army buried 2,700 Confederates and their losses probably equalled the Union.

who were taken prisoners, all the sick and wounded. I would like to name some of them, Edwards, Simpson, P. Coonrod, A. Grizzel, Brannon, Farmer, Wall, Belknap, Kemper, Lieut. Reans, were all you were acquainted with. Most of these were sick and could not be taken so we could have come along but when the bombardment commenced the whole Regt. became scattered and some of them did not join us again and did not know of our going to leave. Edwards, Brannon and Belknap and Reans were sick, Farmer in the hospital as nurse. The rebels threw some of their shells into the hospital and it had to be removed under fire to a place of safety. They were paroled and sent towards Baltimore. And I have since heard that they, all the prisoners, are to be sent to the frontiers to do duty. I hope this is the case as some of them hoped they would be sent home on parole and for this reason staid in order to be taken prisoner.

(Remainder of letter lost)

Williamsport, Md. Oct. 9, 1862.

Mr. W. A. Tunnell,

Dear Sir: We have arrived again here, we have been, since I wrote to Howard from Hancock over in Va. on a scout through Hampshire Morgan and Berkeley Counties. That is our company and another both under the command of Capt. [Andrew H.] Langholtz Co. B and we should surely have been cut off and probably taken prisoners before this had we had a less cautious commander. We were surrounded twice and had we not continuously been on the move we should have suffered severely. The country through which we passed is very mountainous, the roads for the most part leading along streams and valleys and up mountain sides so that a few infantry well posted could almost destroy any amount of cavalry—but fortunately they supposed we were but the advance of a larger party of infantry so that we passed along undisturbed. While we were at Bath I saw James Hunter, he has been married since his return to Va. and is now living at that

place. He sends his respects to all of you. His neighbors say he is a union man, and has been pressed into the secesh army twice but his acquaintances at Hancock say he is secesh, he has four brothers in their army. On our return here we lay at Clear Springs in this State for a few days where we were paid on the 7th. I send you by express from Hagerstown enclosing (\$80) eighty dollars. You will please pay the remainder due Edward and settle your account against me, also Howard's¹² account and as soon as I can hear from father I will let you know how to dispose of the remainder. I have heard nothing from you since the 1st of September. Your letters I suppose are somewhere on the road. I understood there was a very large mail at Hancock for our Regt. but that post master could not deliver it, it being directed to Martinsburg. I should like to say a few more things but have not the time at present. Tell them all to write directly to this place. My love to Father, Mother &c.

Yours truly,
W. G. Allen.

P. S. I will send another letter by mail to some of the friends.

Yours &c,
W. G. Allen.

Camp near Williamsport, Md.
Oct. 16th 1862.

Mr. W. A. Tunnell:

Dear Sir:—

I received your letter of the 7th yesterday—and it being the first I have had from home since the 2nd of Sept. it gave me great satisfaction. I was glad to hear of the continued health of the family. There has been so much sickness and death among the friends at home that I almost feared that some of ours might go next, but all is well yet. I sent you by

¹² Gray, T. Howard, and Edward Sweeney, brothers-in-law of W. G. Allen.

express last week \$80 and I do not know whether the rebels in their last raid into Pa. captured the train carrying it or not—it is said they captured a train near Greencastle. The excitement or rather the activity caused by their raid has died away and all is quiet again.

The greater part of what is left of our company, have been on *picket* since yesterday morning. I being a little unwell was excused.

We are quartered in a large barn about a mile from town. We have been here for some days past, but we were not sent here until we passed one night in the rain, which I think was the cause of my feeling as I do now. The remainder of the Co. I believe are in good health and spirits. Our Quarter Master has just returned from Baltimore with a full supply of clothing and camp equipage, and in a few days we will all be well supplied with all the clothes we need. I have been confined to camp for some days and have nothing of interest particularly to state—the army still lies along the river from Hancock to Harpers Ferry and between the river and Hagerstown the great body of it is at H. [Harpers Ferry] on the Va. side of the river. It is not for us to know or even surmise, when or where or at what point the next attack will be made, but from the present position of the forces—I do not believe an attack will be made or attempt will be made to cross the river at this place. I understood the other day that two corps of our men went out in the direction of Cumberland and from that I would suppose that either that place was threatened or a movement against Winchester from that direction was intended. The reconnaissance made by our company and Co. B which I mentioned in my last, into Hampton, Morgan & Berkely Counties, showed that they did not expect us from that direction and citizens in that neighborhood told us that the rebels had no picket guard out west of Winchester.

The "*Proclamation*" meets with the approbation of every soldier I have spoken to on the subject. All say it will kill the rebellion sooner than anything else. We have encour-

aging news from the west, Kentucky and Tennessee.¹³ We hope our successes may be as complete as anticipated. I think this army cannot lie idle long, there must be something done soon. I would like to write more but cannot at present. I am glad to hear that cousin Carrie has a situation in the school. I hope she will be pleased with it. Please remind all the friends that letters are due from them. I wrote from Hancock and Jones Cross Roads. Give my love to Jane and the children and all the friends. I hope I shall be more able to write and have more to communicate in my next.

Yours truly,

W. G. Allen
Co. "F" 12th Ill. Cavalry
Williamsport, Md.

Army of the Potomac
Camp near Fairfax Station
Decem. 19th, 1862

Dear Sister Jane—

After another very fatiguing march I seat myself to write you a few lines. I wrote from the Ferry to Ben which I suppose you have seen ere this. We left Harpers Ferry on the 12th being the rearguard of Gen. Slocum's corps and by easy marches of about 15 miles per day passed through Leasburg and Fairfax C. H. and camping at this place on Sunday. Monday morning we resumed our march south towards Fredericksburg accomplishing but six miles on account of the condition of the roads, Sigel's army having passed over them but two days before leaving them in a very bad condition. This fact together with the rain on Monday night caused the march of the whole corps to be checked so that they were unable to make more than 6 miles a day and on Tuesday morning

¹³ Withdrawal of the Confederate force under Gen. Bragg to Chattanooga after the battle of Perryville, Ky., on October 8, 1862.

at 2 o'clock the rear brigade commenced the counter march and accordingly arrived at this place the same evening. Here we first heard of the fighting at Fredericksburg, and of our evacuation of the place. This news casts a gloom over the army, the failure, the loss of life and the hardships of the winter campaign &c makes us feel very badly. There is a large force stationed here and in the immediate neighborhood, mostly composed of new troops and 9 months men, besides Slocum's. This last corps is the one formerly under Gen. Banks command. The country from Leasburg to this place and beyond as far as we have been is indeed desolate, being first occupied by one army and then another. The houses are burned, the fences destroyed, the people gone, and nothing is left but bare farms, and lonely chimneys, there is nothing here to remind one of the comforts of home, but such things are unnecessary as the imagination furnishes plenty. We all feel so badly about our reverses, the misadministration of affairs that we almost wish the Southerners had been let alone. The whole army feel it and I doubt whether they would do anything more after another defeat unless Gen McClellan had been recalled to the field, the army have confidence it seems in no other General.

We have orders to march again at 2 o'clock P. M. our destination is said to be Dumfries about 20 miles south on the river, but I think this is uncertain. We left our Quartermaster at Williamsport and 12 men from our company at Hagerstown, they have orders to join us here but they have not yet arrived. I have nothing more to write, except that the health of all of us is good, I may say very good considering the exposure we have, Give my love to all. Send your letters to Washington, and they will follow us.

Yours affectionately,

W. G. Allen

P. S. Send a few stamps in each letter as it is impossible to obtain any here.

GIM.

Belle Plaine, Virginia,
March 11, 1863

Mr. Wm. A. Tunnell,

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the . . . was duly received and read, and I take this the first convenient opportunity of answering it. I was sorry to hear of Jane's sickness, and hope that before this she is well again. We received marching orders at Dumfries some three weeks ago, but owing to the continued bad state of the roads we could not get off until the morning of the 2nd. Those that were able to ride came around by the way of Stafford C. H. the remainder of whom was myself, came down by the way of the river, a barge being provided for us and also to transport all the tents and other Regimental property, we were delayed three days at Dumfries Landing for various reasons and did not rejoin the Regt. until Sunday morning, having made as comfortable a journey as could be expected under the circumstances. My health continues about the same it has for the past month, just unable to do duty, but still able to remain in camp and take things as they come. We have been somewhat exposed here to the rains and cold, but no more than others around us. I have been nowhere but have remained at camp since my arrival here, and consequently can not give you any descriptions of things, all I am able to say at present is that we are encamped in the midst of the "Grand Army of the Potomac" on a hill-side facing to the South, and that we are about two miles from a landing on the Potomac, at the mouth of a creek of the same name. We are protected on all sides by ranges of hills, covered with good dry wood. I am told that Fredericksburg is in a northwesterly direction 10 miles distant. We are surrounded on all sides by camps. Since our arrival our Col. (Voss) being the senior officer has taken command of the Division numbering some 7000 horsemen. Our Regt. is part of the *2nd Brigade 3rd. Division Stonemans Cavalry Corps*. Our letters will be addressed as above and directed as usual to Washington City. The boys are all well I believe except

Harry Barrow who is very ill though he still goes about camp. I shall write again as soon as I can find something of interest to say. Give my love to all the friends and please hand the enclosed letter into Ben's hands and believe me

Yours truly,
W. G. Allen

Camp Bayard, Belle Plains, Va.
April 9th 1863.

W. A. Tunnell:

Dear Brother.

Your letter of the 22nd ult. came safely to hand day before yesterday, and I am glad to hear of the improved health of all the family and friends. Lieut. J. Drennan left here a few days ago for home but started so suddenly that I had no time even to send a word by him. You will probably see him he has but little time to stay with you having but 15 days leave of absence. I had intended to send letters by him but did not and am somewhat disappointed.

There is nothing transpiring here but such as generally happen to every soldier daily. President Lincoln is here, he has been reviewing troops ever since his arrival. The Cavalry Corps was reviewed on the 6th. There was some 25,000 cavalry passed in review. There seems to be something in view in connection with the large cavalry force collected here. All that could possibly be spared from above have been collected here, and we are now organized into brigades and divisions, which is now a separate corps commanded by Gen Stoneman; the most rigid inspections are held almost daily and if a soldier lacks in anything, clothing, equipment &c he is supplied immediately. All our wagons and teams have been turned over and pack-mules have been substituted, 1 for the field officers, 1 for the co. commander and 1 for every 10 men; they are now used altogether for carrying supplies from the different landings.

There are different objects spoken of in connection with the increase of Cavalry here. I think it looks somewhat suspicious, and that all the talk of raids may be true. I confess I cannot see why out of the present force of cavalry here (some 25000) there could not be a sufficient number spared to overwhelm any force the enemy could bring against them, and lay waste the country to the west and south of Richmond, renting the railroad and telegraph communications all around. Could such a thing be done it would do more towards our cause I think than the addition of 20,000 men to our Army in front of Fredericksburg. There are some saying there is some prospect of our Regt. with two others being sent to Kentucky with General Burnside.

My health is still poor, and I am still unable to do duty, but improve very slowly. Please inform Ben that I have had nothing from him since the last of February and am anxiously looking for a letter from him. The remainder of the Company are in usual health. Barrows [Harvey] will soon be home he has been discharged. My love to all.

Yours truly,
W. G. Allen

Columbian Hospital, Washington, D. C.
June 30th 1863

W. A. Tunnell, Esq.,

Dear Brother:—I received your letter of the 14th some days since and now seat myself to reply. I am sorry to hear of Jane's continued illness, but glad to hear there is a good prospect of her getting well. You must be very busy, and have all you can attend to in collecting the revenue and enrolling the Militia. I should think there was work enough for three or more persons. I hope you may meet with no opposition in your work though I fear there may be, and no doubt would be from what I have heard especially in the neighborhood of hickory grove¹⁴ had they not such wholesome examples

¹⁴ Four miles west of Greenfield, Illinois.

of the prompt support given the enrolling officers in other places.

We have been very much excited in this neighborhood the past five days on account of the movements of the rebels in the immediate vicinity and on account of the troops mostly leaving the city for the seat of war, and various other rumors having no foundation in truth. You will have read before this reaches you of Hooker's removal and the appointment of Meade. It is said that 'twas on account of Hooker's drunkenness—but whatever was the reason I for one am satisfied it was for the best. I am glad McClellan was not appointed, some say he was offered it but refused to take it until he knew its condition, but these are his supporters that say this. The selection that has been made I think will please the army as a whole better than any other; for it will allay the partisan feeling in the army and promote its success and by selecting a person who has heretofore made no pretensions, and therefore had made no enemies, and has no jealousies among his brother officers in consequence I think will unite the army more closely together. I hear that those papers who opposed Hooker are favoring Meade, the N. Y. Herald among them, and all seem to feel very hopeful of the result.

I saw Matlock last night, he is with a detachment of our Regt, which he has not been with (the Regt) since leaving Potomac Creek. He told me that Ben Maxfield was killed in the fight at Middleburg last Sunday week, he received his information from two men of Co. "A" who helped bury him; there were several wounded of our Co., but he did not know their names. Ben was shot through the neck in a charge on a stone wall behind which were the rebel infantry concealed. He was among the first to scale the wall.

Our Regiment is now a part of the 1st. Brigade 1st Division Gen. Buford commanding Division, including the 8th Ills. and several Regts of regulars.¹⁵

¹⁵ Buford, Gen. John (1825-1863), was chief of the cavalry in the Maryland campaign and succeeded General Stoneman on General McClellan's staff.

I think of nothing else of importance to write you or of interest. Give my love to all the family &c &c.

Yours affectionately,

W. G. Allen.

(P. S.) Please hand the enclosed letters to Ben they were written two weeks ago and I thought I had mailed them but was mistaken.

Gim.

Columbian Hospital, Washington, D. C.
November 8th, 1863

W. A. Tunnell, Esq.,

Dear Brother:—I received your letter of the....in due time and I am sorry to say have neglected to answer it as soon as I should but then I am in some measure excusable on account of the want of anything or rather something interesting to write about. I received a letter from mother about a week since and was very glad indeed to hear that Jane has improved so much as to be able to walk about the house. I hope she may continue so, and that you may soon conquer the ague and restore your self to health again. I have been expecting a letter from Ben for more than two weeks and have been rather disappointed in not receiving one, but shall continue to believe he has written, I wrote last Sunday to Howard and Sake, I mention these things in order that they may know that I have written. I continue in good health and in tolerable spirits, I do not think I shall remain here much longer. I am doing well, and will let you know how I progress as fast as I find out for myself, I have not been examined yet.

We received some encouraging news from the front and also from Charleston this morning. Twelve hundred prisoners and one battery taken on the Rappahannock yesterday and it is reported also that our whole army is on the move. I saw a man yesterday whom I take to be perfectly reliable just from the front with prisoners, who says that the impression

among officers is that the army will winter on the James River this winter. They have constantly ten days rations, 3 days cooked on hand and have orders to be prepared at any moment to march. It is also believed that when the army again breaks camp they will hardly stop until they have compelled the rebels to give battle or go beyond the James. This man is on duty at headquarters and has superior facilities for obtaining information. He says that before the army retreated the last time, he knew positively that it drew 114,000 rations, but that it has been largely reinforced since (to the amount of 20,000 he thinks). Being closely connected with headquarters, I place great reliance on what he tells me. We feel greatly encouraged over our bright prospects and the darker ones of the rebels. I can hardly see how they are to maintain themselves this winter. I believe the bogus confederacy will collapse about the beginning of spring, at least we hope so.

NOV 9th—I saw an account in this mornings paper stating that our Regiment had gone home to recruit I do not know how true it may be, but they were expecting some such orders the last I heard from them.¹⁶ They must be very small in numbers now. The morning paper confirms yesterdays news increasing the number of prisoners and cannon taken. The mail leaves in a few minutes and I must close to be in time. My love to all the family and friends and believe me

Yours truly,

W. G. Allen.

¹⁶ At the close of the campaign of 1863 the 12th Regt. Ill. Vol. Cavalry was sent to Chicago to recruit and reorganize. It immediately filled to the maximum, and on the 9th of February, 1864, left for St. Louis one thousand two hundred and fifty strong.

LAST OFFICIAL FRENCH REPORT ON THE WESTERN POSTS.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D.,
F. R. H. S., ETC. (JUSTICE OF APPEAL, ONTARIO)

In the Archives of Canada at Ottawa is the copy of what would seem to be the last official Report of the French Posts in the northern part of this Continent before the formal cession to Britain by the Treaty of Paris, 1763: as it speaks of circumstances "up to 1758," it must have been prepared in that year or later; but the author and the object are alike unknown—it was first published in *Les Archives du Departement de la Marine* at Paris, and, in July, 1931, it appeared in *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, the official organ of the Department of Archives of the Province of Quebec with the caption: *Mémoire sur les Forts de la Nouvelle-France*.

Beginning with the Post at Cape Charles at the entrance to the Straits of Belle-Isle, going west up the St. Lawrence, then up the Ottawa and beyond Lake Winnipeg, then turning south down the Mississippi, and returning east by the Great Lakes to Montreal, the Posts are described individually with a statement of the garrison, the "habitants" cultivating the soil, if any, the Indians resorting there to trade and the amount and kind of peltries obtainable. The Memoir concludes: "Here we are returned to Montreal, the voyage is finished: I have hazarded some reflexions, I have made some facts appear: my rôle has been played—it is not for me to make reformatations."

It is quite obvious that the chief value of these Posts to France was the facilities afforded by them for the fur-trade. This was a source of profit not only to the trader but also to

the Crown; except in rare instances, every Indian trader had to obtain a Licence authorizing him to trade with the Savages. This Licence was generally sold by officers of and for the King; but sometimes the Post was farmed out to the Commandant at a fixed price per annum, the Commandant reimbursing himself and making a profit by the sale of trading Licences. Some of the Posts were purely trading Posts such for example as Toronto—others had not only traders but also “habitants” who cultivated the soil—such for example, as Detroit and The Illinois.

As to the author, de Bougainville tells us that he had prepared a Memoir on the Forts of Nouvelle-France: but this can scarcely be his Memoir—it is the work of one with personal knowledge. He, however, had a cousin in the administration at Quebec, M. de Vienne, a sort of Pepys who is known to have made many notes. It is not unlikely that he was the author: but this is mere conjecture.

I would venture a conjecture that the Memoir was prepared during the protracted negotiations to terminate the Seven Years’ War—it is well known that for a considerable time there was a doubt whether Britain should acquire “Canada and its dependencies” or the West Indian Island of Guadeloupe. It may be that France desired full information as to the value of Nouvelle-France—but this also is a mere conjecture.

I have translated and here subjoin the account of the Posts having the greatest interest in Illinois.

THE ONYATANONS

A Fort of upright piles situated on the right bank of the River Wabash or St. Jerome. This Post is farmed out to the Commandant for twelve hundred livres. The Indians who trade there are the Onyatanons, the Kickapoos, the Mascoutins and the Nation of the Vermillion—they may furnish three hundred warriors. From this Post and the places dependent upon it come from three to four hundred bales.

POST OF VINCENNES

A pretty town also situated upon the Wabash dependent upon New Orleans, whose Governor sends a Commandant to it. It may have eighty habitants who work the land and gather wheat: the Peauchichias trade there—they may furnish eighty bales.

THE MIAMIS

A Fort of upright piles upon the right bank of the river of the same name: at this Fort commences a portage of three leagues which leads to the Falling Waters to the southwest. The Post is farmed out to the Commandant at twelve hundred livres.

The Indians who trade there are the Miamis and the Cepicoineaux (Tippecanoes)—the former may furnish a hundred and fifty warriors. In any ordinary year from two hundred and fifty to three hundred bales may be obtained at this Post.

RIVER ST. JOSEPH

A Fort situated upon the right bank of the river of the same name, twenty leagues from its embouchure into Lake Michigan—it is farmed out to the Commandant. The Indians who trade there are the Pottawatamis, some four hundred men, and some Miamis. They may furnish four hundred bales in cats, bears and deer.

The Pottawatamis are the most faithful to our interests of all the Indians—they have never dyed their hands with the blood of the French and have even informed us of plots formed against us by the other Nations.

THE ILLINOIS

A Post made use of by licensees, of which the principal entrepôt is the Fort De Chartres situated on the left bank of the Mississippi—there is a garrison in the different establish-

ments of the Post, of six companies which, with the different Commandants, are furnished from Louisiana.

The following is the division of the Illinois: The Cahos on the left bank of the Mississippi, the Metchi at six leagues, Deskas, a little town inhabited by the French.

The Cahos and the Metchi have only one village of about four hundred men—there may be as many Kaws: and these three Nations furnish in an ordinary year a hundred bales of beaver, deer, wild cats (chats pichoux), fox, otter, and bear.

There is another Post upon the River of the Illinois, where a Commandant lives in a Fort called Pemelevi. The Paorias, about seven hundred men, trade there, furnishing two hundred and fifty bales of the same quality of peltries, fewer beavers and more cats.

On the Missouri for eighty leagues from its embouchure into the Mississippi are the Ousacqs and the Missouris, Nations near each other: the trade we are going to make there might in an ordinary year amount to eighty bales of deer and bear with a few other skins.

Ascending the River about eighty leagues, there is found the village of the Kaws: (misspelled "Kanes") we have there a Fort and a garrison, and the Post furnishes a hundred bales, many of beaver badly cured, the rest deer and bear.

Fifty leagues further up are found the Otacks and the Ayomorts, two hundred men, who furnish eighty bales of the same kind as the Kanks (i. e., Kaws).

A large quantity of wheat and Indian corn was this year furnished to Fort Duquesne.

I may perhaps without offence gratify my civic pride by adding the account of Toronto, a century-and-a-half ago.

TORONTO

A small Post situated on the north of Lake Ontario, opposite Niagara, established to prevent the Northern Indians going to trade at Chouagen.

The King conducts the trade there and, as at Niagara, gives brandy to the Indians—a strange abuse to which it is said we are forced by the English because they give it.

The Indians who come there to trade are the Saulteux and the Mississaguas—they can supply forty to fifty bales.

Chouagen was an English Post, the present Oswego, built in 1727 to protect the fur trade of Ft. Orange (Albany) and New York—it was taken and destroyed by the French under Montcalm in 1756.

But the English gave Rum, not Brandy—the traders of each nation railed against those of the other for giving the poor Indian deleterious liquor, rather claiming what they themselves gave to be comparatively harmless, if not, indeed, beneficial.

In the *Mémoire du Canada* written about 1770 of which the author seems to be unknown but the original mss. of which was preserved in the Bibliothèque Imperials of St. Petersburg, having been obtained in Paris in 1810 by Pierre Dubrowski, an Attaché of the Russian Embassy there, is found the following concerning Toronto and its *raison d' être*. (I translate).

“The English had built on the south shore of Lake Ontario, a Fort which they called Oswego, in Indian Chouaguin. The situation of this place was advantageous in every respect. They attracted there the surrounding Nations, five in number—the Fort held them in check. For though we had Niagara on the same shore and Frontenac [the present Kingston, Ontario] on the other, these two Forts, nevertheless, could not supply all the Indians’ needs. It is true that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of these Forts was in not being able to find like there was at Couaguin or Chouaguin as much brandy or rum as the Indians wanted. The priests had made it a case of conscience and put the sale of liquor to Indians in the class of those incurring excommunication. They had brought the government to their view so that it was a crime.

This regulation is admirable in towns where the Indians might commit excesses and excite trouble; but in the Posts, it is a different matter. It is with liquor that one attaches them, and thanks to the liberty of drinking it at Chouaguin, that Post has survived, and the Nations resorting to it have always been our enemies.

The General [de la Jonquière] thought that the reestablishment of Fort Toronto would absolutely stop the Mississaguas and the Nations of the North who passed that way to go to Chouaguin, and as M. de Rouillé was then Minister of Marine, his name was given to it. The position of the Fort was directly opposite to Niagara; it consisted of some upright piles and four small cannon. Every year a great quantity of goods was seen there. The Commandant had instructions to maintain good relations with the Indians and keep them from going to trade at Chouaguin."

[*Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1924-1925*, p. 100.]

In Cartography, "Fort Toronto" appears for the first time in the Map of Homan-Danville of Nuremberg in 1756.

The siege and capture of Chouaguin is graphically described in the same work, *do. do.*, pp. 123, 124.

It is said, too, of de Montigny, who was in the late days of French domination, sent in command of a detachment of troops to Niagara: "He had interests at Niagara—that was the motive which was more effective with him in having himself placed in command of the detachment sent thither [from Frontenac]. He had his canoes laden with provisions and goods without forgetting barrels of wine and brandy which he sold very well *en route* to his detachment and the Indians. He got to Niagara in twelve days though he had to go by way of Toronto, he stopped there for business reasons and to take under pretext of refreshments for his troops, provisions and brandy * * *" *do. do.*, pp. 143, 144.

This would seem to indicate that, even in those days, more than a century and a half ago, it was thought advisable by some, at least, to take a load of intoxicants, when crossing the Lake from Toronto.

De Bougainville, so well known in Canadian history of the late French period, in what seems to be an official report, "Mémoire sur l'Etat de la Nouvelle-France" says bluntly, "Toronto or Saint Victor, a small fort of piles upon Lake Ontario, to sell brandy to the Indians in order to counteract the trade that is made at Chouaguin." *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1923-1924*, p. 53.

Kingsford in his history of Canada, Vol. III p. 395, gives the credit for the project of establishing a Post at Toronto to de la Galissonnière, and says—"The design originally conceived by de la Galissonnière and Bogot, was only executed under de la Jonquière. In the autumn of 1749, some workmen with de Portneuf and fifteen soldiers were sent up to carry out the project. On completion, the new structure was named 'Fort Rouillé, after the colonial minister.'"

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles, and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-37. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1930. (Nos. 6-28 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I, The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ. and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII, Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson, cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. 1. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL. D. lxxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XXI. Law Series, Vol. II. The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809. Edited with Introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, Professor of Law, University of Illinois. cclxxxii and 734 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular, Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne, 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois. 1763-1787. A Sesqui-centennial Memorial. By Theodore Calvin Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease. 96 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1929.

General Index to Collections, Journals, Publications. 1899-1928. Compiled by Juliet G. Sager. 95 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXIV, No. 3, Oct., 1931.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

* Out of print.

WASHINGTON AND THE WESTERN FRONTS. 1753-1795.

By FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin.

Two hundred years ago, near the tidal waters of the Potomac River, on the cutting edge of the Virginia frontier, George Washington was born. There was no excitement at his birth. Younger son, child of a second marriage, in a century when heirs were numerous and estates were small, there was no great inheritance to give dignity to the life that started February 11 (O. S.), 1731/2. His father, a gentleman farmer, as gentlemen went in the early eighteenth century, had no station of peculiar importance. His two grandfathers who had trod Virginia soil had left no special mark. There was nothing in the event which we commemorate tonight that promised great meaning to the community or to the generation in which George Washington was born. The bit of England overseas, that framed his boyhood, carried no hint that it, or the other rangy colonies to north and south, were one day to "redress the balance" of the Old World, or create a new one. Yet when he died, with fewer than the promised "three score years and ten," one of the great figures of all time was lost to mankind. First citizen of a nation born since his birth, he was in a broader sense first citizen of the world, yielding nothing in dignity or value to king or commoner. And in the years that have elapsed since he was laid to rest in the vault upon his father's land, his reputation has grown, resisting alike the damage of the hero-worshippers and the defamers. The former, led by the itinerant book-peddler, Parson Weems, have tried to make of him an unreal image, without succeeding in obscuring the essential humanness of his figure. The latter, seeking to defame, have seen his character throw off the efforts of all like themselves who have

sought to uncover in him the littleness of their own small souls. In a troubled world today we can do no better than adopt his motto: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

There are many who, in the next twelve months, will tell the story of Washington to audiences of every race. They will recite the sequence of his years; his youth on the Virginia border, his early manhood on his beloved plantation, his service in the field when his patient character was almost our only bond of unity, his creative work that our independence might be saved, his guidance of the nation from impotence to dignity, and his last few months at home in his mansion with the broad reaches of the Potomac before his eyes. Tonight, I wish to speak to you of less than this. I have in mind the Western Front, on which he was born, that shaped his life. I should like to suggest the ways in which that open border, our most distinctive heritage, was capable of molding material of the proper sort; and how his knowledge of it and its needs came back to him in his manhood to guide him, more wisely perhaps than he might otherwise have gone; so that his United States, after eight years of his administration, was a going concern, able and willing to protect itself and its people, from enemies at home and enemies abroad. If we should remove the Western Front and all its problems from his early life, we should leave him little of large significance. If we should remove it from his presidency, we should leave that period empty and meaningless.

This Western Front, when Washington was born, lay east of Pittsburgh. Caught in the generous embrace of the western rivers, with the Allegheny stretching north almost to Lake Erie, and the Kanawha reaching south to Carolina, it was a no man's land. Few knew it beyond the Blue Ridge. Only a little while before Governor Spotswood had led his band of riders into the great unknown of the Shenandoah Valley. The stake of England in North America was hardly planted. In the very year of Washington's birth the last of the thirteen colonies, Georgia, became a reality. And from

the Savannah to the Kennebec the straggling step-children of England lived a precarious life between the tides of the Atlantic and the hostile neighbors of the interior. North, south, and west were enemies that threatened extinction to the colonies of the seaboard. The future of self-government in America depended on the conquest of the West.

There were three Wests that gave concern to Washington in his fifty years of manhood; and because they gave concern to him, they interest us tonight. First was the Western Front of his boyhood, from which he drew his ideas of the American cosmos, and on which he learned his trade. It was not far away from home. The Mount Vernon estate, which his father had inherited, and which his older brother named, was near the edge of settlements in his youth. A few hours ride up the Potomac brought him into the wilderness. Thence, a hundred miles as the crow flies, or a little more, took him to the firing line where England met New France and Spain, and where the Indian was restive under either neighbor. The Ohio Valley was a French domain, at least in theory; and the streams that drain the waters of the western slope of the Appalachians are gathered into the Kanawha and the Allegheny before they find their way to the Father of Waters.

The second of his Western Fronts was farther down the stream. Like the first, it too was embraced in the spreading arms of two of the Ohio's tributaries. At the north, the Wabash, long a route of Indian travel, of the missionary, and the voyageur, came within easy portage and paddle of the head of Lake Erie. At the south the Tennessee, continuing the highway to its Muscle Shoals, made a grand circuit around the basin of the Kanawha; and more, around the region of the blue grass and the fertile valley of the Cumberland. Here were many of the problems of his later life. Along this Western Front he applied the lessons he had learned when he trod the trails of the mountains farther east.

Third and last of his Western Fronts was that of the Mississippi itself. Not yet an area of development when his time was up, it was an international boundary, interlocked

with the destiny of the nation he had helped to make. He saved this front; and in saving it he learned some of the trials that a weak new nation must undergo before it can impress upon its seniors the fact that it is a reality. On one Western Front, or another, and against the background of its current problems, George Washington became first a man, then a ruler, and at last a statesman.

It was no novelty for an American lad to make of himself a man, to create his own opportunity, and to enjoy the structure that his vision had conceived. It was, indeed, the typical process. The American who held a status not of his own designing was the exception, not the rule. And George Washington had no prospects that were not based upon his health and ingenuity, and the resources of the "fertile land behind." His biographers have told us in as much detail as the scant sources will allow how he lived the boy in the saddle. They have invented much to round the story. But they have not been able to disguise the truth that the estate of his father was intended for Lawrence, his older brother; or that when the father died too early George was, at the age of eleven, left with even lessened prospects. His widowed mother trained him as she could; but the vigorous lad found his way soon, as he should, to masculine control and to Lawrence's estate. The odd job period of his youth was spent in the open. There was little schooling in it. Virginia did not run to schools. The high seas called; but not loudly enough to dislodge him from the land. Fairfax, his neighbor, sent him to survey his claims, instead. His first £100 of savings were invested in 500 acres of uncultivated land in Frederick County. There was thick atmosphere of speculation as Fairfax fought his battle for the Northern Neck, and as Lawrence joined with other landed speculators in launching the famous Ohio Company of 1748, and soon built its station at Wills Creek. Here was the jumping-off place from the Potomac Valley, and hence the Indian trail rambled through the forest, past the Great Meadows, to the Forks of the Ohio. The important magnates of Virginia were gambling with the western lands;

and neither they nor the lad who listened to their forecasts thought of other resources as promising a greater profit.

It is barely possible that the career of Washington was conditional upon the fact that he was not a successful lover. He might otherwise have married early, staked a claim, and built up a plantation for himself. Most of his contemporaries did this, and in their twenties found themselves heads of growing families,—poor material for risks or wars. Washington certainly would not have been foot-loose and ready for adventure had he had a wife. And if he had missed the experiences of his third decade, no one could possibly guess at the life curve of his forties and his fifties. As it was, however, he was able to capitalize the accessions of his boyhood. He already knew how to live in the woods with safety, and he understood the open country. He had the qualifications and was free to undertake the un-domestic jobs that led on to fame and fortune. Four times in his twenties he visited the Ohio country, or came as near it as the French would let him; and each time when he returned he knew more of the terrain, could better control the rough men who accompanied him there, could more nearly rule himself, and could see a little more clearly into the dark glass of the future. The future of the society he knew depended upon easy access to the un-owned land. The control of that land could not be sure without cooperation among the claimants, or without a guidance that had no place in British policy. His very freedom from entanglements seems to have let him take the broader view, until the Virginia bachelor of twenty-seven began to have a conception of statecraft.

The four campaigns of Washington on the Western Front of his early years have been described so often that there is nothing new in their basic facts. Yet their mere recital suggests the ease with which the resident on the American frontier accustomed himself to the idea of change as a normal expectation, and thought himself defrauded if his old age did not bring him a dignity and status that his youth had lacked. The story begins with the initial trip of 1753 with a message

for the French commandant at Fort Le Boeuf. An older man might perhaps have done it better; a man of higher standing might perhaps have spoken with a larger authority. But the mission was fore-doomed to failure since the French were there for the specific purpose of keeping Virginia away. And all that Washington, or Virginia, learned from the mission was the fact that they would have to fight. Yet it advertised the youth, made him more heady with his early authority than he could have been as father of a cabin family, and gave him credentials for the second trip of 1754.

The military experts have sometimes wondered whether Washington did not become a better general because his first campaign was lost. There was as little chance for success in the military expedition of 1754 as there had been in the diplomatic visitation of the year before. The French were in occupation in superior numbers, and they knew their mind; and Washington had not yet quite left the sophomore class, and liked to hear the bullets whistle. His superiors, in commenting upon his behavior, called him reckless; as perhaps he was. But they had done little to support him for a campaign of empire. The French, however, who brought about his surrender of Fort Necessity in July, permitted him and his little army to march back home with all the honors of war. He carried with him a stock of information about the front. The Forks of the Ohio had become a strategic point worth possessing. And the land bounties which Governor Dinwiddie had offered to officers and men were capable of being applied to fertile fields. It was true that no one knew who owned the land that Dinwiddie promised to stimulate enlistment. The French occupied it, and both Pennsylvania and Virginia called it their own. The boundary of Pennsylvania and Maryland had not yet been agreed upon, or run as far as the head of the Potomac; and beyond that point, still to be established, the open country to the Ohio was a prize to be attained.

The spring of 1755 beheld the gathering at Alexandria of a military force from England, and a fixed determination to oust the French from the country beyond the mountains.

General Braddock mobilized his force at Wills Creek, where the speculations of the Ohio Company were a memory, and where a frontier fort, now Fort Cumberland, guarded the starting point of the road to the Ohio. From Pennsylvania, Dr. Franklin sent the farmers' wagons to move the camp supplies. Pioneers from the backwoods cut a road through the heavy forest, and widened the trail that the Indians had blazed, and that Washington had twice trod, until it could carry army trains. And in the month of June Washington was again upon the road. He was learning life. This year he learned how little use the military authorities of England had for a mere provincial military officer. He had no rank. Any English regular could command the highest colonial. But he traveled with the headquarters' staff, and watched the English column march solidly against an enemy that knew nothing of formations and everything of open warfare. He was present, though "excessively ill," when they reached the Monongahela, and when at what is now Braddock, Pennsylvania, the French and Indians gained a sweeping victory. Braddock paid for his inexpertness in this kind of warfare with his life, the defeat passed into legend,—when "Braddock's army was done so brown," as Dr. Holmes expressed it. But Archer Butler Hulbert has pointed out, with clearer vision, that though the troops of England were defeated, theirs was the victory. The road itself remained after the disordered army had hurried home. And the next spring saw a procession of frontier farmers following the road, locating claims, and digging in for home and family. France had no force capable of withstanding the frontier on the move.

And again in 1758, fourth time in his twenties, Washington rode across the mountains to the west. This time it was in the train of Forbes, who was sent to do the task at which Braddock had failed. From Fort Cumberland, and Bedford, Pennsylvania, cutting a new road through the forests north of what was to be Mason and Dixon's line, the troops advanced. This time there was no surprise and no destruction;

and the French wrote off a loss at once. As the army approached the Forks of the Ohio, the French abandoned the spot, blew up the magazines of Fort Duquesne, and left for Canada. And with their departure they brought to an end an era in the history of this Western Front. On November 25, 1758, Forbes entered the area of the smoking ruins, renamed the spot Pittsburgh, and settled the destiny of the interior of the continent.

Never in his life did Washington forget this West. Here he had learned to be a man. Here he had staked out possessions of his own acquiring. His estates, covered with the warrants issued to the soldiers, and bought by him, lay upon the Ohio shores. He bought the site of his defeat, the farm at Great Meadows, where Fort Necessity had stood. He visited his possessions after the Pennsylvania-Maryland line was run in 1768, making friends at Pittsburgh in 1770, and feeling out the prospects as between Pennsylvania and Virginia. He came back to his lands again in 1784, when he had become a hero. And there was ground into his consciousness the impossibility of doing settled business without a government; the necessity of a common judge; and the fact that in the West lay the American future. When England, in 1763, in a moment of reorganization, forbade the issuance of farther land titles west of the sources of rivers flowing into the Atlantic, he acquired a grievance that gave him a common bond with nearly every grown American. Land was the chief basis of social dignity in North America. To cut it off was to deprive British subjects of the very raw material of their life.

But before the western experiences of the young Washington had turned him into a man of property, he had by accident changed his status in Virginia society, becoming at once a gentleman of means and a personage, whether at Mount Vernon or at Williamsburg. The accident had been that of death. Lawrence had died. His children had not survived him long. Subject only to allowances to his sister-in-law, the wife of Lawrence, Washington inherited Mount

Vernon and all that it implied. In the intervals between the western expeditions he consolidated his plantation, and immediately after the naming of Pittsburgh he abandoned soldiering to hurry home to bring a bride to his estate. The bride herself, Martha Custis, born Dandridge, was a young woman as wealthy as any in Virginia. What her new husband may have lacked in means and dignity, she brought to him. It was a fair bargain, for she gained a protector for her children and a manager of rare capacity for her fortune. And Washington, with two fortunes at his hand, was instantly a magnate.

But he had lost the capacity to be only a Virginia magnate. He was already, at twenty-seven, more than this. He had served the public; and one who once serves the public without gain never gets it out of his blood. He had seen the vast importance of government and aim, if a people is to attain any of its ends. And he had picked up a view of business venture, and operations broader than any that might ordinarily be enclosed within the extended boundaries of a Virginia estate, however large. His own western possessions, only a few score miles away, were in a different universe. He had been forced to appreciate the possible meanings in the fact that water flows down hill, and that the western drainage of the Appalachians would carry not only the rain as it fell, but the commerce of that region down the Ohio, down the Mississippi, until it looked out into the commerce of the world at New Orleans. He was already revolving in his slow and accurate mind the fundamentals of an all-American structure when Britain precipitated action in that direction by laying the ban upon western penetration. There was self-interest in it, of course; for Washington was an orderly business man, and expected to make a profit out of his personal ventures. There was provincial pride; for he saw a danger that Pennsylvania might capture the resources of the West, or if not Pennsylvania, one of the new speculations that were already buzzing about the authorities at Westminster, asking for new charters and franchises. But there was

also a conception of a group interest among the Americans, and an ideal that might be reached only through a cooperation that America had not yet experienced. Franklin had contributed a pungent slogan, *Join or Die*; Washington was conceiving it with a different emphasis, as *Join and Live*.

In the thirty years after his marriage to Martha Custis, 1759-1789, George Washington set the pattern of his life, against which he lived until the end. A great Virginia planter and manager, his operating acreage steadily grew. No detail in the management of a plantation was too small for his scrutiny. He lived in the saddle, and knew his fields, his livestock, and his slaves. Few of his contemporaries had broader interests of the sort. His speculative acreage grew as well. Like his fellow-countrymen, he sought the profit to be found in the rising value of the land. He thought and moved in tens of thousands of acres, and learned from the management of his property how hard it would later be for the nation to protect and use its own public domain as a national trust. He fell in with the idea of public improvements, glimpsing the vista of a national highway along or near the trail that he had so often trod. From the head of the Potomac to the waters of the Ohio, he conceived a road and a waterway. The proposals for a Potomac Company, and the cooperation worked out before it became a reality in 1785, mark nearly the beginning of American promotion ventures. He accepted the presidency of this company, writing to a friend: "The Western States stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them either way." He joined in other improvement ventures, subscribed his share to the capital of banking schemes, and held a steady place as leader in agricultural, social, and economic life.

And against this pattern, he became a politician, a soldier, and a statesman. The married Washington, alternating his residence at Mount Vernon, and at Williamsburg (when the Virginia House of Burgesses was in session), spoke on terms of complete equality with the greatest of the province.

He did not speak much, except in private, for his was not the genius or the instinct of the spell-binder. He left no speeches that thrilled the audiences that heard them, or the later reader who digs them out. But he could procure agreement among his equals, and prepare the basis for cooperation. Before the accumulating grievances of the Americans broke forth in the series of congresses whereby a common bond was built, he had seen farther than most into the aims and consequences of common action, for it was the Western Front that gave stability to the common future. He was in his seat as burgess when Patrick Henry moved the fiery Stamp Act resolves, knowing what they meant better than Henry, for he was a doer and not a talker. He rode to Philadelphia in 1774 to sit in and watch the workings of the Continental Congress. He returned to the second congress, after Concord and Lexington in 1775, wearing the uniform of a Virginia colonel. His buff and blue coat made it unnecessary for him to speak much; but when the necessity for action brought about his election to command the continental army, he was ready to start at once for Boston. It was an unusual revolution that was led by the pillars of society. It implies that the pillars, and of these Washington was the most substantial, had breadth of vision rare among rulers; or that the revolution itself was different from most of the convulsive movements that have remodeled the structure of society. Home rule, and an accumulating sense of bafflement lay behind it. The urge for independence, and the character of Washington, held it together until the end. But Washington, who differed from most of his associates in character and personal disinterest, differed from them even more completely in his conviction that revolution was a beginning and not an end; that an American governing structure must replace that of his English namesake, and that the future of this new government would depend largely upon the wisdom with which it faced the opportunities, the responsibilities, and the duties of the Western Front.

George Washington saw, in the limits assigned his coun-

try at the peace, the "bounds to a new empire," and avowed that he would not rest content until he had explored them all. Life was too short for this. But he knew the older Western Front through his activities as a youth. He traveled through the Mohawk country while he was waiting for the army to be disbanded in 1783; and had recognized the destiny that called upon New York to expand up-State and to improve a highway to Lake Erie. As President he made it his business to become acquainted with the American Main Street. In successive pageants, that his critics sneered at as ostentatious display, he visited New England. He journeyed south, on a visitation to all the southern States in 1791. He never saw the new commonwealths that were building upon the front of the Tennessee and the Wabash, but he knew them better than they knew themselves. It was not a feeling for display that moved him, but a sense of emphasis upon the common bond and the national aim. He took himself seriously as President because every one of the United States needed to have something outside itself that it took seriously. His itineraries revealed to his people, often for the first time, a visible symbol of a common destiny.

He managed, in the last years of the thirty that followed his marriage, to do much of the heavy spade work in the construction of a frame of government. The natural sequence of events links the framing of the Federal Constitution, done at Philadelphia in 1787, with the requirements of his second Western Front. During the years of warfare for independence the flow of population west had never stopped. What was no man's land in the decade when Forbes took Pittsburgh, was dotted with farms and villages a generation later. The cutting edge of settlement, that ran near Mount Vernon when Washington was born, was on the Monongahela when he fought the French, and was at the Falls of the Ohio when he was patiently waiting for an opening against the British armies. All of the reasons that led him to appreciate the values of the Ohio country, as a young man, were weightier after the Blue Grass had become Kentucky County; and the

importance of trade and bonds between the sections was doubled when it became clear that soon Kentucky would have to be a State. He reverted to his old ideas, as he prospected a route for a western highway in 1784, and as he promoted the Potomac Company in 1785. But before such a highway could become reality, there were negotiations to be carried through with Virginia, of course, and with Pennsylvania and Maryland whose territory and interests were extensively involved. There were conferences galore, and with every conference the project and its implications grew. Virginia and Maryland must agree upon jurisdiction over the Potomac itself; so they conferred. Pennsylvania and the nearby States were interested; so they were brought into the discussion. It became apparent that the existing articles of Confederation were inadequate to give the security that was needed; so they must be amended. The conferees discussed the nature of the amendments. The project outgrew their hands, until at last the States concerned, and even the nearly futile Congress, joined in calling the convention that met in Philadelphia, to sit in the old State House, to propose amendments. And it was no accident that Washington, almost alone of the delegates from a distance, was on hand when the settled day arrived; or that he was the easy choice as president of the convention. His solidity, rather than his active words helped hold the negotiators together, behind their closed doors through the hot summer; while his approval was all that many of his fellow citizens required when they wanted to be assured that the scheme was safe. And his unanimous election as first President under the new Constitution, drew him in his advancing years from the quiet of the home he loved to the racking task of giving life to formal words and reality to a scheme of national control. With the Western Fronts of the Wabash-Tennessee, and of the Mississippi itself, he was vitally concerned at nearly every moment of his years in office.

This is not the time to discuss the presidency of Washington, fruitful as it was. It will be enough merely to sug-

gest the problems of national existence that rose upon the final Western Front, and that Washington must meet before he could hand over to any successor in the presidency a going nation. There was the national estate, a common trust, held by the nation for the good of all. This needed to be protected while it ripened. There were the people, whose persistent habit of life had brought them into jeopardy through the whole period of colonial existence. They needed to be safeguarded as much against themselves as against the native Indian. There was the government itself, the people in their corporate interest, to be protected against the same people in their individual desires; and individual desires that had long run riot before the slackness of the wrong-headed direction of the English government. And there was finally the national interest, to be established before the world, to be justified in its right to live its own free life, and to be brought into possession of all the empire that was washed along its western border by the Mississippi.

Each of these problems, and each was rooted in a Western Front, and each was steadied by the hand of Washington, might well be the subject of a volume. Our libraries are already full of their details. But often the trees obscure the vision of a forest; and as often the details of historical narrative conceal a pattern that has, like this, a meaning of its own. The West was, to a large extent, the *raison d'être* of American existence.

In the matter of the national domain,—the common lands won by joint effort from England, and assigned to Congress for administration,—there had already been basic policies laid down before Washington and his associates adjourned the Federal Convention in Philadelphia. But he had long before suggested and approved the notion, new to empires, that out of this raw land new commonwealths should grow. His mind had no imperial notion of dependent provinces existing for the profit of a holding country. The Virginia militiaman, whose rank had meant nothing before the supercilious uniform of a British regular, had no intention of lord-

ing it over his countrymen of the newer settlements. As soon as they were capable of bearing burdens, they were to assume their share; and with the burdens the responsibility for common welfare. He signed the act that gave constitutional validity to the Northwest Ordinance, and under his direction there was worked out as much of public policy as could be sketched before the spokesmen of the West itself made their appearance in the national councils. And over his signature the first three additional States came into the Union, to attest the sincerity of a policy that made the modern United States what it has become.

The persistent habit of his people was a continuous menace to their existence. Ever to the west of the line of homes was a fringe of clearings; and in every clearing an isolated cabin, and a family dear to some one. No measures of the provincial governments, or of England, had been able to deter the advance of settlements. The Indian wars of a century had been rooted in provocations of the border; with border fear or border menace nearly equally divided. Resenting every check of government, the border had ever insisted upon a protection that no government could guarantee. And as Washington set up a government north of the Ohio, looking toward a seventeenth State, the straggling outposts of the colony pushed into the Indian country regardless of controls. It was by no means certain that the government of the United States possessed the power to control its Indians, or to protect its people against themselves; but to Washington it was a duty to be faced. The details are written large among the books. Harmar tried and failed. St. Clair repeated the disaster. And at last Anthony Wayne, with an American Legion of his creating and disciplining, pushed the outposts of military protection from Cincinnati to the site of St. Clair's defeat, and met the Indians at the Fallen Timbers on the Maumee. His peace of Greenville, 1795, established the truth that the United States could, if it must, be rough. It made a peace that protected its border, and served as a precedent that no successor of Washington has dared to ignore.

Less popular than this, but quite as necessary, was the determination of Washington to protect the common interest of the people from their several local claims. While Wayne was marching from the Miami to the Maumee, Washington was himself considering his obligations in the face of insurrection in the West. The frontiersmen of his early Western Front were an enterprising lot. The farmers of western Virginia and western Pennsylvania hardly knew a law; and had an under-developed sense of obligation to any law that they disliked. The greatest of American handicaps,—an over-readiness to pass a law and an under-willingness to allow it reality,—confronted the government from the day that Congress enacted an excise and placed a tax on stills. There was a large element of justice in the border feeling of adverse discrimination in the excise law that taxed whisky, the one cash crop. But the joyous violation of the law, the riotous maltreatment of the federal agent, the effervescent language of defiance, set Washington a task. He was not one to solve a problem in government by taking the ground that the law-breaker should determine policy. He warned the insurgents to cease their violence. When warnings failed, he summoned the militia from the middle States; so much of it as to make resistance out of question. He mobilized them at Carlisle and met them at Bedford, as they marched west over the roads he knew so well. And when they brought the leaders back, and the courts convicted them, and the principle of law-enforcement had been established, he pardoned the culprits, for he had no stomach for domestic persecution. He left it clear that federal law was to be enforced, and that those who obstructed the early purposes of the nation must do so at their own risk.

And last, he occupied the limits of the nation's land. The treaty of 1783, whose boundaries had suggested a new empire to his mind, was a treaty which solvent Europe had made with what it regarded as a probably insolvent group of revolutionary States. It was well enough to sign it, but its enforcement was another matter. And the States themselves

gave abundant excuse for delay in carrying out the guarantees. They hazed the Loyalists, and took their property. They tried to forget the private debts to English lenders. And Spain and England had reasons of their own for going slowly in the release to the possession of the United States of the northwest country, lying south of the Great Lakes, and the southwest country, lying north of New Orleans. A nation without a tested government, with uncertain ability to protect the lives of its people or to enforce its laws, without financial resources or military power, is likely to be a nation lacking the effective respect of other nations. Such was the United States when Washington took hold in 1789. His diplomatic task called for results without resources. There was little in America, within his jurisdiction, with which he could threaten or enforce a demand. His only chance was to take advantage of situations in Europe as they developed, and to play upon European needs as a means of securing concessions in America. This he did; and again the story is a long one, and detailed. But in 1794 John Jay procured from England a treaty promising to release the frontier posts. And in 1795 Thomas Pinckney gained compliance at Madrid. And the task was nearly done when Washington left the presidential house in Philadelphia, and returned to Mount Vernon for the epilogue.

In eight years, and, I believe, with an experience and understanding to which the Western Fronts had made a heavy contribution, Washington gave reality to the parchment that the Fathers signed in Philadelphia. He left a nation intact throughout its borders. It could and would enforce its laws. It was determined to protect the lives of its people. And it had embarked upon a scheme of promotion and development that were in the generations to convert it into an empire of equal opportunity. The historian Gordon praised the Father of his Country to his face: "You was raised up by the Lord of Hosts to be an instrument of saving the United States"; and I, for one, know no reason for denying the correctness of the judgment.

**DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL TO DOCTORS JOHN GALE
AND RICHARD M. COLEMAN, BY THE ROCK IS-
LAND COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY, ROCK ISLAND,
ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 20, 1931.**

The Rock Island County Medical Society reflected credit upon itself when on October 20, 1931, it dedicated a bronze tablet to the memory of two members of its profession, who a century ago, were buried in the Post Cemetery of Old Fort Armstrong, viz: Doctors John Gale and Richard M. Coleman.

The dedicatory exercises called for two meetings. One held in the afternoon, when the tablet was placed at the site of the cemetery on the island of Rock Island; and the other, a banquet, held at Hotel Fort Armstrong, the evening of the same day.

The afternoon exercises enlisted the services of the officers of the County Medical Society; of Colonel David M. King, Commandant of Rock Island Arsenal; a color guard and bugler of U. S. Regulars stationed at the Arsenal, and Rev. William Robert Hodgson, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Moline.

The tablet bears the following inscription:

“JOHN GALE

Surgeon United States Army. Born in New Hampshire, 1790. Died at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, July 27, 1830.

RICHARD M. COLEMAN

Assistant Surgeon United States Army born in Kentucky. Died at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, Sept. 2, 1832.

“These men served with distinction at many frontier Posts, and as surgeons of Colonel Henry Atkinson’s expedition to the mouth of the Yellowstone, in 1825, performed exceptional medical service.



Dedication of Tablet to Doctors John Gale and Richard M. Coleman.

“To the memory of these pioneer physicians this tablet marking their last resting place is erected by the Rock Island County Medical Society, A. D. 1931.”

The banquet at the Hotel was an outstanding event in the history of the County Medical Society, and was well attended by physicians and surgeons from various parts of the County, together with a number of guests.

For the suggestion which led to this happy occasion the County Medical Society is indebted to Dr. Irving S. Cutter, Dean of the Northwestern University Medical School. Dean Cutter who holds also the title of Permanent Historian of the Illinois State Medical Society, appeared a year ago, on the program of the Rock Island County celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the Revolutionary war, with a Paper entitled: “Dr. John Gale, Distinguished Army Physician and Surgeon, at Fort Armstrong.” In connection with the sesqui-centennial, the Physicians’ Clubs of the cities of Moline and Rock Island held a reception and luncheon in honor of Dean Cutter, and there was conceived the idea of placing the tablet herein described. To the name of Dr. John Gale was added that of Dr. Richard M. Coleman who was a victim of the terrible epidemic of cholera at Fort Armstrong during the Black Hawk War, 1832.

The program as carried out was as follows:

PROGRAM AT MARKER

5:00 P. M.

DR. HUGH A. BEAM, *Presiding*

- Invocation.....Rev. Wm. R. Hodgson, Moline
- Explanation of the Occasion.....Dr. Stuart W. Adler
- Unveiling of the Tablet.....Dr. W. H. Myers
- President of the Rock Island County Medical Society
- Acceptance by Custodian.....Col. D. M. King
- Commanding Officer, Rock Island Arsenal
- Singing—“America”
- Taps Bugler
- Benediction

The site of the Post burying ground at Fort Armstrong is now part of the Rock Island Arsenal. This tablet is placed on an undisturbed boulder at approximately this site.

EVENING PROGRAM

Fort Armstrong Hotel

Dinner 7:00 P. M.

DR. W. H. MYERS, *Presiding*

DR. JOSEPH DESILVA, *Toastmaster*

Introductory Remarks.....Dr. W. H. Myers

Music.....Foster String Trio

Address—"U. S. Army Surgeons at Fort Armstrong"

.....Mr. John H. Hauberg

Vice-President, Illinois State Historical Society

Vocal SoloDr. F. E. Bollaert

Address—"Drs. John Gale and Richard M. Coleman"....

.....Dr. Irving S. Cutter

Dean, Northwestern University Medical School

Singing—"Star Spangled Banner"

ROCK ISLAND COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY

Officers

President.....Wm. H. Myers, M. D.

Vice-President.....C. H. Anderson, M. D.

Second Vice-President.....C. J. F. Rochow, M. D.

Secretary.....W. F. Schroeder, M. D.

Treasurer.....C. C. Ellis, M. D.

Medical Legal Advisor.....A. T. Leipold, M. D.

The floral decorations are from the Watertown Hospital florist through the courtesy of Mrs. C. H. Anderson, President of the Women's Auxiliary of the Rock Island County Medical Society.

The color bearers, color guard and bugler are from the 33rd Ordnance Company, Rock Island Arsenal.

As Dean Cutter's address was delivered without the use of notes it cannot be reproduced here. His address delivered at the time of the sesqui-centennial is however to be found in the January, 1931, number of the Journal of the Illi-

nois State Historical Society (Vol. XXIII, No. 4), and contains in substance his oration on this occasion.

The Paper read by John H. Hauberg is given below:

U. S. ARMY SURGEONS AT FORT ARMSTRONG.

JOHN H. HAUBERG.

We are paying especial attention at this time to two eminent Army Surgeons, whose remains lie buried just outside the site of old Fort Armstrong. They were of that hardy type who lived on the frontier with all its privations, and who blazed the way for the ease and comforts of those who were to follow.

It is to the credit of the Rock Island County Medical Society that it is the first to recognize individual worth, in institutions of the long ago, so far at least as it applies to local history. Our community joined in erecting a replica of one of the blockhouses of Fort Armstrong, some years ago, and over in Davenport they have dedicated a tablet commemorating the Treaty of the Black Hawk Purchase, of 1832; while in Moline a tablet informs us of the site of the first water-power on the Mississippi, and on this island of Rock Island itself, there has this Summer been torn down the remains, with its accompanying bronze tablet, of the first bridge ever to span the Mississippi. Rock Island's first house site is marked; bronze tablets are found also marking the Westernmost Campaign of the Revolutionary war; of Black Hawk's village site, and the location of the battery which opened the Black Hawk war from the top of the Watch Tower. Two Indians of historic importance have likewise been memorialized: Black Hawk in Spencer Square, and LaMain Cassee at Black Hawk State Park, but as to tablets for white men of note, Doctors Gale and Coleman, in the hands of the Rock Island County Medical Society, are the first.

We are indebted to our friend from the site of a former sister Post, that of Fort Dearborn, for the inspiration which originated this meeting. I refer to Dean Irving S. Cutter,

of Northwestern University, who appeared on the program of our Sesqui-Centennial a year ago, and braced us up with an account of Dr. John Gale and his sterling qualities.

Since Dr. Cutter is with us on this occasion and will tell us particularly about the achievements of Surgeons Gale and Coleman, I shall devote my time to a description of the surroundings in which these men lived and died. We will think of them as jewels, and a jewel is never so attractive as when shown in its proper setting. This setting I shall attempt to provide.

The frontier Post located on Rock Island, and named Fort Armstrong in honor of the man who was Secretary of War two years before its erection in 1816, was an institution which housed a number of more or less distinct branches of service, both public and private.

Firstly: There were soldiers, of course, for it was intended that its principal service should be that of a military stronghold.

Secondly: It was the headquarters of the U. S. Indian Agent. His duties were of a civil nature; a diplomatic service with the tribes under his jurisdiction, and, an administrative service as to the white men who traded with the Indian.

Thirdly: There was the interpreter who served alike for soldier and civilian, and in whatever capacity an interpreter might be required. He was a necessary adjunct at all frontier Posts.

As a rule there was a fourth element, private in its nature, which flourished under the eaves of the Fort proper. This was the Trader, whose special object was the peltry of the native hunter and trapper.

And finally, but neither last nor least; The Army surgeon. For him and his tasks the Government erected a special building known as the "Hospital and Surgeons Quarters." At Fort Armstrong this building occupied a commanding site, perched along the crest of the perpendicular limestone bank, at this point about twenty-five feet above the normal stage of water, and at the north side of the Fort enclosure. The fort

was approximately 270 feet square, and there was reserved for the hospital one entire side of this square, with one of the Blockhouses a hundred or more feet to the east, and the commandant's headquarters about the same distance to the west, where today stands the Guardhouse, beside the Government bridge. Thus, there was an admirable location, high and dry and overlooking the main channel of the Mississippi. As to the general healthfulness of this locality, we quote from Flagler's *Rock Island Arsenal*, page 33, as follows:— "The site is remarkably healthy, as evinced by the reports, now on file in the office of the United States Surgeon-General, in relation to the health of the troops stationed at the various military posts of the United States, and covering a period of more than 20 years, during which the number upon the sick list at Fort Armstrong was proportionately less than at any other post in the Western country."

Here then, perched on its rocky crag, was the castle of the post surgeon. Here in no uncertain way was the Court of last Resort; the Lord of all he surveyed; the Man of Miracles. All was fish in his net, whether it be the Commanding Officer, the private in the ranks, the Indian Agent, his blacksmith, the Trader or his clerks or boatmen: The Indian suffering the same pangs as his white brother; the itinerant missionary of the cross, the explorer mapping new lakes and rivers; the traveller seeking strange adventure; an author gleaning material for another book; the artist finding new scenes for his brush; and eventually the pioneer settler; all alike found their way to Fort Armstrong and on occasion entered the Surgeon's gates with humility and trusted life and limb to the disposition of him who reigned there.

I cannot claim to be the first to speak of Castles with reference to Fort Armstrong. Governor Thomas Ford, one of the six Illinois Governors, who came to fight Black Hawk, described the Fort as of that day as follows:

"Rock Island, was then in a complete state of nature, a romantic wilderness. Fort Armstrong was built upon a rocky cliff on the lower point of an island, near the center of

the river," and (The traveller) on "the voyage upstream after several days solitary progress through a wilderness country * * * *, came suddenly in sight of the whitewashed walls and towers of the fort, perched upon a rock, surrounded by the grandeur and beauty of nature, which at a distance gave it the appearance of one of those enchanted castles * * so well described in the Arabian Nights Entertainments."¹ A close-up view of the Post was equally gratifying, as described by Caleb Atwater, as of the year 1829, as follows:

"The officers have adjoining the fort, a most beautiful garden regularly laid out, with gravelled walks, in which are cultivated beets, carrots, onions, potatoes, corn and every vegetable growing in this climate. Nothing could exceed this garden in fruitfulness and every leaf appeared to shine in luxuriance. The gourd seed corn was fit to roast, the beets had attained a good size, and so had the potatoes, beans and carrots." As to the white civilian population, and their Indian visitors, at the fort, the same author says: "The village adjoins the fort on the North, and a few families live here. Mr. Davenport, who keeps a store for the American Fur Co., being a principal man among them. The sutler has a store here in addition to the company's store." "Col. (Pierre) Menard and myself went to the Indian Agent's, Mr. Forsythe, where we were met by the Winnebago Prophet and about 200 Indians of that nation. Seating ourselves in the porch of the Agency House, we were addressed by five (Indian) orators in succession."²

It is impractical to attempt a roll call of all those who were officially connected in one capacity or another with old Fort Armstrong during its thirty years under army officers, and I shall mention only a few. The few, however, will give an idea of the character of the men among whom the army surgeon lived and with whom he must measure in mental, social, and professional stature.

Let us begin with the interpreter, Antoine LeClaire, part

¹ Hist. of Ill., by Ford, pp. 115-116.

² Remarks made on a tour to Prairie du Chien, by Atwater, 1829, published 1831, pp. 64-65.

Indian and part white. He spoke both English and French and a dozen Indian tongues. In connection with his daily tasks he was an interpreter at many an imposing Treaty scene; later entering upon a business career as one of the proprietors of the town of Davenport, Iowa. He grew to be its wealthiest and most prominent citizen. His name is perpetuated in the name of the town of LeClaire, Iowa, in LeClaire Canal and Lock, the LeClaire Hotel at Moline, and the steamboat "LeClaire" of the U. S. Engineer's fleet, on the upper Mississippi.

SECONDLY, we will introduce the traders:

The traders, Davenport and Farnham whose establishment was situated near the Fort, were men of unusual talents. George Davenport had served under the American flag in the second war with England; had come to Rock Island with the original builders of Fort Armstrong in 1816, as the agent of the contractor who furnished the troops with commissary supplies; he was eminently successful as a merchant, and gained the friendship of the Indians with whom he traded to such an extent that they would scarcely venture into a Treaty with the whites without his counsel and approval. He was one of the founders of the city of Davenport, Iowa, and together with his partner, Farnham, purchased almost all of the present site of the city of Rock Island, including the present Black Hawk State Park.

Of Russel Farnham, Davenport's partner, much has been written and more will be said, for in these latter years we have been hearing much about the round-the-world trips. Farnham was the first to walk around the world, or at least, to walk so much of the way. He was one of the men connected with John Jacob Astor's Transcontinental expedition, so well written up by Washington Irving in his "Astoria." Death overtook most of the party, and the three remaining members of whom Farnham was one, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, just in time to see the ships which they were to meet, leaving without them, having given up hope of their ever arriving. Farnham's long years of being held a prisoner

by Indians of the Pacific Coast; his final escape to Siberia, and the long walk across that immense stretch of country, with difficulty keeping body and soul together, and his eventual return to his native country, his coming to Fort Armstrong; the partnership with Colonel Davenport, stamp him as a leading character³ among the builders of this western country.

The names of the two partners, Davenport and Farnham were given to the County seats on opposite sides of the river from Fort Armstrong; Scott County, Iowa, having its County seat named "Davenport" for the one, and Rock Island County, Illinois, naming its County seat "Farnhamsburg," for the other. (After some years however, the name Farnhamsburg was changed to that of Rock Island as it is today.)

THIRDLY, the Indian Agents:

One of the interesting offices maintained at Fort Armstrong was that of the Indian Agent. He was the United States Ambassador to the Sauk and Fox nation of Indians, and also attended to the licensing of White Traders among the Indians. He delivered the annuities to the Indians, sometimes in specie and sometimes in goods and merchandise; he issued passports to such local Indians as wished to travel to other parts of the country; he arranged trips to Washington that our chiefs might see their "Great Father." He was an official in the matter of treaty-making and particularly such in attempting to have the terms of the Treaty carried out in practice. He was equally concerned that war should not be begun by one tribe against another or by Indians against the whites. His office was constantly sought by the natives for everything, from the issuing of whisky rations for religious feasts, to complaints of desecration of Indian graves by the whites. Hardly a phase of native life was excluded; trespasses committed by other tribes; warriors patiently waiting for the hostile Sioux to send a delegation to smoke the peace-pipe with them, the alternative being war. Canoes and ponies stolen, sometimes by the white man and sometimes by the

³ Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1930.

Indians; blows struck, murders committed; bootleggers with their illicit liquor. The Indian Agent also employed the blacksmith under terms of treaties, to which the squaw brought her hoe or iron kettle for repair and the brave, his gun and traps. As a licenser of white traders, he must approve their bonds for the faithful performance of the terms of the license; record the names of the Trader's clerks, interpreters and boatmen; designate the place where, and the tribes with whom trade was to be carried on. The Indian Agent's correspondence with his superior, Governor Wm. Clark, of St. Louis, and with officials at Washington, form an interesting contribution to our local Indian history and add to the appreciation of the value to a primitive community of such posts as that of Fort Armstrong.

Among those who served in the office of Indian Agent with distinction was Major Thomas Forsythe. He was a half-brother to John H. Kinzie, famed as Chicago's first settler. Major Forsythe served as spy among tribes occupying Illinois soil during the second war with England, serving with the greatest personal danger in this capacity, and yet maintaining the friendship of the natives among whom he served. He was mentioned as "Perhaps the most efficient officer of his rank employed in the Indian Department of the frontier"⁴ and it was believed that had he been retained at Fort Armstrong throughout the period of trouble with Black Hawk there would have been no Black Hawk war.

Felix St. Vrain succeeded Forsythe as Indian Agent at Fort Armstrong. He "was recognized to be a man of unusual bravery, and devotedly attached to the welfare of the Indians."⁵ In the course of the Black Hawk war he was sent from Dixon with dispatches for Fort Armstrong to which place he proceeded intending to go via Galena. He was however, waylaid by a party of Indians and killed. It was recorded of him that "his tragic death was deplored the country over by reason of his unusual acquaintance and his great reputation for good deeds all his life long."⁶

⁴ MSS photostat copies in possession of J. H. Hauberg.

⁵ Stevens' "Black Hawk War," p. 171.

⁶ Ibid.

Of other Indian agents stationed at Fort Armstrong we will mention only General Joseph M. Street. Migrating in 1806 from Virginia,⁷ he published for some years a newspaper at Frankfort, Kentucky, when he was appointed Indian Agent, with his office at Prairie du Chien. This was in 1828 and he was in charge of the office there when Black Hawk in 1832 was captured and brought fresh from his hiding place at the Dells of the Wisconsin, and was turned over to the keeping of General Street. It was to General Street that Black Hawk uttered his famous valedictory address, which, someone has said, "Ranks with the masterpieces of oratory."

General Street was transferred to Rock Island, October 6, 1836, and in one of his letters to Governor Dodge, of Wisconsin, he indicates the regard which the Indians had for him, as follows: "These Indians have appealed to me so earnestly to remain, and your reference to their unsettled state induces me to believe the public service will be best subserved by my remaining at Rock Island for the present at least."⁸

FOURTHLY, the Army Officers:

We will pass now to the military arm of Fort Armstrong; to that branch of the service to which the official army surgeon was appointed. The roll of military men, great in their time, who had connection with Fort Armstrong is doubtless unsurpassed in the annals of this country for a Post of similar nature. They include the great leaders in the Mexican war, and the leaders, both North and South in the Civil war. It is not to be assumed that those whose names were not so widely heralded, were of minor character. All were appointed to the command of the fort because of their fitness for the position, and doubtless each one of them would have taken admirable care of any emergency that might have arisen.

Major John Bliss it was, who led the Regulars with their cannon and the Company of local militia to Black Hawk's Watch Tower, on June 20th, 1831, and fired the first gun in the unhappy struggle with Black Hawk. Major Bliss came

⁷ "Wis. Hist. Colls.", 2, 173n.

⁸ J. H. Hauberg's photostat copies.

to Fort Armstrong July 27, 1830, the very day on which Dr. John Gale, whose memory we are this day honoring is reported to have died. In speaking of Major Bliss, it is an interesting sidelight to note that his son won great fame in the Mexican war; married Miss Elizabeth Taylor, a daughter of Zachary Taylor, and became private secretary to President Taylor, while his wife, affectionately called "Miss Betty" served as mistress of the White House and "charmed Washington society with her grace, beauty and intelligence."⁹

General Edmund Pendleton Gaines came to Fort Armstrong in 1831 for the express purpose of removing Black Hawk to the west side of the Mississippi. It was he who met the Illinois Volunteers of 1831 at the site of the present village of Andalusia, and there inducted them into the service of the United States. On the day of the attack on Black Hawk's town, General Gaines moved to the scene of expected action by steamboat up Rock River, and cannonaded Vanduffs Island from the boat while Major Bliss was occupied with the same kind of action from the top of the Watch Tower. The commanding personality of General Gaines was however not shown either at Andalusia or at Black Hawk's village, as it was at Fort Armstrong some time before the above mentioned events occurred. It was on an occasion when it was still hoped that the Indians could be induced to leave without actual force. Black Hawk had exhausted every resource in his attempt to arrive at some agreement by which his people might remain in the village of their fathers, and where were buried the remains of their ancestors. He had sought the influence of the Post Interpreter, the Indian Agent, the trader. All advised him to move to the west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk had sent a delegation of his women, headed by the daughter of a chief, who represented to General Gaines that they, the squaws, owned the fields and had never consented to their transfer to the whites. Black Hawk even hoped a trade might be made of their rich lead mines, for the village site, but all to no avail.

⁹ "Taylor's Letters," p. XII.

The impatient General Gaines sent a command that Black Hawk come to the Fort and be told what he must do. The angry war chief came, but brought with him a hundred or more of his braves, all painted and armed to the teeth, singing the war song in a boisterous manner as they approached the place of meeting at the Fort. The best evidence we have that bloodshed was imminent is that Keokuk and other friendly chiefs who were with Gaines at the time hastily departed. They did not wish to be implicated in any scene of massacre. It was here that General Gaines showed his masterful qualities, when a false move, or an unfortunate word would have set off the dynamite with which the occasion was charged. Not only was an outbreak averted, but the General had the nerve to state firmly to Black Hawk that he must move and that unless he moved to the west of the Mississippi peacefully, he would move him forcibly. To this Black Hawk retorted: "I will not move. I am determined not to go," and thus the conference ended. The appearance of the Illinois volunteers, soon thereafter, to join with the Regulars against the Indians, induced the latter to cross the river without a fight, thereby postponing the shedding of blood to another year. General Gaines soon had the hostile war chief and his leading men back on the island, humbly submitting to signing a treaty, promising never again to return to the east side of the Mississippi except with the special permission of the proper authorities.

We spoke of the great leaders of the Mexican war and the Civil war. We will make but the briefest reference to them. Two generals whose achievements shone most brightly in the Mexican war, were both brought forward by their respective admirers for the presidency of the United States. They were General Winfield Scott and General Zachary Taylor. The last named was elected without having been an active candidate for the position. To read of the campaigns of these men makes the blood tingle with patriotic pride for they attacked superior numbers with an almost reckless daring—and won.

Both Taylor and Scott took their respective parts in the Black Hawk war with equal singleness of purpose, and though the last battle had been fought when General Scott arrived from the East, he directed that the pursuit of the escaped Black Hawk should be continued unabated with a view to his capture.

General Scott's outstanding achievement at Fort Armstrong was his heroic effort to stamp out the deadly cholera from among his men. In this respect he received the commendation of all who knew the facts.

Colonel Zachary Taylor's service at Fort Armstrong began with his arrival from Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien on the 19th of April, 1832.¹⁰ He at once set about with preparations for the campaign which was imminent; loading military supplies aboard a number of large barges which were secured, and, when he had succeeded in getting these heavily laden boats over the rapids of Rock River, at what is now the Black Hawk State Park, the entire assemblage of soldiers, both the regulars from the fort and the 1800 Illinois volunteers who had encamped "At the mouth of Rock River" were ordered to march on May 10th up Rock River in pursuit of Black Hawk and his band estimated at not less than 1500 souls, men, women and children, of whom about 500 were warriors, well armed and mounted, and well disciplined. Colonel Taylor moved up-river with the boats, and the 1st U. S. Infantry, as well as the unmounted Illinois volunteers. His services throughout the Black Hawk war were most creditable.

As to the Civil War, we find at its outbreak, one of Fort Armstrong's satellites occupying the presidential chair; another serving as Lieutenant General of the Army, another as Surgeon General of the Army and still another, who received the first fire of the rebellion at Fort Sumpter. You perceive of course, that I am referring to Abraham Lincoln, Winfield Scott, Dr. Thomas Lawson and Robert Anderson, respectively.

¹⁰ Stevens' "Black Hawk War," pp. 112-113.

As to the Southern side of the conflict, the representation of those who had served about Fort Armstrong was equally prominent: One was occupying the position of president of the Confederacy, another, who had surveyed the Rapids just off Fort Armstrong, was in supreme command of the Southern armies, while two others were rated as among the greatest generals the South ever produced. I refer to Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sydney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston, respectively.

Among those of Fort Armstrong's roster, one who was possessed with undoubted sterling qualities was General Henry Atkinson. In the spring of 1832 General Atkinson started up-river from Jefferson Barracks to settle some difficulties with the Winnebagoes. He had not come far when he heard that Black Hawk had re-crossed the Mississippi in violation of the Treaty of the preceding year, and was moving toward Rock Island at the head of a large armed force. The General promptly occupied Fort Armstrong, and served as Commander in Chief of all the forces in the field against the Indians, until their final defeat in the battle of the Bad Axe, and up to the time of the arrival of General Winfield Scott.

It was part of General Atkinson's duty to muster into the service of the United States, the Illinois volunteer army of 1832, of about 1800 mounted men. They had gone into camp "At the mouth of Rock River," five miles from the Fort, on the 7th of May and next day after their arrival, General Atkinson attended to the necessary ceremonials of swearing them into the federal service. It was a mighty army of embryonic politicians and statesmen, and included a number of governors, U. S. Senators, Justices of the Supreme Court, and one president, who at this time was a youthful giant of twenty-three years; Captain of his company with one outstanding qualification for the position, namely, that not a man in his Company of ruffians, could whip him. He grew to be the Great Emancipator, Lincoln.

It was with General Atkinson that Doctors Gale and Coleman had been connected at a time when numerous treaties

were being negotiated with the tribes west of the Mississippi. Nine treaties appear in the records which were made between June 9, 1826, and August 4 of the same year, in which we find the names of Dr. John Gale and Dr. R. M. Coleman as witnesses. These treaties were made with the following tribes: The Poncas; the Teton and Yanceton Sioux; the Siouine and Oglala bands of the Sioux; the Cheyenne; the Hunkpapa band of the Sioux; the Arickaras; the Minateree; the Mandans and the Crows. In each of the above mentioned treaties the principals representing the United States are Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, and Benj. O'Fallon, U. S. Agent Indian Affairs.

There are four other treaties signed a few weeks later which have the name of Dr. Gale without that of Dr. Coleman. Three of these were negotiated by the same principals as those above mentioned, viz.: Atkinson and O'Fallon, and are made with the Otoes, the Pawnee and the Makah tribe, on September 26, September 30 and October 6, 1825, respectively. We do not find Dr. Coleman's name from this time on as a signer of treaties, but find Dr. Gale signing one more treaty as a witness, just twelve days before his death at Fort Armstrong. This was a Treaty signed at Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830, in which the principals in behalf of the United States were Governor William Clark, of the famous Lewis & Clark expedition, and, Colonel Willoughby Morgan of the 1st Infantry. At this treaty, and signing as witnesses with Dr. Gale were two men from Rock Island, Antoine LeClaire who served there as interpreter, and George Davenport, the Trader. At this time Captain J. Green of the 3rd Infantry, was in command at Fort Armstrong and it appears that Dr. Sprague was post surgeon at this Fort.¹¹

FIFTHLY, the Army Surgeons:

We have attempted to show the quality and calibre of the men who helped to make up the often small isolated community of the frontier post; a community so lacking in the conveniences and refinements of the more settled communities

¹¹ See: J. H. Hauberg's "Davenport Account Books," for 1829-1830.

that Zachary Taylor, while stationed at Fort Crawford objected to his daughter marrying a soldier because of these very hardships, saying he had known them all his life and did not wish his daughter to be required to endure them. We will now take up a few of the Army surgeons, who shared the life of the frontier soldier.

We have spoken of the outstanding officers, among the greatest in the history of our country, who served in one way or another, at Fort Armstrong. The roster of Surgeons here does not suffer by comparison. They too, served nobly, and attained the highest positions as army surgeons.

FIRSTLY, DR. LAWSON:

Dr. Thomas Lawson served with the frontier armies and was a man of many talents which his country called into service in various capacities. In 1833 he was president of a board of three surgeons who were charged with the duty of examining the medical offices of the posts scattered all the way from New Orleans; the forts of the southwest; thence to St. Louis and northward, and to the northwestern stations, then to New York and finally to Washington, D. C., examining likewise the surgeons and applicants for licenses as surgeons, and inspecting hospitals. The fact that a large number of applicants were refused surgeon's licenses shows that even in that early day, there was a contempt for him who would practice medicine and surgery without proper preparation for the profession.

In the Seminole war of 1835, Dr. Lawson served outside his profession in an emergency, and commanded a regiment of soldiers with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and in 1836, such was his popularity that it is recorded¹² that "the army almost as a unit desired the appointment as Surgeon General of Dr. Thomas Lawson, who was the senior Surgeon in the army, and second to none in professional ability." He was appointed Surgeon General November 30, 1836.

Surgeon General Lawson's service in connection with Fort Armstrong and with the whole of the island of Rock

¹² "Medical Dept., U. S. Army," p. 159.

Island was mainly in consequence of an Act of Congress in 1841, providing for a Board which was to make a "thorough examination of the whole western country for the purpose of selecting a suitable site on the western waters for the establishment of a national armory."¹³ An account of the labors of this Board of three men says: "The examinations made by the members of this Board, during the year and a half it was in session, were very thorough. Their report covering over 400 pages," gives an excellent description of the island of Rock Island with special emphasis on the water power possibilities; building materials of every description, the soil, minerals and health conditions. In the matter of healthfulness they gave it a place higher than that of any other western post. In providing water power, they proposed that a dam be built, like the present Moline wing dam, but that it be extended all the way up to and connect with Campbells Island, and they provided the figures, showing distances, different water-levels, cost of construction, etc. They did not, however, decide to recommend Rock Island for arsenal and armory purposes; the majority report giving preference for the site, on the Ohio river, of old Fort Massac, which is now an Illinois State Park, while Dr. Lawson in his minority report gave preference to a site on the Mississippi below St. Louis.

Dr. Lawson subsequently served in the Mexican war with such distinction that at the close of that war he was breveted Brigadier General, in the army. He died at Norfolk, Virginia, May 15, 1861, shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War.

SECONDLY, DR. EMERSON:

Dr. Emerson, who was stationed at Fort Armstrong 1834 to 1836 was evidently a man of means. He owned slaves which he brought here with him, and also dabbled in real estate of Moline, Davenport and the town of Stevenson, now Rock Island.

The fact that early settlers far and wide availed themselves of these surgeons, out on the frontier posts, appears

¹³ Flagler's "Rock Island Arsenal," p. 30.

in an account of a pioneer settler who located at Buffalo, Iowa. A man had frozen his feet to a frightful extent. They put him on a sleigh and took him to Dr. Emerson's office, but the Doctor had gone to St. Louis. The next nearest Doctor was at Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, almost 150 miles away. Fortunately for the sufferer, there was at the Buffalo Cabin an enterprising hired man who said he could amputate toes so he was given the job. He whetted up the chisel, then placing the patient's foot against an end of a log at the fire-place, he fitted the chisel at the desired spot, and with a whack of the mallet, off would fly a toe. This was repeated until the job was complete—the patient recovered, but it was made a matter of record that he walked thereafter with a limp.

After Dr. Emerson had completed his service at Fort Armstrong, followed by two years at Fort Snelling, he returned to Missouri. Here, having whipped his slave, he was haled into court by anti-slavery men with the purpose of making a test case of slavery in general. He was charged with assault and battery. If the negro was still a slave, he was merely a thing; a chattel; but if free, he was a person, such as could sue and be sued. The argument was, that Rock Island was free territory; slavery being forbidden by the Illinois State constitution, and that Fort Snelling, in Minnesota, was likewise in free territory, having been made so by the Missouri Compromise, and that since slaves could not be owned in those states they automatically became free men on being taken there, and being free, would not become slaves again if they returned to slave states.

The case dragged from one court to another for nine years and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States, and its decision, written by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, was one of the torches which set the nation afire over the question of slavery. It was the famous "Dred Scott Decision," handed down in 1857, and followed but a few years later by the Civil War which it helped to bring into being.

THIRDLY, DR. CLEMENT A. FINLEY:

One of those who rose to the highest medical position in

the army was Dr. Clement A. Finley. He came to Fort Armstrong with General Winfield Scott's army, in 1832, and served through the terrible plague of cholera which raged here at that time. General Scott is quoted as having written to a friend that he "ascribed the saving of the army from decimation by the scourge to the efforts of his chief medical officer, Surgeon C. A. Finley." Dr. Finley served in the field during the Mexican war also, and on the death of Dr. Thomas Lawson, was appointed to succeed that eminent Doctor, as Surgeon General of the Army, serving from May 15, 1861, to April 14, 1862.

FOURTHLY, DR. SAMUEL B. SMITH:

Another, who served acceptably at Fort Armstrong, and who held important assignments in larger capacities, was Dr. Samuel B. Smith. He too was present here during the cholera plague of 1832, and in the following year was appointed to the commission, mentioned above, of which Surgeon Thomas Lawson was the president. It was the examining board, which toured the western country in a great circle, including the southwestern, western and northwestern posts, and on to New York and to Washington.¹⁴

Surgeon Smith has left us a description of the appearance of a soldier who died of cholera, at Fort Armstrong. It is a gruesome word picture, but probably valuable to the profession, though in his day Dr. Smith admits defeat of any and all counteracting forces. The Doctor's letter written at Fort Armstrong is as follows:

THE CHOLERA.

(from Vol. 43 Niles' Weekly Register P. No. 24, 1832.)

The following thrilling and splendid language is taken from a letter written by Samuel B. Smith, surgeon in the United States army at Fort Armstrong to Captain Wilson, and published in the *Intelligencer*. He is describing the appearance of a soldier who died of cholera, and commenting on that fearful plague:

"The face was sunken, as if wasted by lingering consump-

¹⁴ "Medical Dept., U. S. Army," p. 148.

tion; perfectly angular, and rendered peculiarly ghastly by the complete removal of all the soft solids, and their places supplied by dark lead colored lines; the hands and feet were bluish white, wrinkled as when long macerated in cold water; the eyes had fallen to the bottom of their orbs, and evinced a glaring vitality, but without mobility; and the surface of the body was cold and bedewed with an eely exudation. I stood gazing in mute horror upon the revolting object, when a sudden spasm convulsing his limbs caused him to screech in a voice so unearthly, that I voluntarily covered my ears with my hands. The strongest stimuli, both externally and internally applied for several hours, made no impression upon him, and he expired in the fifth hour."

FIFTHLY: DR. JOSIAH EVERETT:

It is due the memory of Dr. Everett that he be mentioned in this notable company of Army Surgeons, though we are not certain that he actually served here. But he was on his way to Fort Armstrong when the Grim Reaper overtook him. He had been cited for meritorious service in the same report which had included also Dr. John Gale, in the second war with England, and at the time of his death, was chief of General Winfield Scott's medical staff. He had reported 25 cases of cholera, with seven deaths, to his superior officer, and next day he himself was taken sick; and died of the disease on July 14. Had he lived another month, he would have been at Fort Armstrong, pursuing this profession among a number of his brethren of the same calling, who doubtless were acquainted with one another through long years of like service among the western posts.

SIXTHLY: DR. SAMUEL C. MUIR:

Dr. Samuel C. Muir is another of the old-time army surgeons who should be mentioned here. Like Surgeon Gale, he found his wife among the tawny skinned natives. It is asserted that the government for the good of the service, forbade and annulled Indian marriages among officers.¹⁵ Muir was a Scotchman by birth, and his reply to the law was his

¹⁵ "Hist. People of Iowa," p. 76.

resignation. "God forbid," said he, "That a son of Caledonia should desert his child or disown his clan," and he settled at Keokuk and became Iowa's first American settler. Dr. Muir is among those mentioned in the report of Indian Agent Forsythe, as being licensed at Fort Armstrong to trade with the Indians. His wife, a young Sauk Maiden had saved him from being murdered by some Winnebagoes¹⁶ and her fidelity to him led to their marriage.

SEVENTH: DR. RICHARD M. COLEMAN:

Dr. Coleman died of the cholera, at Fort Armstrong, Sept. 2, 1832.¹⁷ The dread disease had been raging at the island from about the 17th of August, so he had had about two weeks, probably, of unremitting toil. It is to be presumed, that like many another of his profession, he did not think of his own needs, but spent his energies to the last degree, looking to the comfort of his patients.

The Black Hawk War had come to a close, and the troops had been brought down the river and encamped on Rock Island. Governor Reynolds says there were from 1200 to 1500 regulars on the island at the time, besides the remnants of Black Hawk's men, women and children who had also been brought down the river by steamboat and placed on the island. Reynolds, speaking of these Indians, says¹⁸: "They exhibited distress and affliction that was truly sorrowful and painful to behold. They were literally starved to mere skeletons and showed such destitution and misery that they excited the sorrow and sympathy of all who saw them." Thus there was a motley collection of humankind and the disease took its toll, both among the whites and Indians.

In order to lessen the danger of infection, the soldiers were sent out in smaller parties, on both sides of the Mississippi, and up Rock River, but the scourge followed them. In one of these camps four miles south of Rock Island, thirteen men died and were buried in the woods without such "luxuries" as coffins.¹⁹

¹⁶ "Wis. Hist. Colls.," 2, p. 224.

¹⁷ "Medical Dept. of the Army," by H. E. Brown, p. 285.

¹⁸ "My Own Times," p. 267.

¹⁹ "Wis. Hist. Colls.," X, p. 231.

Out of 850 men who started west from Fortress Monroe with General Scott, only 200 men fit for duty arrived upon the banks of the Mississippi. Of the rest, many had died and others had deserted to escape infection.

Drs. John Gale and R. M. Coleman were presumably buried in the Post cemetery which was located on the south shore of the island, about 200 yards south of Fort Armstrong. Here was a cemetery with a considerable number of wooden and stone markers, and there are still living a number of citizens of this community who well remember the old cemetery with its white picket fence. It is their testimony that part of it now lies beneath the high railroad grade of the C. R. I. & P. Ry., but that part of the site lies to the east of the railway grade. The entire cemetery, however, was ruthlessly destroyed as the railway grade was being built. There was but a limited depth of earth on that part of the island but it was of sufficient depth for burial purposes. The high grade, however, required a great amount of earth, and it was more convenient and cheaper to use what was at hand, than to bring it from a distance. Thus the entire cemetery—and we know not how many of its tenants, were plowed up, and carried by the scrapers of the workmen, until bed rock was reached, and all was built up to support the commerce which now passes over the Rock Island lines at this point.

We will quote the words of one of those who witnessed the passing of the old Cemetery: My informant (John Huntoon, May 27, 1915) with whom I visited the site of the old Fort and Cemetery said: "I graded all the dirt off east of the railroad grade for I had a hand in putting through this Rock Island railroad. Those big boulders (to one of which the bronze tablet is attached) were underground, out of sight when we began our work, so you can see how much ground was stripped off. We took all the ground down to bed rock to build this grade. In grading I had always to drive around the block house which stood inland—the fort, we called it, and so I know just where it was. Day after day we drove around it and there isn't the least bit of doubt in my mind just

where it stood. The graveyard was outside the wall between the fort and the river slough. I had to drive around among these graves and one time a wheel struck a head stone and I said to Mr. E. P. Reynolds, who had the general contract, 'It's sacrilegious to go over this ground this way. These bodies ought to be removed.' But he said, 'Well, they are all dead, and they don't know the difference.' "

All these heroic actors on the local stage of old Fort Armstrong have passed to their reward and we can but repeat with the poet of the Elegy:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth ere gave
Await alike the inevitable hour,
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Poor are we, however, if on this memorial occasion, we can find no incentive to better and nobler deeds as we contemplate the happy achievements of those who trod these very grounds before us, and found pleasure in service to their fellowmen.

**ILLINOIS DEBT TO SOLDIERS OF WAR OF 1812—AND
HONOR ROLL OF 1812 SOLDIERS WHO ARE
BURIED IN MORGAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS.**

By SARA JOHN ENGLISH

STATE VICE-CHAIRMAN GRAVE MARKING COMMITTEE, ORGANIZ-
ING REGENT AND REGENT FRANCIS SCOTT KEY CHAPTER
UNITED STATES DAUGHTERS OF 1812.

Scarcely had the war of the Revolution ceased and the treaty of peace been signed in 1783, than unfriendly relations between the United States and Great Britain threatened to end in war in 1794. The British retained possession of military posts in the Northwest Territory, they incited the Indians of the northwest to hostilities against the American citizens and they impressed over 6,000 American seamen into British naval service, to say no word of condemnation against the cruelty and barbarous treatment of these men.

Americans suffered these things for several years, until it was more than any people could bear. American vessels had been siezed and American commerce swept ruthlessly from the seas. In 1811 England went so far as to send armed vessels to the coast of the United States to seize merchant vessels and take them to England as lawful prizes.

Then came the 16th of May, 1811, this day was fire to the tinder and the bitter feeling in the United States for England was fanned into flame by the engagement between the British sloop of war, "The Little Belt," and the American frigate, "The President."

The spring of the same year (1811) Tecumseh, the famous Shawnoese chief, instigated by the British, led the Indians of the northwest in a war to expel the white people from the country—north of the Ohio river.

Tecumseh was made a Brigadier General in the British army in the War of 1812.

This warfare by Indians and their British allies continued and in the fall of 1811, General William Henry Harrison, then governor of the Indiana Territory, led about 2,000 troops up the Wabash River to the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek where Prophet, Tecumseh's brother, had collected thousands of Indian warriors. He proposed peace, but General Harrison's instinctive judgment caused him to see treachery in the proposal and he commanded his troops to sleep on their arms that night (Nov. 6, 1811). His foresight saved the country and the Americans, for before daylight the Indians had attacked the General's camp, and after a bitter conflict which ended at dawn the Indians were driven back.

This was the famous battle of Tippecanoe, which occurred in the early hours of November 7, 1811. After all the efforts for a peaceful settlement with England had failed, the United States government, by the authority of Congress, issued a proclamation declaring war against Great Britain—June 19, 1812.

This War of 1812 commenced by an invasion of Canada from Detroit in Michigan Territory in July, 1812, by about 2,000 troops under General William Hull, Governor of Michigan Territory. When informed that Fort Mackinaw, a strong American post in the Northwest had fallen and was in the hands of the British and Indians on the 17th of July and the American forces under Major Van Horne had been defeated on Raisin River on August 5th (1812), Governor Hull hastily returned to Detroit. The British and Indians under Sir Isaac Brock pursued Hull, and when Hull reached Detroit, Brock demanded the surrender of the Post and Hull's Army—threatening in case of refusal to give the Indians liberty to exercise their barbarous methods of warfare. Hull was greatly alarmed and at once complied with the demands of Sir Isaac Brock.

So Michigan Territory fell into the hands of the enemy and it seemed as if our great Northwest Territory, which had been so brilliantly snatched from the same enemy by the immortal General George Rogers Clark was lost by the United

States—but fate had decreed otherwise and our young nation was to prosper and to become victorious.

After Hull's surrender the Americans, undaunted, attempted to invade Canada on the Niagara border. In October, 1812, the Americans crossed the Niagara River into Canada to attack the British at Queenstown.

They were able to capture a battery and to make themselves lords of Queenstown Heights, but their success was brief, for reinforcements came to Sir Isaac Brock and again the Americans suffered a crushing defeat. And our brave and gallant Colonel Winfield Scott and Captain John Ellis-wool, who had distinguished themselves were taken prisoners, and Sir Isaac Brock lost his life. Though the Americans had suffered land defeat, they had won distinction upon the seas and finally robbed England of her title as "Mistress of the Seas." Michigan's capture by the British had aroused the Americans as nothing else; over-wrought, the people of the Northwest Territory resolved to recover their sister territory, and an insight into the intense feelings of the people of the West may be gained from this fact, there were so many volunteers who offered their services that General Harrison was forced to issue an order against further enlistments—this feeling bore fruit.

The Ohioans and Kentuckians under General Harrison, built Fort Meigs at the Maumee Rapids, here he was besieged May, 1813, by British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh. The Americans were successful and Proctor and Tecumseh were driven away May 5th, 1813, when General Harrison was reinforced by the brave Kentuckians under General Clay. This peace and exultation was short lived for again the same foes, Proctor and Tecumseh, their former defeat spurring them to further vigor and effort, attack the garrison July 21, 1813. General Clay was in command and repulsed the enemy. After their second defeat at Fort Meigs, Proctor attacked Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, August 2nd, but the youthful, brave and gallant Major Croghan (only 21 years of age) was in command of the garrison; he repulsed

the seasoned warriors and compelled them to flee in wild confusion.

The Americans had been busy all summer at Erie, Pennsylvania, building a squadron of nine vessels which was placed under the command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry.

The British had a squadron under Commodore Barclay and a terrible battle was waged between these squadrons on the west end of Lake Erie September 10, 1813. Such broadsides poured into the enemy's squadron that by four o'clock that afternoon Perry was able to send his famous dispatch (to General Harrison) "We have met the enemy and they are ours." This event was far reaching and in itself caused the end of this war for by Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Perry's fleet was able to convey General Harrison and his Army across the Lake to Canada.

General Harrison advanced upon Fort Malden, which he found deserted. He pursued and overtook the fleeing British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh and then ensued the famous battle of the Thames, here he annihilated the enemy forces, Tecumseh was killed. This brilliant victory brought the recovery of Michigan and the termination of the War in the Northwest, and October 5th, 1813, became a memorable date in American history.

With this brief account of the War of 1812, we can readily see how nearly our nation was strangled in its infancy. With Michigan lost to the British the rest of the Northwest would soon have suffered a like fate and we of Illinois would in all probability be flying the Union Jack, had not the incensed Northwest been urged on by the spur of indignation and wrath over the fate of Michigan.

The War of 1812 closed with little nominal gain, but much in reality, for by it the United States gained her "Independence," which hitherto at least to England had not existed. In the words of the immortal Benjamin Franklin (when he heard a young man speak of "the glorious War of Indepen-

dence," responded gravely, "Say rather the War of the Revolution; the War for *Independence is yet to be fought.*"

Though the States had nobly fought to throw off the yoke of Great Britain, they soon fell to bickering among themselves and all "The European nations felt the contentious Colonies like the Kilkenny Cats would end by destroying themselves," and the people of the United States found that they did not have the respect of other nations and had not really gained their "Independence." But that was removed by the War of 1812 and the popular mind was relieved from a provincial reverence for Great Britain—more than that it removed the dread of England's military powers which descended from the Revolutionary period. "Then is it too much to say that the brilliant spirit of this Republic which has shone with increasing brilliance had its birth in the War of 1812"? My friends this war forced this nation to put forth its whole strength and to develop a capacity the existence of which, even she had been ignorant. From that hour, the United States took a prouder stand among the nations of the earth—her flag was respected and though one hundred and eighteen years have passed since the Treaty of Ghent was signed (December 24, 1814), England has never renewed her claims and we have grown from a mere infant in the cradle of liberty to great world power. This treaty of peace was extorted by necessity rather than by good will and while by this treaty we had been declared free and *Independent*, we were disliked and really held by Great Britain as, "rebellious colonies," according to John Adams our first Minister to the Court of St. James. "In and out of Parliament it was boasted publicly that the Union would soon fall to pieces as they were unable to govern themselves and would supplicate to be received back as Colonies." What a vain and empty boast!!—it long lingered in the public mind but was thoroughly eradicated by the War of 1812. Her heroes from a brilliant galaxy in the sky of American history—who has not heard of Andrew Jackson, Stephen Decatur, Oliver Hazard Perry, Zebulon Pike, Henry Dearborn, Isaac Shelby, William Henry Harri-

son, Richard Johnson and his famous Mounted Men, James Miller, John Montgomery, the intrepid Lawrence and too many others for space to allow us to mention.

In this war America's Navy became famous and to this day, Old Ironsides, the vessel which in itself was a navy, and the Niagara are loved and honored more than any vessels on earth.

The Naval victories of the War of 1812 caused John Adams to write on March 23, 1813, "A young gentleman came from Boston before Breakfast this morning on purpose to bring me the news of the Hornet's Laurels. I wish every one had as much respect for my feelings—Lawrence is now enrolled in the list of our Naval Conquerors with Hull, Decatur, Jones, and Bainbridge—Immortality here and hereafter be their reward!!, And Something besides more durable and more comfortable than Balls; Dinners, Huzzas, or Hozannas—I will not say how-ever that these are amiss—These five victories are so striking, so extremely remarkable, so impressive on the Imagination that they never will be obliterated from the memory of Man, Woman or Child in the United States, nor can they remain unknown to any nation of Europe—They will ferment in the minds of this people till they generate a National Self respect, a Spirit of Independence and a National Pride, which has never before been felt in America. I wish the Republican Papers would do Something more than they have done to make these Splendid Atchievements more popular and give full Scope to the National Joy—The Tide ought to run as rapidly as that in the Bay of Fundy or the waters in the Falls of Niagara.

Yours,

John Adams."

(A letter to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, Professor of Physics at Harvard College." (The spelling and use of capital letters are Adams—S. J. E.)

This continual conflict of savagery and conspiracy of British and Indians in Revolutionary war and in War of 1812, had their field battle on Illinois soil and various massacres

made life for the early pioneers a hideous nightmare; we might mention the massacre of Fort Dearborn and Wood-river. "Poor is the nation without heroes, but beggared is the country that having them forgets." A nation without its heroes is a country without a history.

We owe to these valiant pioneer patriots a debt of gratitude so great it can never end. They saved our infant nation, blazed the way for civilization and laid the very foundation of our institutions, so precious to all Americans.

By their gift of Independence the gates were thrown ajar for the mighty westward flow of humanity—and this great Illinois country became a safe and pleasant place to live, its attractions and the fertility of its soil were told abroad by the soldiers of 1812 when they returned to their Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio homes. Illinois was cleared and its soil tilled by these men, and the state and government were formed by them. Illinois' first six Governors were all soldiers of 1812—these men guided her through her formative period by their foresight, courage, sacrifice and wisdom.

Illinois soil is made sacred by the dust of these patriots in fact the whole state is the sepulchre of these famous men whose glory is not only graven upon the stones over their graves, but lives on without visible symbol, woven into the very fibre of other men's lives.

For us it remains to rival what they have done, to preserve our freedom and happiness. The secret of freedom is a brave heart to squarely face the difficulties and duties of this day and the problems and perils of the days yet to come. May we remember that, "Whatever is staunch and true, we draw from our sires and their sires again, and mothers of mothers who mated when, the world and its heart were new.

Whatever is Faith in the human heart and higher than human ken, and older than college, or church or mart, ordained to bloom from the very start, in the man, who died for men.

We are measured ourselves at last, in faith, love, and

the strength unseen, by naught we add to that templed past, but only, how well we can hold it fast, how grateful we keep it green."

"Tomorrow is the flower of all its yesterdays," and what we are and what we have were *given to us*. A great legacy from the past. May we with our dear "Uncle Sam" (whose title of kinship was given him in the War of 1812), place in our wreath of hallowed memories along with Yorktown, Concord, Lexington, Valley Forge and so on—Lake Champlain, Put in Bay, The Constitution and Guerriere, Fort McHenry, and the famous Battle of New Orleans. May we never forget Andrew Jackson, his is one of the mightiest names in American history—soldier, patriot, President, statesman, The Cincinnatus of America, one of the greatest military strategists of the times, who settled for all time American Independence. Our country would have had a different history without the peerless Jackson and his faithful followers, for Great Britain would write its pages.

At the most critical time in our country Jackson loomed on its horizon and flashed in the sky not as a meteor, dazzling in brilliancy soon to plunge into eternal darkness, but as a star of the first magnitude to shine on through the ages, as one of the Immortals.

Not only has the State of Illinois a debt of gratitude owing these patriots of 1812, but Morgan County was practically settled by these men, and we hold in affectionate memory those who through good and evil report, loss of fortune, through suffering, sacrifice and even death, maintained stout, brave hearts, to them we pledge allegiance to their ideals—we have sought to find these patriots and their resting places, for more than two years—we have been rewarded by securing the names and proof of service of sixty-six soldiers of 1812 buried in Morgan County, and located nearly all of their graves—on the graves of the following patriots we have placed official grave markers of 1812, and had impressive services attended by hundreds.

(1) Benjamin Burch—Buried in Franklin Cemetery, Franklin, Illinois.

(2) George Petefish—Buried in Arcadia Cemetery, Arcadia, Illinois.

(3) William Armstrong—Buried in Yatesville Cemetery, Yatesville, Illinois.

(4) Joseph C. Denny—Buried in Yatesville Cemetery, Yatesville, Illinois.

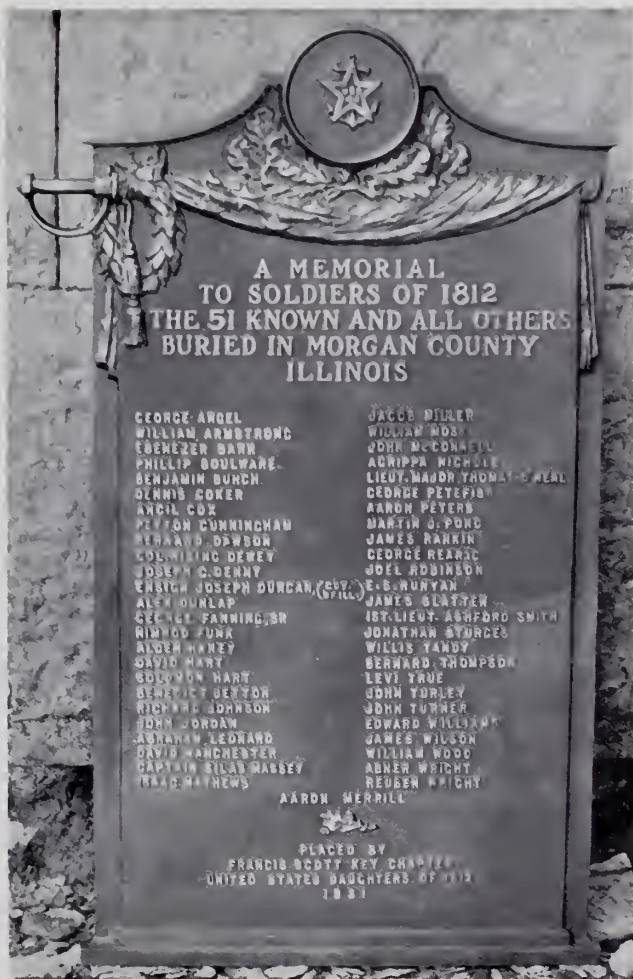
(5) James Rankin—Buried in East Cemetery, Jacksonville, Illinois.

(6) Bernard Dawson—Buried in East Cemetery, Jacksonville, Illinois.

(7) In Menard County, George Washington Bowman—Buried in Concord Cemetery, near Petersburg, Illinois.

(8) In Scott County, Samuel Funk—Buried in Gillham Cemetery, between Jacksonville and Winchester, Illinois.

On November 8, 1931, a beautiful "Bronze Tablet" was erected on Morgan County Court House, in honor of the fifty-one known and all other soldiers of 1812 buried in Morgan County, Illinois. Since this occasion we have found fifteen more. A list of all of these patriots will be given, and an account of the historical event when the tablet was dedicated but before we pass on, may I not urge your co-operation in bringing to our knowledge the other unknown patriots who though they risked their *all* upon the Altar of freedom are now lost in abandoned cemeteries, in over grown and long forgotten graves. June 26, 1931, in Pennsylvania in an old abandoned graveyard long obscured by tangled weeds workmen found the grave of Captain John Gwinn, former Captain of "Old Ironsides," now on her post restoration cruise. The tombstone reads, "In Memory of John Gwinn, United States Navy, born June 1791, died at Palermo, Sicily, September 1849 while in command of the United States Frigate Constitution." Who knows who sleeps in our old graveyards? In many of them only a few stones stand as sentinels to tell who sleep there. Our motto now should be plowman, plowman spare that grave! for each year the plowman destroys and



Memorial Tablet to Soldiers of 1812.

obliterates the last vestige of many old farm burying places, and uses the stones for foundations and walks. What a sacrilege!! Join us ere it is too late. Help us search "for beneath the roots of tangled weeds, afar in country graveyards, lie the ones whose uncrowned deeds, have stamped this Nation's destiny. Beneath those tottering slabs of stone, whose tribute moss and mould efface, sleep the calm dust that made us great. The true substratum of our race." Cooperation is the touch stone of achievement.

MEMORY OF VETERANS OF 1812 WAR IS HONORED AT UNVEILING
CEREMONY IN JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS, SUNDAY,
NOVEMBER 8, 1931.

The tablet was unveiled by Jane Fillmore Dunlap and Ralph Dunlap, Jr., children of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph I. Dunlap. Mrs. Sara John English, regent of the local chapter, presided, greeting the audience with these remarks: "This is an auspicious day in our history. We are here to honor the valor, courage and fortitude of our ancestors, to encourage patriotism and to preserve the records and traditions of the patriots of the War of 1812 and to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to them, a debt so great it can never be paid. 'Lord God of hosts be with us yet, Lest we forget, Lest we forget.' It is due to the vision of our forefathers whose memory we cherish, that this magnificent country is ours today. It is our purpose, their descendants, to keep the torch of patriotism burning brightly and to carry on the work they so ably planned. May we extend their noble aims and may we link the services of our ancestors with this generation and perpetuate this great country. 'It is a sublime thing to have lived so that when one's mortal remains have returned to dust, that dust consecrates and hallows the dust to which it has returned,' and the life has left an imprint which even the ravages of time can not dull, but only brighten. My friends it is indeed a privilege to honor these dauntless patriots of 1812." The honor roll was read by the state president, Mrs. Arthur J. O'Neill, of Chicago, who also spoke briefly, remind-

ing the audience that the second war with England was necessary to establish the complete independence of the United States. Previously the young nation was not recognized by other countries of the world, and there was disunion within its own confines.

The honor roll of those whose graves are in this county consists of fifty-one names, fifteen having been added since the tablet was made. Most of these men enlisted in the war from Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania, but a few were from Illinois. Some belonged to the navy and others to the regular army. The program opened with the bugle call and closed with taps and the echo, local Scouts in uniform serving as buglers. The invocation was by Rev. M. L. Pontius. The Hospital Band played "The Star-Spangled Banner" as an opening number.

H. H. Bancroft read letters and telegrams of congratulation to the Daughters of 1812 for their work in marking graves and securing a memorial tablet for the heroes of that conflict. He also read a poem written especially for the occasion by William F. E. Gurley, of the University of Chicago.

Mr. Gurley, a recognized authority on history, is general second vice-president, the General Society, Sons of the Revolution; state president of the Sons of the Revolution, of Illinois; state president of the Society of War of 1812, state of Illinois.

His poem follows:

PATRIOTS AND PIONEERS.

Back in the past, o'er five score years,
There came and settled here
Those dauntless, sturdy pioneers
Whose mem'ry we revere.
These men had won, despite our foes,
The freedom of the sea;
They were the loyal sons of those
Who made our nation free.

Log-cabin homes, of frontier days,
Had but a single room,
A fireplace with its cheerful blaze,
A spinning-wheel, a loom,
A table, bed, and trundle-bed,
Some stools, say three or four,
A Bible which they oft-times read,
A rifle o'er the door.

Our hearts will ever thrill with pride
That there is in our veins
The blood of those who oft defied
The perils of the plains.
God grant that our descendants may
Be just as brave and true
As were our sires, to whom we pay
This tribute, justly due.

William F. E. Gurley.

Mrs. Henry William English,
Regent, Francis Scott Key Chapter,
U. S. Daughters of 1812, State of Illinois, Jacksonville,
Illinois.

Madam Regent:—The above lines, written at your request, are dedicated to those pioneers of Illinois who served in the War of 1812.

NAVY CHIEF SENDS GREETINGS.

Letters were read from Mrs. M. J. Johnson, national president of the U. S. Daughters of 1812; Charles Francis Adams, secretary of the Navy; Rear Admiral W. S. Crosby, commandant of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station; John J. Garrity, superintendent of registration and marking of soldiers' graves in Illinois and Wilbur M. Brucker, governor of Michigan. Telegrams were received from Senator Charles S. Deneen, Col. Frank L. Taylor, and Gov. Louis L. Emmerson.

Rear Admiral Crosby pointed out in his letter that such movements as the one in which the Daughters of 1812 are engaged make for patriotism. He said he was in a position to know that there are definite forces at work to tear down our form of government and to substitute for it a system which has already caused untold misery to millions. He pointed out that the United States, with a twelfth of the wealth and a thirteenth of the population of the world, has only one seventy-fifth of its armed forces, which is answer enough for those who contend that we have too great an equipment for national defense.

Governor Brucker expressed Michigan's appreciation of the valiant service of the soldiers of Ohio who took part in the War of 1812, and of the honor conferred upon Michigan by the inclusion of the names of soldiers from that state upon the memorial tablet.

Secretary Adams sent a congratulatory message as follows:

My dear Mrs. English:

May I congratulate you on the success of your Chapter of the United States Daughters of 1812. I trust that you will have continued success in prosecuting the patriotic work of your society and in stimulating historical research.

Very truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

and Governor Emmerson's telegram said, "I regret more than I can say at not being able to be with you and your organization to do honor to the memory of the patriots of 1812 and trust there will be a large gathering of citizens present to assist in this most worthy and laudable undertaking. My heart is with you all."

Commander L. T. Oxley of the local post of the American Legion spoke briefly, emphasizing the fact that the Legion stands for peace, but believes in adequate national defense. He expressed the willingness of his organization to participate in all patriotic movements, such as the ceremonies of the day.

Then the chairman introduced the Hon. Scott W. Lucas, Havana, veteran of the World War and prominent in American Legion affairs, also Past National Judge Advocate of the American Legion, who, speaking before an audience that had met to pay honor to the memory of the soldiers of the war of 1812, who are buried in Morgan county cemeteries, paid glowing tribute to these heroes of the second war with England in the following address:

MR. LUCAS' ADDRESS.

"My friends, this is a magnificent tribute extended to the memory of the men in Morgan County, who were soldiers in the War of 1812. Happy am I to have the patriotic privilege of paying a tribute to the deeds accomplished and the ideals preserved through the fruits of victory of those early pioneers. A brief reference to history upon an occasion of this kind is highly appropriate.

"Six years before this imposing State was admitted to the Union we find British officers on British cruisers insulting and violating our flag. Out on the highway of Nations, our ships were stopped and searched upon the pretext of looking for British subjects. Yet, while making such a search they exercised a belligerent war time option by seizing thousands of American citizens. They removed them from American ships. They took them from their Country. Yea, they took everything away which was near and dear to them and many of these American citizens were imprisoned, banished and exiled or sent to some foreign clime, there to wither up and waste away like the petals of a rose in a desert sun.

"Against these outrageous and lawless acts upon the high seas this grateful government through President Madison remonstrated and protested in vain, until on June 18, 1812, the Congress of the United States declared a state of war existing between this Country and Great Britain. You who are familiar with history recall that Brigadier General Hull was selected in the early part of the War to defend the Michigan territory from Canadian invasion. Possessed with discretion-

ary power as to offensive maneuvers, he pushed forward to Detroit, where he was decisively beaten and was compelled to surrender. Then it was that General Harrison was placed in command of troops from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Virginia. It is my opinion that the majority of the veterans of 1812 who sleep in eternal rest in Morgan County were a part of Harrison's frontier army or a part of General Edward's army who was in command of the Territory in Illinois. They pushed forward encountering hostile savages. Following the great naval victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie in the fall of 1813, which has never been surpassed in luster, Harrison and his great army of brave soldiers met the enemy on land, defeated them, pursued them and finally captured the British forces, also compelling Tecumseh and his Indian associates who were aiding the British, to scatter in every direction. Tecumseh was made a British officer for the services performed in behalf of England in this war of independence, before he was killed at the battle of Thames. It is worthy to recall that in the midst of hostilities the Emperor of Russia dispatched a note to Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of facilitating peace between them. The offer was accepted by this Nation, and envoys sent across the waters for that purpose. But the British would have nothing to do with any proposal for restoring peace so the war continued, with victory after victory upon land and sea for us, adding new glory to the American arms.

“In February, 1815, after more than two years of brilliant achievements in battle against the enemy a treaty of peace and amity was signed which forever established our rights and independence upon the waters. To me the War of 1812 was a war of independence. It was the last serious threat that we had with the Mother Country. Today I offer a prayer of thanks and supplication to the English speaking nation of the world. For one hundred and twenty years we have been at peace, God grant it may always continue. A war between the English speaking nations would be a serious challenge to civilization. May God hasten the day when all

nations in this conflicting and moody world can boast of a similar record of peace and understanding with their neighbors.

“My friends, the readiness with which we accepted the invitation for peace in the early part of the War of 1812 is an American characteristic of every war in which we have engaged. Our people are peaceful in their pursuit of life and liberty. War is the last thought of the average American, however, our beloved America has always been proud of its rights and jealous of its honor, and that exalted position should never be impaired by specious claims or fallacious arguments of those who bitterly oppose an adequate National Defense. Let it never be said in the future that the valiant efforts of these early pioneers were in vain.

“My friends, this is a noble land that God has given us. Many of us are sons and daughters of those immortal workers, who on a bleak and troublesome shore, carved out a model of human liberty which has never been equalled or surpassed in all the tides of time. It is a prophetic sign of perpetuity of this great nation to observe patriotic people of Morgan County keeping the faith with graves of immortality. And to those fifty-one soldiers of destiny, who lie in earth beds in Morgan County, sleeping out the years of eternity I dedicate this beautiful bronze tablet. Their early achievements in the early life of this republic essentially contributed to our present day leadership in world affairs. They served America in time of war. They died that posterity might have the God given right to carry on in a land of freedom and equal opportunity. They gave their last full measure of devotion that liberty should not be crushed by the imperialistic heel of England. This dedicatory exercise should make us better Americans. It is a splendid time to renew the pledge to serve America in time of peace, so living, that justice, freedom and Democracy may endure forever.”

Though unable to be present to deliver his eloquent and forceful address, Governor Emmerson sent his address and it added luster and significance to the occasion.

GOVERNOR EMMERSON'S ADDRESS.

"I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity to participate with the Francis Scott Key Chapter of the Daughters of 1812, and with the citizens of Morgan County, in paying a belated tribute to those known and unknown patriots of the war of 1812, who lie buried in your county. It is an expression in material form of the reverence, which lives always in our hearts, for those early builders, who laid the foundations upon which has been constructed the present greatness of our United States.

"May I, before going farther, express the appreciation, which I know you all share, for the efforts of the Francis Scott Key Chapter in creating this tablet of bronze, which we dedicate today. Chartered only a few months ago, your organization has proved to be, not merely another society. It has been a force for service, and the success attained in its brief existence, presages a long and useful life.

"Back of every thing worth while is an ideal, and we of today are fortunate in the ideals of individual achievement, community service, and undying love of liberty, left us by those brave patriots, who, in two successive conflicts, humbled the greatest power of their day, and launched our nation on its career of world leadership.

"We began with a little stretch of country, reaching along the Atlantic seaboard, and comprising only thirteen states. Today, we have reached out to the Pacific, building the greatest nation in prosperity, in peace, in education, and in material achievement, that the world has ever known. We have grown from a small people to a nation of one hundred and thirty million souls. Our resources are valued at billions, compared to the few millions of a hundred and fifty years ago; and we have constructed a magnificent system of free schools, guaranteeing a continuation of the American spirit, intelligence, and idealism, into future generations.

"Less than one hundred years ago, men standing where we stand today, worked with spade and hoe, planting their crude fields. With scythes they mowed or "cradled" their

small patches of grain. Today, in one operation, a modern harvesting machine cuts the wheat, threshes it and loads the grain in trucks for the market.

“That comparison is a fair picture of the advance which we have made in almost every field of endeavor. Could our forefathers, who settled this State little more than a century ago, view that progress, they would find it unbelievable. Yet it is an advancement which we have made only upon the foundations which they laid. It has been possible only because our people elected to follow the ideals of service, which marked the work of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and those other great leaders, whose names will live through the ages, because of their contribution to the welfare of mankind. As long as there runs through the hearts of our people that same spirit of fortitude and personal loyalty to the nation, that inspired those early fathers of our country, our nation will continue in its progress, and in its position of world leadership.

“To my mind, we have little to fear from the outside. Unrest within is our greatest danger. To date the American people have successfully withstood every attack from the outside, as well as every influence within, which threatened the continued development of the nation. An outraged and militant citizenship fought back the forces of King George and the English empire to found the nation, and a united people defended the nation in the war of 1812. Out of that conflict came the treaty by which the people of the United States and Canada have for more than one hundred years lived peacefully side by side, without resorting to huge fortifications, and the maintenance of armed forces to maintain national rights.

“With the cry of “millions for defence but not one cent for tribute,” we broke the hold of the Tartary pirates upon the commerce of the Mediterranean, and won the freedom of the seas for the shipping interests of the World. With the announcement of the Monroe doctrine, we successfully halted for all time foreign meddling in the affairs of the American

hemisphere; and, in the conclusion of the Civil War, the union was not alone preserved, but the death knell of human slavery in America and in the world, was sounded.

“These successes, and the happy ending of the Mexican, Spanish and World Wars, are sufficient evidence that this nation has no need of fear of transgression from without. The biggest threat against its continued orderly development comes from within, in the growing unrest, and in the open contempt for law and government, which we find in some of our small cities, as well as our great metropolitan areas.

“It is the experience of the world, that after any major war, there follows a period of moral breakdown, of strained economic conditions, and of unrest and disrespect for government.

“In the present, that condition is world wide, and is not yet at an end. We saw it commence in Russia, where the Republican government, which followed the breakdown of the Russian empire, was itself swept aside by the forces of communism, which have crushed the spirit of the Russian people more effectively than Czarism ever did. Governmental troubles in Germany, Spain, South America, Italy and Cuba, are a manifestation of that spirit of organized unrest, fath-ered by the world war. Here in our country there have been those who have cried out against organized society; but, thankful to say, their cries have fallen futilely against the stone wall of common sense, which is the fortunate possession of the American people.

“It is upon that common sense of the average man and woman that the nation’s hope must rest. We are living in a rapidly changing world, and conditions affecting social relationship, as expressed in terms of government, are changing just as rapidly as business and commerce and home life. Such rapid changes increase the obligation of citizenship. It leaves only one course open for every man and woman in the state, interested in the perpetuation of our national ideals, and that course is for each one of us to take an active part in the political life of city, county and state. Put one-half

of the effort into building up that the destroyer exerts in tearing down, and the cause of good government in Illinois will leap forward so rapidly that many of the difficulties, of which we now complain, will dissolve almost as rapidly as the snows in springtime.

“Throughout the nation, we are especially interested this week in making plans for the care of the unemployed during the coming winter. It is a privilege of citizenship, as well as a responsibility, to render an aiding hand to those, who, through adversity, face hardship and suffering. As yet, the United States and its people have never failed to answer adequately such a call. With a lavish hand, we have poured millions into famine-swept China, the earthquake zones of Japan, and the flood devastated sections of our own nation.

“Faced with the necessity of providing quick relief for many of our citizens, who last year found themselves out of employment, it was my privilege to call on the men and women of Illinois for a five million dollar fund to relieve actual suffering. The response was most gratifying, and the sum needed was oversubscribed, but the most significant feature of the call for pledges was that almost sixty per cent came from workers and wage earners of the state. In the face of that record, who will say that citizenship is not awake to its responsibilities?

“That call has been repeated again for the coming winter, and indications are that it again will be faithfully and cheerfully met. Already, the state employes working under the governor, have, in a majority of cases, pledged one day’s pay a month for six months toward relief work. That pledge has been made in recognition of the fact that state employment is not seasonal or subject to economic trend.

“Throughout the nation, similar calls are being made on other workers, as well as upon moneyed men. In the community chests, we find an expression of unselfish citizenship, that is a definite assurance that the responsibilities of life have not been forgotten, in the rush of modern existence.

"Citizenship cannot be 'all take and no give.'" It is at once a privilege and a duty. In his hour of misfortune, Francis Scott Key thought not of himself, but of his country, and from the depths of his loyalty came the expression of love of country that has made his "Star Spangled Banner" a national anthem. We, too, look at the stars and stripes, and identify that flag with almost everything we hold dear to earth. It represents our peace, and the security of our families; our civil and political liberty; our freedom of worship; our home, and the peace of our friends. We see in it a great multitude of blessings, of rights and privileges, that make our country what it is today.

"Look at it again. In the red, we see the blood shed by the men who died at Bunker Hill and Valley Forge to give it life; and of those veterans of 1812; of the Civil War; the Mexican War; the Spanish War; and the World War; who gave their lives, that the nation might live. In the white, we see that purity of citizenship, which we have promised it; and in the blue, the hope of the future for ourselves, our sons and our daughters.

"That same strain of patriotism still runs from generation to generation in the youth of America. It brought victory to Washington at Yorktown, and to Perry at the battle of Put-In-Bay. It carried Lincoln through the dark days of the Civil War to immortality; and, in the death-ridden fields of France, it spurred the sons of America to everlasting glory.

"They died for love of country; the same love that inspired these men to whom we pay tribute today. Shall we not take up the banner where they flung it down, and march forward to the more glorious future which their sacrifices have made possible? To do less, would be a shirking of the great responsibility, which their sacrifices have placed upon our shoulders."

* * * * *

The impressive program was closed by the firing of a salute of three volleys by a Legion squad, and the appropriate color ceremonies. The following Legionnaires participated:

Color Bearers—G. Leonard Hills and O. T. Botkins.

Color Guards—William Saville and Carl O'Banion.

Firing Squad—Robert H. Allen, commander, J. C. Walsh, Kenneth Woods and Frank L. Vannier.

Buglers—Bernard Strougman and Eagle Scout Robert Leach.

Among guests present were six members of the Sangamo Chapter, U. S. Daughters of 1812, Springfield.

Following the unveiling a handsome wreath was placed on the tablet by Mrs. Herbert Capps and Eagle Scout Richard Bancroft. The band played a number at the close of the ceremonies, and pictures were taken of the large group of those who participated in the program.

HONOR ROLL OF SOLDIERS OF WAR OF 1812, BURIED IN
MORGAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

The 51 names inscribed on the Bronze Tablet which was dedicated November 8, 1931:

- (1) George Angel (with Kentucky Militia).
- (2) William Armstrong (with Illinois Militia).
- (3) Ebenezer Barr (with Pennsylvania Militia).
- (4) Phillip Boulware
- (5) Benjamin Burch (with Kentucky Militia).
- (6) Dennis Coker (United States Army, Georgia).
- (7) Ancil Cox (with Kentucky Militia).
- (8) Peyton Cunningham
- (9) Bernard Dawson (with Virginia Militia).
- (10) Joseph C. Denny (with Ohio Militia).
- (11) Col. Rising Dewey (Vermont Militia).
- (12) Ensign Joseph Duncan (Kentucky Militia) Gov. of Illinois.
- (13) Alex Dunlap (Kentucky Militia)
- (14) George Fanning, Sr., (Kentucky Militia).
- (15) Nimrod Funk (Tennessee Militia).
- (16) Alden Haney
- (17) David Hart (Tennessee Militia).
- (18) Solomon Hart (Tennessee Militia).

- (19) Benedict Jetton (Mississippi Vols.).
- (20) Richard Johnson (New York ———).
- (21) John Jordan (Kentucky Militia).
- (22) Abraham Leonard
- (23) David Manchester (New York).
- (24) Captain Silas Massey (New York).
- (25) Isaac Mathews (Ohio ———)
- (26) Aaron Merrill (Ohio ———).
- (27) Jacob Miller (Navy).
- (28) William Moss (Illinois).
- (29) John McConnell (Pennsylvania).
- (30) Agrippa Nichols
- (31) Lt. Major Thomas O'Neal (Kentucky).
- (32) George Petefish (Virginia).
- (33) Aaron Peters
- (34) Martin J. Pond (Connecticut)
- (35) James Rankin (Pennsylvania).
- (36) George Rearick (Pennsylvania).
- (37) Joel Robinson (Ohio).
- (38) E. S. Runyan
- (39) James Slatten
- (40) 1st Lieut. Ashford Smith (Virginia).
- (41) Jonathan Sturges
- (42) Willis Tandy (Kentucky).
- (43) Bernard Thompson (Ohio).
- (44) Levi True
- (45) John Turley (Kentucky).
- (46) John Turner (Illinois).
- (47) Edward Williams (Virginia).
- (48) James Wilson (Illinois).
- (49) William Woods (Kentucky).
- (50) Abner Wright (Kentucky).
- (51) Reuben Wright (Kentucky).

15 NAMES VERIFIED AFTER TABLET WAS PLACED.

- (1) John S. Ball (Kentucky).
- (2) Baxter Broadwell (Mustered out in Ohio).

- (3) John Bradshaw (Kentucky).
- (4) Benjamin Cox (Illinois).
- (5) Isaac Dial (Kentucky).
- (6) Nathaniel Gest (Kentucky).
- (7) John Green (Illinois).
- (8) John Leeper (Kentucky).
- (9) Thomas Luttrell (Kentucky).
- (10) Walter McCormick (Kentucky).
- (11) Edmond Stokes (Illinois).
- (12) Samuel Scott (Illinois).
- (13) William Scott (Illinois).
- (14) Richard Wood (Kentucky).
- (15) James Wright, Jr., (Illinois).

THE FIRST DES PLAINES CAMP MEETING, DES PLAINES, ILL., AUGUST, 1860.

By REV. JOHN O. FOSTER, D. D.

(This was written at my request when he visited Evanston in 1918 after he had told me some of the details. At this time he was a Professor at the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. He graduated from Garrett Biblical Institute in 1862. I am not sure of the date of his death somewhere about 1920. He wrote this for me and sent it on about two months after he returned to Tacoma. In some way the Manuscript was lost. It was recently found and it is a pleasure to transcribe it. Samuel Gardiner Ayres, Librarian Emeritus of Garrett Biblical Institute.)

In the Spring of 1860 some of the Chicago Methodist ministers proposed a camp meeting within easy reach of the growing city. The need of special revival services was very great, for of all the powers of darkness were many bold and defiant. Rum, riot and ruin seemed to have full sway. But however strong were the minions of sin, the men and women of God were valiant for truth, and never manifested the slightest fear even if the "Garden City" was the hotbed of the worst elements on earth.

A committee was named to hunt for a place for the camp, and in a short time the location was announced. Elder Ezra M. Boring, Philo Judson, John L. Beveridge, a young attorney and son-in-law of Judson, and one or two more, selected the spot near a clump of large trees on the North side of the Rail Road track, about a quarter of a mile from the Des Plaines depot. The Committee had all agreed on the spot, and then came a proposition from the Elder, that it would be well to dedicate themselves and the grounds to the service of the Lord.

In that little group all were professed Christians save the young attorney, whose presence was thought to be necessary for legal advice. And there that warm day in Spring time, beside an old log, all knelt and prayed most earnestly for the blessing of God on the noble enterprise. Beveridge was deeply impressed with the momentous importance of the

occasion, and far more of interest in his personal salvation. And there and then, beside the old log, with half a dozen of his personal friends deeply interested in his salvation, he gave himself to Christ, the first soul saved on the old Camp ground.

The subsequent history of this great man, is quite fully recorded, of his noble deeds, and the able services rendered for the state and nation. He became an inspiration to the younger men, and when the war of 1861-5 broke out, was among the first to enlist for the defense of the country. He arose rapidly from the ranks of the 8th Illinois Cavalry, then under Col. Farnsworth, and by and by after services at the front, was sent home to recruit a new regiment, and finally was promoted to be a Brigadier General. The effort, speed and pluck he made to raise the 15th Illinois regiment, made him a prominent character, and ensured his promotion. It was thought by some that his field for recruiting his regiment was a barren one indeed, for this northern part of Illinois had been searched most thoroughly for men, and that he could not raise a regiment unless his field was extended. At this time the nation was making desperate efforts in bounties and back pay, if men would enlist, go to the front and defeat the Confederates. During the years 1860-62 I was a student at the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, and one day had called at the John L. Beveridge residence for a short talk, when almost instantly he arose, saying, "Foster, I want to make you a recruiting officer to help raise my regiment, will you go?" I was astounded, and remained silent for a moment, then answered, "I think I can get excused from my studies for a little while, but where do you want me to go, and how shall I proceed in this new untried work?" "Come around tomorrow night, and I will give you full information." Next evening the papers were all made out, a Rail Road pass secured, and I was instructed to go to Galena, Illinois, to General Grant's home, and walk the streets, interview all the men possible, and offer the bounties as named in the instructions.

Next day but one, the young recruiting officer was putting up flaming handbills in Galena, and urging men to enlist in

the 15th Illinois Regiment under the command of Col. John L. Beveridge of Evanston. Galena at that time was an important center of the lead mines, and from which tons of lead were shipped to the arsenals of the United States to be moulded into bullets. The field was somewhat barren of men, for many had already gone to the front, and strong inducements were necessary for enlistments.

One evening while addressing a small crowd of men on the street, a strong looking character approached and asked, "How much will you give if I enlist?" I said promptly "\$1,000." "No sir, I won't go for that, I can get more. But what will you give if I can get another man?" "Well, if two of you will go, I'll ensure you \$1,200." "No sir, we can get more." Then with all the strongest appeal for an exhibition of patriotism, and the necessities of the government, and of my brother's enlistment, and of my willingness to go if my hip was not broken; and what the nation would give, the state would give, the County would give, and the city of Galena would give, amounting to more than \$1,200, two men finally enlisted, and next day sworn into the United States service, and marched away. Over thirty years passed away, and one day while wandering in Grant Park, Galena, I halted to read the names of the fallen on the tablet of the great monument, and there near the head of the list was the man I had talked with, and who had given his life for his Country. But far more enlisted during the trip, but the Regiment was raised to a full quota, and gave a good account of itself in the many engagements during the war.

A call was made for workmen to put up a Preacher's tent, or house, to make a platform and pulpit, and it fell to my lot as a carpenter to superintend the job. Abundance of lumber was already on hand, and when John A. Pearsons drove over with 14 students from G. B. I. a house was soon built and under roof, and the next day all was ready for the opening exercises. Long heavy planks had been secured for seats, four beacon stands had been erected for the big fires that were to lighten the dark woods. Two or three kerosene

lamps were near the pulpit, and a long hard bench accommodated the preachers.

There was no choir or choir loft, but John A. Pearsons could sing, and the big woods resounded with the opening songs of the sanctuary. A space about fifty feet square had been "railed off" with long poles, about four feet from the ground, and was known as the altar area. This space was covered with straw, and was well filled the first night, and all were glad to hear the Presiding Elder E. M. Boring conduct the opening exercises, with Jacob Hartman as preacher.

Next day many new cloth tents went up, the farmers came from the country, the rest of the students from the G. B. I. came, and Dr. Dempster had announced that the school was suspended during the Camp Meeting, and had urged all to attend the exercises. Steadily the crowds increased, the publicity committee had done its work most thoroughly, the NW. R. R. had out flaming handbills, and notices of special excursions were heralded far and near.

The all perplexing question was never fully settled as to a place to sleep. The tents were all full, men crept under the benches in the altar space, pulled the straw around them, and tried to be comfortable. One blanket was a luxury, and well do I remember helping John A. Pearsons cover up Prof. Bonbright, the Ludlam girls, Miss Frances E. Willard and a full score, housed in a big new shed of a tabernacle, which sheltered them all so snugly till morning.

As to food supplies, like the armies of ancient Israel, each one was to provide his own rations, and all kinds of devices were in evidence. Mrs. John L. Beveridge kindly offered to board two of us if we would put up a tent for her, and when she arrived the accommodations were among the very best on the grounds, just to the right of the preacher's stand. Then there were enterprising farmers who came from far and near with loads of watermelons, and all kinds of garden truck, which they sold cheaply and all were satisfied.

When the meetings closed for the first few nights, it was simply impossible for the people to go home. They

slept in the woods, under the wagons, in the wagons, and under any kind of covering at hand. And then it was extremely dark, with no lamps toward the R. R. depot, and no hotels available.

In the big preacher's tent there was often a scene that beggars description. Elder Boring was generalissimo, but who could control or keep quiet Thomas M. Eddy the new editor of the NORTHWESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE when he was happy, or dear old Dr. Hooper Crews the nestor of Northwestern Methodism, or Otis H. Tiffany the brilliant, Jonathan H. Stoughton the clear headed thinker and orator, and a score more who hung up their neckties and collars on ten penny nails, said their prayers and crawled into the upper or lower berths and went to snoring in full regulation tone. Visitors came from far and near, and the noted pulpiteers from Iowa and Wisconsin dropped in to enjoy the meeting and shout the battle on. But it was evident that the coming first Sunday at the Camp grounds would exceed anything of its kind in all the great Northwest. Bishop Matthew Simpson was the acknowledged greatest preacher of his generation, and he had been invited to preach the morning sermon, and was present and in full vigor, his powerful physique never in better trim, and his fame already world wide. At nine o'clock the huge excursion trains began to pour in their thousands, and before night, over 20,000 persons were on the grounds. It was a time of awful solicitude, for the "drunks" were coming by the hundreds, there were no policemen, and only one deputy county sheriff present to keep order. Baskets, bottles, ginger ale, cakes, coffee, sandwiches and fruits were on hand by the ton, and the merry bouts of experts were called for as the great masses of humanity filled the woods. A huge rope about a thousand feet long tied around trees, told of the bounds of the Sanctuary, and inside this enclosure no indecencies would be permitted.

But restraint was not to their liking, and a wagon load of the highest grades of whiskeys, brandies, gin, &c. drove up to a clump of big trees inside the rope, and opened a full blast

saloon under cover of necessary drinks. Boring prevailed upon a fine young preacher by the name of Brewer, to dress up like a bum, get a bottle of whiskey from the "refreshment stand" and he would have the County Sheriff arrest the men who were breaking a state law, and disturbing the meeting. Brewer succeeded admirably, and staggered back to the preacher's tent with the pure liquid evidence, and the sheriff's posse confiscated the wagon load of booze and drove it off safely.

By this time the first great Love Feast had closed, the singing masses were in part seated, the great hymns of the sanctuary were sung, the notices given, and the announcements made. "Bishop Matthew Simpson, President of Garrett Biblical Institute will now preach." It was the most important occasion of his life, and such an opportunity rarely comes to man. There was an audience, practically limitless, which could be reached only by the best and strongest voice in all the world. Could he hold the attention of that mass while he arranged to deliver the greatest message imaginable. That great sermon on "FAITH," was his masterpiece, and never before or afterward was it ever delivered with greater power or effect. He absolutely forgot himself, did not use his handkerchief when it would have been better had he done so, and drove on in a chariot of great thoughts for nearly two hours, and we were sorry when he closed. Personally my position just in front of him gave me an opportunity to take in the full force of this his greatest effort, and make me glad that I belonged to the same race. The mass of humanity stood practically motionless, the hundred or more ministers wept, and shouted for joy; and no one who heard that mighty sermon ever forgot the message or the speaker. It was a day for the giants, and during the afternoon seven preaching places were announced, and around "the big stump," by "the elm log"—on the "goods box" &c. the worshippers gathered, the great well known hymns were sung, prayers offered in great fervency, seven sermons preached, and powerful appeals made before the crowd melted away.

That night has never been excelled in all the history of Camp meetings of which we have heard. The seven sermons had reached the masses, and hearts had melted during the all day services. When darkness came on, and the big bonfires lighted up the woods, and the left over thousands still crowded around the altar space; when the service was ended and the appeal made, hundreds knelt at the mourners' benches, and before the midnight meeting was ended, over two hundred souls had there and then confessed that Christ had come into their lives, and that they knew that He was formed within, the hope of glory.

The first week of the Des Plaines Camp meeting ended in victory and a blaze of glory. The stamp of Jehovah's approval was manifested in signal benedictions. Rev. Wm. F. Stewart, pastor of Clark Street M. E. Church was given charge of the "flying artillery," a company from the Garrett Biblical Institute of young ministers, whom he had trained and thoroughly drilled for the occasion, and gave them assigned places for the afternoon meetings. Most of these men were from the Senior class and that was certainly a field day for the young preachers. Much could be written concerning W. F. Stewart, how he toiled to build up the cause of Zion, and when in after years he possessed quite a fortune gave and gave largely for the educational interests of the church.

But what about the hundred or more drunken men who had brought their booze from the city, were left by the trains on our hands, and now were noisy and desperate? They had no shelter, some were hungry, mad, vicious, and must in some way be managed with as little violence as possible, or a dangerous scene would follow. Who could handle the crowd was the problem, but some one suggested, load them on express wagons, drive out three or four miles, dump them out and come back for another load. This was adopted and load after load of noisy howling drunks left the grounds, and when dumped out were unable to return. That happy device solved the problem, and before morning not a drunken man was to be found on the grounds.

But the rough element was bound to disturb the meetings and when there was shouting at the altar, echoes would be heard in the woods, and now and then large squads would press down to the handrail and look on and join the shouters. One night a dozen or more agreed to answer the call for people to come forward for prayers, and go in a body to the mourners' bench. The bunch started in full force, but all backed out save one, who pressed forward and knelt at the end of the bench, and the brethren believed he was a true penitent: but Elder Boring knew better. After a little the Elder bent over and whispered in his ear, "You rascal, I have been watching your movements for the last hour. Your friends have all forsaken you and not one is at the altar. Now don't you rise from your knees till I tell you, for the moment you do, the deputy sheriff, now stationed behind will arrest you." Boring kept that man on his knees for nearly two hours, and then said, "Your hat is just here under the bench, now get up and go at once." If ever a man left the Camp ground in a hurry, that bum did, and he never returned. Such were some of the methods of dealing with the lawless element, and as a rule the efforts were decidedly effective.

But that sermon preached by the great Bishop was the theme of the day, and the talk of a hundred ministers for weeks. Some absorbed the ideas of the preacher, and re-preached them to other Camp meetings and the home pulpits, to the great delight of the hearers.

THE CHILDREN'S MEETINGS

Were held under the guidance of Rev. B. T. Vincent (still living at Denver, Colo., 1918) and William Whitehead. One chronicler, the editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Rev. Thomas M. Eddy wrote, "O it was touching above measure to hear their songs, and see the tear standing in the eye of the dear little ones. It was blessed to feed the lambs." These children's meetings became a very prominent factor at Des Plaines, and have been kept up at white heat ever since. The good to the little ones has been of untold worth, and its influence on "the grown ups" has been a great benediction.

Personally that children's meeting led the writer to give special attention to the salvation of children in all his ministry. Some of the workers have given half a century to this blessed work, and have seen the fruits of their labors again and again. The chronicler continued—"Last night, a minister said, that many years ago he stood a trembling penitent lad, leaning against a tree on an Ohio camp ground, sad and lonely. A minister then in his prime, a father of a preacher now on this stand, saw him, went to him, took him in his arms and bore him to the Savior. Today, said he, I saw a grandson of that minister, a lad, who stood back as he did. I thought I might now in some sense repay the great good done me by his grandsire,—went to him, he yielded, and Christ received him." What volumes these records would make were they all written out, but they are all yonder, well written up in the Lamb's Book of Life.

There were countless efforts made to interest the children, but mostly by men and women of remarkable talent, who could speak or sing with extraordinary effect. One day a man aged 72 was put up for a talk about the beauties of the Bible, and how necessary it was to memorize the Scriptures, and how valuable it would be to people in riper years. He closed with some personal testimony which was exceedingly valuable. "Children, I am an old man now, and when the time comes for evening worship, and the lights are dim, and my eyes are aching, I do not have to get the Bible and try to read the sacred passages. I just fold my arms a moment and think a little, and presently I can recite from memory any chapter in the Bible. This is a great joy to me, and it is so good to have the whole Bible in memory. If all the Bibles in the world were taken away from us, and some good hand would write for me I could restore all the blessed Word of God." This good man was never seen again on the grounds, and his very name is forgotten.

THE LOVE FEASTS

At Old Des Plaines were seasons of remarkable interest. The first ones were so deeply interesting that it was

almost impossible to close them when the hour came for preaching. Elder E. M. Boring claimed this as his part of the work, and did not care to be one of the star preachers, but he certainly was an adept in leading the audiences in testimonies. Such brilliant experiences were somewhat new to me, and I filled my notebook with them, and many were published, and some did good service as illustrations in after days. A sprightly colored man arose saying "Brudders and Sisters, I's a poor ignorant colored pusson. I can't read nor write; but I hurn say, that de Bible says of God, that he has no respectable pussons." That was a strange but doubtless correct testimony.

People of other languages were welcome to the first pulpit in the Des Plaines Camp Grounds, and the very first Sabbath, a good German brother gave the message in the language of the Fatherland, and it was well received. In after years the Swedes became most prominent and have kept up their meetings and interest to the present day.

THE WORK OF HOLINESS

Was again and again emphasized, and the theme was pressed by strong men and women who came from far off fields, and gathered quite a harvest here. What a beautiful paragraph is this chronicle, "There has been no need to drive the church to action. It has come to the tented plain to do battle for God—it is ready. Oh what hallowed songs! Oh what fervent prayers! God is here.

The work of conversion broke forth yesterday with much power. If some who talk about "jumping the fence" and going out of the Methodist Episcopal Church to hunt the doctrine of holiness, and to look for an "earnest Christianity" could have been here yesterday and heard that blessed doctrine expounded by the venerable Arza Brown, and listened to the warm responses and earnest praises of the assembly, they would have been convinced that they were about to run away from what they want. Salvation is free, and the people are receiving it."

The self appointed specialists of the doctrine came in

troops, and tried again and again to control the meetings, but the true and tried ministry preached the blessed doctrine, and many were filled with the Spirit, and wrought nobly in other days.

It has often been asked, "did the efforts pay, was the result commensurate with the expense of time, money and energy." Facts could have been gathered had someone thought to write them down, that would have been thrilling indeed. What we saw made impressions for a life time, but only a few and fading incidents remain.

On Monday after the famous Sunday, it was as quiet as the aftermath of a great battle. The woods were filled with papers, boxes, watermelon rinds, and bottles by the hundreds from the baskets of the picknickers to the straw and fodder for the many horses that had been tethered in the woods, all combine to make the Monday strange at least. Only a few persons came out from Chicago, and no excursion trains were run. It was announced that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper would be celebrated at 2 P. M. and a general invitation extended.

An unknown lady dressed in black, whose sailor husband was drowned a few weeks before, came from the station and attended the morning services. About 11 A. M. an invitation was given for any one to seek the Savior and bow at the mourners' bench. She came forward and quietly knelt, and within a few minutes was soundly converted, and gave a clear testimony of having found Christ. She joined the Church, announced her preference of a place of worship, was baptised in the afternoon, partook of the Lord's Supper, and left for the City on the evening train. It was certainly a great day in her history, though we never heard from her again.

People came again and again to the Grounds with the avowed purpose of "*getting religion*," and their noble purposes were most generally answered in sound conversions. The burden of soul resting on the management, seemed always to be *the conviction and conversion of sinners*. Other church work could be done at home, but here in the grove

was the place for repentance, faith and a present knowledge of salvation, and right well did the heroes press these duties upon the unsaved. Results were expected. The young converts were promptly registered and given a chance to join the church immediately. Elder Boring had a slogan for his brethren all his own—"Shock'm up brethren, Shock'm up," and day by day the doors of the church were opened for the young converts. Persons most prominent in the beginnings of these meetings lived to see a remarkable growth and development of their fondest dreams. The laity came to assist in every good word and work, and remained at the post when all the clergy had gone home; for there was much "settling up" to do and it was somewhat irksome.

JOHN A. PEARSONS of Evanston was the handy and reliable efficient man. He had a livery stable, an express route to Chicago. Could build a house, run a lumber yard, lead the songs of the sanctuary, and tell unerringly when a man brought the divine message. His teams, wagons, lumber, tools, and services were at the call of the committees and it is doubtful whether he ever made one cent above expense during all the long years he served, of putting up tents, taking them down and storing the same. He was ever cheerful, brave, hopeful and tireless in the good cause of the Master. Even down to old age he never lost his interest in the church of God. He was one of Evanston's most valuable citizens and did an immense amount of good for the City and the cause of Christ which was so near his heart. His home was always open to the preachers and it was the joy of my life to visit his family from time to time, even till his translation, and then to be greeted in after years by his noble children. It fell to my lot to be present in the home when this good man was going away never to return. His son Henry said,—“Father here is Brother Foster.” He turned his face toward me, but doubtless did not see me, and said “Hallo John O.” I asked the divine blessing to rest upon this dear man, and bade him a long good by. His last words were, “Say Henry, take good care of John O.”

HANNAH PEARSONS, wife of John A. Pearsons was a true mother in Israel. The students of the Biblical Institute had no better friend, nor religious adviser, than this saint of God. For many years she was a prominent factor in the many meetings on the Camp Ground and her splendid influence helped to make them a success. She impressed all who knew her with positive assurance, that her chief aim in life was to do the Master's will. She was quiet, unassuming, devout, and made a host of choice friends who when she had gone, arose to call her blessed.

HELEN JUDSON BEVERIDGE was another one of those godly women who helped to make the Camp Meeting historic. This "elect lady," was no common personage, and her eventful life, had it been faithfully written out, would have surpassed the highest romance. Her husband was the first person converted on the old Camp Ground, but as his life in the army began shortly thereafter, he found but few opportunities to attend the meetings in after years. Mrs Beveridge followed the regiment to Alexandria, Va. where she suffered the "mud blockade," and the damp tents, coarse fare of 1861 and 1862, and came home in the Spring impaired in health, but full of real patriotism. Her devotion to her husband, General Beveridge, was marked, and not a privation, honor, nor duty, but what gladly shared. When the General was Governor of Illinois, the Executive Mansion held a lady who gave a dignity and Christian tone to all the functions and assemblages. She never allowed wine to be served at the banquets, and held herself ready to do all possible good to church and state. Hannah and Helen supplemented each others efforts for many years in Evanston, and they left a record for good never to be forgotten. One day in May, 1904, in Hollywood, California, I made my last call on the family, and spent a charming afternoon with one whom I had learned to highly esteem in my young manhood.

REV. THOMAS M. EDDY, D. D. the new Editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* was a remarkable character even from young manhood. He was tall, slender, pale-

faced, possessing as brilliant a set of eyes, as ever shone from a preacher's face. His language was of the purest, his gestures vehement and often overdone, but were forceful, timely and pat. He had a way of appeal all his own and seemed to know just when his shafts of truth hit, and was among the first to rush into the audience and lead sinners to the altar, and to stay with them till they were converted. In his editorial work he led Journalism in what was then coming to the front as "paragraphing." His editorials were not of the long heavy column after column type, but short, spicy, ringing, pertinent, pointed bits of literature that are exquisite reading after more than half a century has passed. He was extremely sensitive as to his preaching and editorial work. Probably no one knew this better than the writer who somehow got into his heart in an early day, and he was very confiding, employing me again and again for special newspaper work, and for which he paid generously. He was a great favorite with the preachers, and they considered it a great boon to have him dedicate their churches. In fact he was too much in demand for the good of his paper and his general health, which was none too rugged. He was a loud shouter, even when preaching, and awakened this spirit in his audiences, and at times the volley of "Amens," was most remarkable. He liked Camp Meetings, and attended them whenever it was possible, taking a most active part. Well do we remember the response of a good brother who was partially deaf, and his double "Amens," came in the very worst place possible, and set the whole audience into hearty laughter. Eddy was never disconcerted, but joined the assembly, and then finished up the matter by saying "people ought to be careful how they pepper and salt their porridge." How many times this good man preached at Des-Plaines it would be hard to tell, but he was always a strong factor among the notables. Again and again was he sent as a delegate to the General Conference, and did faithful work. He was called for to fill great churches, and eventually served at Metropolitan at Washington, and then was made

Missionary Secretary, where he served till his sudden death. Eddy's influence was not ephemeral, but so deeply did it impress his generation that he was mentioned often in the home circles and the great assemblies. Eddy had a notable faculty in choosing the right men to assist him in his work, and never made a happier choice than in selecting Rev. Arthur Edwards, D. D. of the Detroit Conference to be his Assistant in editing the Northwestern Christian Advocate, who continued as assistant and editor till the day of his death.

Eddy was generous, and gave of his means and his vitality, till both were seriously menaced. He could get the last dollar out of the congregation for a new church in the most gracious fashion, of any solicitor or any man we ever heard. He wanted to "die in the harness," and had his wish fully gratified. His church was greatly benefited by the zeal and counsels of his good life, and he left a record worthy of imitation. He died in the East, while his old Rock River Conference was in session in Sterling, Illinois, and business was suspended at once, and Memorial services ensued.

REV. HOOPER CREWS, D. D. was also one of the great characters of Northwest Methodism. He took an active part in every good word and work of Christianity, and helped to make the Camp Meeting a success. And by and by, the old man could preach, and when his great soul was awake, the message had the true ring. How well do we remember his sermon on *old age*, and the telling illustrations. "The Psalmist says 'Once I was young, but now I am old, but I have never seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread' I too can testify to the truth of this passage, I too, *have never seen a righteous man forsaken nor his seed begging bread.*" He led in the battle front, and gave testimony of the power of divine truth to save. REV. DAVID TEED has seldom been mentioned by the chroniclers. He was the pastor at Des Plaines and witnessed all the proceedings of the first meetings. Teed was a great, good hearted, eccentric man, heavy set, flashing eyes, loud voice, and of herculean earnestness. He could preach, pray, exhort in all the old

regulation tones, and people always knew what he meant. His crudeness was forgiven because of his earnestness, and men liked the man despite his strange style and general makeup.

About 1863 he had a strange funeral, some five miles out on the cold prairies, and to reach which he hired a livery stable rig, at a cost of four dollars. It was nearly an all day's job, and the family of the deceased father never thought to express thanks nor to pay his expenses. A few months afterwards one of the daughters got married, and she secured for the occasion the services of another preacher. This aroused Teed, and he sent in a bill for the funeral expense, with the remark, "I was thought good enough to bury your father, but not good enough to marry you. Please pay." This awakened quite a controversy, but people in general sided with Teed.

REV JACOB HARTMAN was a man of great worth. Silent, efficient, sweet as honey in disposition, a diligent student, a close accurate student, devoted to his work, and specially prepared to look after the children. For years he delighted to serve the little ones in his successful efforts to find them homes, and was successful in this work.

He was at the first meeting and preached the first regular sermon, though Elder Boring conducted the services. It must be understood that no *one man* had all the say, at any one service. If one man preached, another *exhorted*, and the services were often quite evenly divided. In fact at times three or even four men gave short, ringing messages, and this was not out of order if the leader called them on.

Hartman served many charges in his conference to the great delight of the people, and grew *old* and *feeble* and *blind* in the work, but was sweet, hopeful and cheerful to the end. Such men gave life and strength to the great meetings, and were living specimens of the glorious Gospel they preached to others. He was a pioneer, one of the genuine sort, full of life and love, greatly beloved by his brethren, and lived to

see a great advance in church life, for which he had toiled so long.

He was at home in revivals, and would drop his special church work, to go off and help a brother, and enter into his work as though specially sent of God, and why not! for he led many to Christ. His accurate statements concerning early records, must be accepted at 100% value.

WHEN THE GRATIOTS CAME TO GALENA.

By FLORENCE GRATIOT BALE.

Situated in the scenic county of Jo Daviess; in the northwestern part of Illinois; four miles east of the Mississippi River—the historic town of Galena remains today with much of the natural beauty it had many years ago when it was the center of the great mining district; the wooded hills surround it as in the days when the lead mines were active; many of the old buildings are as they were a hundred years ago; the Galena river, once a navigable stream (then called La Fevre river) able to bring the big steam boats and packets from the great water highway to the old levee, is now a sluggish narrow branch running through the valley and maintains only the aspect and name of a river.

The first influx to the lead mine district of the Illinois country began in 1820 and hundreds of miners, prospectors, traders, and adventurers flocked to this new El Dorado. Indians and some white men had been crudely mining since 1700, but not until the greatest trek in the history of the Northwest began were the lead mines really discovered with their valuable product imbedded in the rocky hills and underneath the broad level spaces between them.

It was to this throbbing, exciting, and alluring settlement, with its medley of humanity from all over the world and its camps of Indians surrounding it, that the "Gratiot Brothers" of St. Louis, Missouri, forged their way. The stirring news of the great mines in "The Fevre River district" had induced them to seek homes, wealth, and fame in the new country that lay many miles to the north, to reach which either by the Mississippi River or by trail involved a hazardous undertaking.

By right of heredity they were entitled to the spirit of exploration for they were direct descendants of that far see-

ing and adventurous French nobleman the Marquis Pierre Ligueste de Laclède who had left his ancestral home in Bedous, France, to seek his fortune across the sea in "New France." He made for himself a place in the history in that new land by being the founder of the present city of St. Louis and associating himself with the Northwest fur company.

His daughter Victorie "Chouteau" married Charles Gratiot the founder of the Gratiot Family in America. He was the son of David and Marie Bernard Gratiot of La Rochelle, France. They left their homeland, title and estate and fled to Switzerland upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz, where Charles was born. He came to Montreal, then to New Orleans, then up the river to St. Louis when a very young man; and his name stands for ardent patriotism, great business sagacity and devotion to family.

From both lines of ancestry the Gratiots inherited their brave, constructive and venturesome spirit; that was unafraid of an unexplored country and ready to blaze a trail in the wilderness; well knowing the hardships they must endure to conquer the conditions of an undeveloped territory.

Charles and Victorie "Chouteau" Gratiot had four sons and five daughters; Charles the eldest son graduated from West Point and became engineer in chief of the United States Army giving valiant service to his country in the war of 1812; Fort Gratiot on the straits of Lake Huron was named after him and Gratiot county in Michigan, also an important street in Detroit and a light-house at Dunkirk, New York, bear the family name in his honor.

Henry, Jean Pierre Bunyon, and Paul Benjamin, the three younger sons came to the Illinois country; early in October, 1824, Henry and Jean Pierre started from St. Louis. They carried their food, ammunition and camping outfit in a two horse wagon; three trusty and valiant French Canadians, voyageurs, accompanied them; the way lay through vast virgin forests, Indians were in ambush; streams had to be forded, wild animals shrieked and scampered in the deep woods, at every turn they faced danger but their perilous

journey ended without mishap in December and they found themselves in the settlement then called "January's Point" before the hard cold northern winter was upon them. Three cabins, some rude wooden shacks, and about five hundred white men comprised the village; this did not include the Indians' camps nearby.

Both brothers were under thirty years of age; they had left their wives and young families in St. Louis hoping to have them come North as soon as they could prepare a suitable shelter for them. Youth and hope kept the men keen and active during the long winter months. They united the frankness and generosity of the new world with the culture and polish of the old. The part they took in forming friendly relations between the settlers and the Indians was very important, they established a trading station and store, built the third real smelter near the settlement, teaching the miners how to procure the mineral from a greater depth than they had previously gone. The Gratiot smelter or furnace was on the edge of the village and for many years the road leading to it was called "Gratiot's Street."

In 1825 the Winnebago Indians petitioned the government to appoint their "friend and wise councilor," Henry Gratiot, as their agent. He was duly installed by the President's orders with complete authority to govern the Indians in the district and during the Winnebago and Blackhawk wars he was in command of forts and stockades and bore the rank of Colonel.

In the early part of January, 1826, Henry returned to St. Louis to visit his family and buy materials to build them a comfortable house. He planned to have their lumber shipped as soon as navigation opened in the spring, and later when the house was ready and the safety of the river was assured send for his wife and children, household goods, and servants, but in April she grew very impatient and without his knowledge or consent and in spite of friends' advice she decided to join him and made the journey on a flat boat taking six weeks to complete it. She brought with her their five children, two

negro slaves and a few household goods enough to establish their new home; tired and weary they landed in the village during high water and had to be taken to shore in a boat which carried them to a log cabin occupied by Dr. Van Meter and his squaw wife Josetta. It was on a high point of land called "Bench Street" the Van Meters housed the family for the night and until the surprised Henry could erect a temporary cabin for them as the materials he had purchased in St. Louis to build a home with had not arrived.

This cabin was built of logs with clay chinking, clap-board doors and one window, buffalo hides were used for floor covering and it bore the cheerful name "Sunny Spring Cabin." It was the fourth in the settlement and was located on the road leading to the Gratiot smelter. A cabin was also put up for the two negro slaves Scipio and Jenny who were faithful servants of the family for many years. "Sunny Spring" cabin was used longer than they anticipated and Susan Gratiot declared she spent some of the happiest days of her life in that rude home. She was the daughter of Stephen and Mary Lewis Hempstead of New London, Connecticut, whose ancestors had settled in the New England colony coming from England to escape religious persecution. In her blood as well as her husband's was the love of freedom, of life, freedom of thought, and the pursuit of happiness for all mankind; though Henry Gratiot was a Roman Catholic, he and his Puritan wife walked life's pathway hand in hand, heart to heart with no dissension on religious issues. They both had an abhorrence of the practice of negro slavery and that they owned slaves was one of their greatest regrets. They were glad to leave a State that regarded it as legal and right, hoping that in the new country they might bring up their children to realize its wrong. One of the first acts that the Gratiot brothers did after the slaves arrived was to set them free. In the court house of Galena today can be seen the hundred year old bond given by them to the commonwealth promising that the slaves they liberated would never become a charge to the State.



HENRY GRATIOT.

The Portrait from which this copy was made was originally painted by Chester Harding and copied by Stuart—which copy Hon. E. B. Washburne presented to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in the name of his wife, Adèle Gratiot Washburne.

In June of the same year the wife of Jean Pierre came up the river with her family and arrived in Galena in time for a real fourth of July celebration. She was a highly educated French woman, Marie Antoinette Adèle de Perdeauville whose mother was lady-in-waiting to the ill-fated Queen Marie Antoinette who had stood god-mother for the daughter of her favorite court lady. Mrs. Gratiot at the age of eighty-four left a remarkable narrative on their life in Galena and in Gratiot's Grove. In that she tells of their arrival in Galena on June 17, 1826, "All the settlement flocked to the landing when the boat drew up to the levee, they were eager to see the newcomers from the South. My husband, my brother-in-law, Henry and his wife Susan, were among the throng and my first insight into border society was the fourth of July celebration; it took place at the old Harris home three miles from town, it was the most curious aggregation that could be imagined. Colonel Strode who was in command of the block house delivered the oration. The miners with their uncut hair, red flannel shirts and high boots worn over their pants were there in great numbers all eager to dance with the ladies who were few in number and very popular and I must say that these frontier men all behaved like gentlemen."

One marvels in these modern days at the courage and faith in the future that was embodied in the lives of these pioneer women of over a hundred years ago. They lived in daily fear of the Indians who with scalping knife and tomahawk periled every woman and child; these heroic mothers faced danger, disease, and death to establish their homes. As one could easily predict the families of the brothers were congenial and happy in their close companionship and a very deep and lasting affection between the sisters-in-law Susan and Adele Gratiot and their growing families, existed; the days and years of shared anxiety cemented this bond which lasted all their lives. The vivacious French woman was a devout Catholic while her sister-in-law had been reared in a strict Puritan family; she was able to face the difficulties of their pioneer life with a calm courage; this courage and com-

fort was the shelter that Adele sought when the days were dangerous and dreary and in her narrative she says "We always felt safe when we were under the shelter of Susan Gratiot's fortitude."

On the 12th of November, 1826, the sixth child and third daughter of Susan and Henry Gratiot was born in the "Sunny-Spring" log cabin. She had the distinction of being the first white girl baby born in the settlement and she was named Adele after her aunt. Seventeen years later this little Adele married Elihu B. Washburne,* a young lawyer who had come to Galena from the State of Maine and she wrote some reminiscences of her mother's life for the entertainment of her little daughter Marie Washburne. This story has been gathered into a fascinating tale by this same Marie now Mrs. Marie Washburne Fowler. From it we relate the story of Susan Gratiot's pioneer experiences as told by her daughter Adele Gratiot Washburne. "When I was born two colored women were all the help my mother had. I weighed three pounds and to keep me from freezing to death, they fitted up a cigar box for my cradle and set it on the mantelpiece in the warmest place. My dear mother took cold and they thought she would die. She only prayed that the little baby should die with her, but God sent an angel of mercy to her in one of the most awful storms that ever visited that country. Many perished in it. It was three o'clock when some halfbreed Indians knocked at her door. They let them in, and warmed and fed them, with mother dying as they supposed, in one corner of the room. Showenongua, as soon as she came to the bed, said in her Indian way, 'She is very sick. No die.' She went in search of roots and leaves and returned the next morning, her blanket full of dried leaves and roots. She sent everyone out

* Elihu B Washburne was representative from Illinois for many terms and in 1869 he was appointed Minister to France by his former Galena townsman, General U. S. Grant, who was then President of the United States. During the Franco-Prussian War the name of Washburne bore great weight with both nations in the combat. For by his diplomacy and kindness he was able to aid and comfort both French and Germans; his wife, Adèle Gratiot, with her understanding of the French people and language had endeared herself to the Emperor and Empress and her gracious and sympathetic personality aided her husband in his important post. Even the great Bismarck granted her the privilege of the mails without censorship.

of the cabin, and, in her Indian way, relieved my mother. After several months she was able to be up again, the squaw having remained to nurse her.

“Showenongna made an Indian cradle for the baby, and I was strapped into that, but it kept me from freezing to death. My mother learned from this Indian squaw how to speak the Indian language, and she, in turn, learned some words of the English and French.

“After the Blackhawk war was over the cholera broke out among the Indians and colony, and my mother did much good with the medicine chest and doctors’ book. She relieved many, but alas, many died, among them Josetta, the wife of Dr. Van Meter. Van Meter had previously died, and Josetta sent immediately for my mother and begged her to take Josephine, her little girl. Father Lutz and my mother told her that Miss Van Meter, the sister of her late husband, who lived with Josetta, was the right one, but Josetta hated Miss Van Meter, and said the child should die first. She called for the child, a beautiful little girl six years old, and kept her on the bed with her until death claimed her for his own. Before she died, the child commenced crying with toothache; soon the face began swelling, and in two days she yielded up her little spirit to the God who gave it. The mother had poisoned her.

“Josetta was very angry at my mother once, and stole two silver spoons to avenge herself. She told the priest he would find them in a certain stump where she had hidden them, and there they were. This is the only thing the Indians stole from us, except the handsome feathers out of the roosters’ tails. The young chiefs would pluck them, and then let the poor fowls run.

“After the disappearance of the cholera, the Indians made a great Medicine Queen of my mother, a thing never done before. The Medicine Men took her into a lodge, sang and danced around her, put an eagle feather on her head, and laid at her feet the Medicine Badge, which was a white weasel, beautifully dressed. She had also set the shoulder of one of

the chiefs, who had the misfortune to break his arm. Her life was full of good deeds, not only to the Indians, but among her own people, and she had quite a reputation in the colony for her skill as a nurse and in medicine."

By December, 1826, the settlement was incorporated as a town and named Galena. It was fast assuming a dignity becoming its importance in the Northwest, homes were being built on the hills after the pattern of eastern and southern colonial architecture. Storehouses lined the active river frontage, Grace Episcopal church was established, a Methodist group were doing work in the mining district, and Father Mazuchelli was holding service in the first St. Michael church. Susan Gratiot did not fail in her duty to be a part of the religious life of the community; she became one of the six charter members of the first Presbyterian church organized by the beloved "Father" Aratus Kent.

In 1827 the Gratiots removed their smelters to a magnificent grove of virgin timber fifteen miles northeast of Galena, a mile and a half from the village of Shullsburg and it was called Gratiot's Grove. At this time it was in the state of Illinois but when the territorial division was made it was in the state of Wisconsin and this state justly claims these constructive men as its early settlers.

They did not take their families from Galena until the business of the Grove grew so important that they were compelled to be there all the time and they then built cabins and homes and removed from Galena to Gratiot's Grove and became a part of this new enterprise.

The youngest brother Paul Benjamin came from St. Louis in 1829 and established a store at Mineral Point, then the legal and important center of the Wisconsin mines. His wife was Virginia Bellin of Philadelphia.

Gratiot's Grove was progressing with great prosperity, they had over a thousand inhabitants, social life was gay, and between Galena, Mineral Point, Shullsburg and Fort Crawford there was a delightful exchange of parties, sleigh rides and quite elaborate balls were given, but the terror of

Indian warfare disrupted this happy life and in 1832 the peaceful Grove became Fort Gratiot, an armed camp, with Colonel Henry Gratiot in command. Galena was under military rule with two block houses and a stockade offering a place of refuge for the settlers. Women and children were brought to it for safety while the male portion of the community prepared to fight Blackhawk and his braves. The Gratiots took their family first to Galena and then to St. Louis for safety.

Colonel Gratiot was still the official Indian agent and it was conceded that he had greater influence with the Indians than any other man in the Northwest. He was one of the members of the Council with Blackhawk held at the old Branton Tavern under a white oak tree on a high point of land seven miles from Galena. For many years this hill was called the "Hill of Council" but was later changed to "Council Hill." This conference with Blackhawk was a most important one and it is supposed to have deterred him from entering Galena.

The name of Henry Gratiot will always be associated with the heroic rescuing of the "Hall girls," two young sisters who were taken prisoners by the Indians and carried off on their ponies from Indian Creek, Illinois, to the Blue Mounds in Wisconsin. General Dodge of that state realized that the only way to save these girls was through the influence of Colonel Gratiot and he was able to obtain their release six days after he began negotiating with the Winnebagoes. He took the girls to Gratiot's Grove where they were cared for and returned to their homes.

Another important but dangerous mission was intrusted to him during the war by General Atkinson of Illinois, who deemed it important that an envoy visit the Indian chief called "the Prophet" who was the right arm of Blackhawk at the village of Prophetstown on the Rock River. Gratiot bore a letter from the General who was in command at Fort Armstrong, which was written in the interest of a peaceful termination of hostility. Several Winnebagos Chiefs and a secretary accom-

panied Colonel Gratiot and the party descended the Rock River to the Prophet's village in canoes, and no sooner had they landed than the infuriated Indians in their warpaint surrounded the party and made everyone a prisoner. When the Chief saw Colonel Gratiot seized by his men he rushed out of his wigwam and embraced the Colonel saying he "would take this good friend of the Indian to his tent and care for him and protect him" but even the Prophet powerful as he was, could not quell the war spirit of his young braves and after three days they demanded that the prisoners be handed to them. The Prophet knowing what their fate would be, secretly told Colonel Gratiot of their plans and begged him to steal away at a given signal in their canoes in the early dusk. They did so, well knowing that death was just around the corner if they failed in their escape. They started down the river but the Indians were soon in hot pursuit and it was an all night race for life until daylight came when the enemy gave up the chase and Gratiot and his party utterly exhausted reached Fort Armstrong.

At the close of the war in 1833 the wives and children of Henry, Bunyon, and Paul Gratiot returned to their homes. Henry built a spacious stone house at the Grove hoping to have years of peace and enjoyment on his well earned estate; his brother Paul resumed his activities in Mineral Point for a few years and then returned to St. Louis. Jean Pierre (J. P. B.) went to Galena and erected for his family "A mansion house" in a typical French style with sloping roof, wide veranda, and Galleries. It was near the site of the "Sunny-Spring" log cabin and became the center of the town's social life; stately gentlemen danced with equally stately ladies and many important social events took place. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton wife of the famous statesman spent a winter with the Gratiots. One of her sons, William Hamilton, had sent for her to spend the winter at Hamilton's Diggins, in Wisconsin, but it was too crude for a lady who had been accustomed to eastern culture and comfort and the Gratiots came to the rescue and invited her to spend the winter with

them. Pretty Dolly Madison attended the ball given in her honor at the "mansion house." She was on her way to Fort Snelling where she was received with military honors and entertained as befitting a President's wife. In 1837 Mr. Gratiot removed to Missouri and became an important member of the legislature of that state.

In April, 1836, Henry Gratiot went to St. Louis and then to Washington city to report to the President the sad and deplorable conditions of the Indians on Rock River. Four Indian Chiefs had visited Gratiot's Grove during the winter to tell their ever faithful friend of their distress and as the journey as far as Philadelphia had to be made on horseback Gratiot was unable to start until the spring; he arrived safely and was the guest of his brother, General Charles Gratiot, while in Washington, but returning home he was stricken with pneumonia in Baltimore and passed out of his eventful life at the age of forty-five. He was buried in the Catholic cemetery at Baltimore and Galena held a public meeting to pay tribute to his memory and his service to his state and nation.

His devoted wife survived him eighteen years, and during that time she made her home alternately with her sons and daughter; Edward at Gratiot's Grove and Charles in Dubuque; Mrs. E. B. Washburne in Galena. Her sisters, Sara Beebe and "Aunt Manuel" Lisa, as well as her brothers, Charles and William Hempstead, lived in her first pioneer home. So she called Galena "home," not only for its memories but for the friends that lived in it.

Adele Gratiot Washburne (the daughter) lived part of each year in Washington as her husband was Representative from Illinois for many years, and Susan Gratiot was often a part of the family life in that city. As she was returning to Galena from Washington and Baltimore (where she went to visit her husband's grave), she was stricken with the dreaded disease, cholera, on the stage that made its trip from Chicago to Galena three times a week, when within ten miles from her destination. Her condition was so serious that she had to be removed to a wayside Tavern and passed on within ten hours

from the time she was taken ill; her funeral was held in the South Presbyterian Church of Galena and she was laid away in Greenwood Cemetery at that place.

Only one descendant of these Gratiot Pioneers has a home in the old city of the hills; but many of them came from the corners of the earth to visit the pioneer home of their revered ancestors, and in their imagination re-people the scene of those days of long ago when life was full of danger and discovery, adventure and romance; though the hands that builded the old town have laid aside their work, the permanent result remains and from the tasks of the then early pioneers our great State and Nation has developed.

“TO THE PIONEER.”

“Only those are crown’d and sainted
Who with grief have been acquainted
Making Nations nobler, freer.”

“In their feverish exultations,
In their triumph and their yearning,
In their passionate pulsations,
In their words among the nations
The Promethean fire is burning.”

“But the glories so transcendent
That around their memories cluster,
And on all their steps attendant,
Make their darken’d lives resplendent
With such gleams of inward lustre.”

Foot note—(Mrs. William Grant Bale, the writer of this sketch, is the daughter of Stephen Hempstead Gratiot and Mary Jane Chamberlin Gratiot, and the granddaughter of Col. Henry and Susan Hempstead Gratiot; she has a home in Galena but resides in Waukegan, Ill.)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Dedicatory Address upon the Unveiling of a Statue of
Abraham Lincoln at Clinton, Illinois, Armistice
Day, November 11, 1931.

LAWRENCE B. STRINGER, Lincoln, Illinois.

Someone has recently said—yet perhaps not so well said—that “there is nothing new to be told about Abraham Lincoln.”

As such statement applies to the old well-beaten Lincoln trails in Kentucky and southwestern Indiana and in and about New Salem and Springfield in Illinois and the comparatively short stay of Mr. Lincoln at the capital of the Nation, there is more or less of truth in the assertion.

As such statement, however, applies to a region somewhat off these beaten trails, a region which can boast of a Lincoln history all of its own, a region which was known to the pioneers, and their descendants as well, as the Salt creek valley of central Illinois, the statement is not so accurate.

In the Lincoln days, the valley of Salt creek was materially differentiated as a settlement from the valley of the Sangamon. Geographically speaking, the valley of the Salt was then, as now, a part of the valley of the Sangamon, for Salt creek, having its rise in McLean county, paralleling the Sangamon on the north some thirty miles distant, flowing westerly through what is now DeWitt and Logan counties and draining an imperial domain of more than a thousand square miles, emptied its waters into the Sangamon about ten miles north of Lincoln's New Salem.

Communitively speaking, however, the valleys of the Salt and the Sangamon in the Lincoln days were distinct and separate. Thirty miles over bridgeless streams, roadless prairies and miring marshes constituted a day's journey. Visitation between the two valleys was infrequent and the inhabitants of each valley lived largely unto themselves.

Abraham Lincoln, however, knew the valley of the Salt as well as he knew the valley of the Sangamon. He surveyed embryo towns and farms along Salt creek and highways across it. He practiced law in clapboarded court-houses in and about the valley. He knew the pioneers of the valley, visited their homes, tried their lawsuits, entertained them with his ready wit and inspired them with his homespun philosophy and wisdom.

Prior to the year 1839, Sangamon and Macon counties, as then constituted, spread all over central Illinois. In that year, fourteen new counties were created by the General Assembly of Illinois. These were carved out of territory included in the then organized counties. Two of these new counties were established in the valley of Salt creek. One was carved out of old Sangamon, the other out of Macon. The county carved from Sangamon was my own county of Logan. The county carved from Macon was your own county of DeWitt.

It is interesting on this occasion to inquire as to the personality of the individual officially responsible for the creation of these two Salt creek counties. The answer is found in the records of the Eleventh General Assembly of Illinois. The bills creating these counties emanated from the Committee on Counties. The chairman of that committee presented the bills to the Legislature, recommended their passage and saw them enacted into laws. The chairman of that committee was Abraham Lincoln.

As a matter of fact, county division was the initial issue which brought Abraham Lincoln into the forum of politics. One year after his arrival at New Salem, the inhabitants of that settlement, harboring an ambition to have New Salem made a county seat of a new county, prevailed upon Mr. Lincoln to announce himself as a candidate for the Legislature. Mr. Lincoln ran but was defeated.

Two years later, Mr. Lincoln was again a candidate for the Legislature and was successful. He was re-elected biennially until 1841. Prior to 1837, he was legislatively en-

grossed in the efforts to secure the capital of the state for Springfield. That purpose accomplished, he turned his attention to other matters.

By the year 1839, New Salem had almost ceased to be, but Petersburg, hard-by, which Mr. Lincoln had himself previously surveyed, succeeded to New Salem's ambition to become a county seat of a new county. The pioneers eastward in the valley of Salt creek also began movements looking toward the creation of other new counties to be carved out of Sangamon and Macon. They importuned Mr. Lincoln for assistance along these lines.

Was it by accident or choice that the year 1839 found Mr. Lincoln chairman of the Committee on Counties in the General Assembly? Unquestionably, it was choice on the part of Mr. Lincoln. Assuming the position, he remembered his friends in and about Petersburg and eastward in the valley of the Salt. He sympathized with their ambitions. As a result and largely through his efforts, February eighth, 1839, saw Menard and Logan counties established and March second ensuing saw the county of DeWitt initiated into separate civic life.

From 1839 to the very year in which Mr. Lincoln was elected President of the United States, DeWitt county was continuously a part of the old Eighth Judicial District which Mr. Lincoln traveled and in which he practiced law. In the old brick court house which occupied the Clinton public square, for nearly two decades, Mr. Lincoln was present at substantially every term of the DeWitt Circuit Court. For fairly twenty years, he was practically a member of the DeWitt county bar.

The senatorial campaign of 1858 wherein Lincoln and Douglas strove for supremacy was an epic in the history of Illinois and influenced the thought of the whole Nation. The city of Clinton figured distinctively in that famous campaign.

On July ninth, 1858, Douglas spoke in Chicago to a tumultuous crowd. The next day, in the same city, Lincoln made reply. On July sixteenth, Douglas spoke at Blooming-

ton, Lincoln being present. The following day, Douglas spoke at Lincoln at the noon hour and later, in the afternoon, at Springfield. That same night, at Springfield, Lincoln again replied to Douglas.

A few days later, Douglas met with his Central Committee in Springfield and a regular speaking itinerary for Douglas was arranged. This itinerary began with a meeting scheduled for Clinton for July twenty-seventh, in the afternoon, followed by a date set for Monticello for July twenty-ninth. Thus Douglas' regular speaking campaign was to begin at Clinton, as it actually did.

At the Clinton meeting, Douglas spoke for three hours. Lincoln was one of his auditors. Mr. Lincoln's presence on that occasion was severely criticized by the *Chicago Times*, particularly in view of the fact that friends of Mr. Lincoln secured his consent to reply to Douglas at Clinton, that same night, at an impromptu meeting.

In reporting the occurrence, the *Times* made the statement that not more than two hundred and fifty persons "could be induced" to attend the Lincoln meeting but the statement has been discredited by those present. Mr. Lincoln spoke to a large audience. In this address, Mr. Lincoln used the famous phrase which is inscribed upon the monument we dedicate to-day:

"You can fool all the people part of the time and part of the people all the time but you cannot fool all the people all the time."

Two days after the Clinton meeting, Lincoln and Douglas, enroute to Monticello, met at the modest home of F. E. Bryant in Bement, Illinois, where Douglas formally accepted Lincoln's challenge for joint debates, named the seven cities in which such debates were to take place and stipulated the terms.

In the light, therefore, of the many contacts of this community with Abraham Lincoln in his formative days, it is signally fitting and appropriate that a life-sized statue of him

should be erected in the Clinton court house square in perpetual memory of his attributes and deeds.

I congratulate the citizens of DeWitt county upon the erection of this monument. I congratulate Attorney L. O. Williams, of the DeWitt county bar, for his public service in originating the idea and the carrying of that idea to a successful conclusion. I congratulate any and all who have played a part in the movement. The erection of this monument will be an abiding source of civic and patriotic pride to generations yet to come.

I would not be doing justice to this occasion, however, if I left the impression that this monument we unveil today is merely a memorial to an Abraham Lincoln of any particular locality or event or of any circumscribed environment. It is far more than that. It is likewise a memorial to a Lincoln of universal thought and action. It is a memorial to an ever-abiding ideal.

The Abraham Lincoln we know today is not alone the Lincoln of the Sangamon or the Salt creek valleys. He is not alone the Lincoln of Illinois nor yet alone of the United States. The Lincoln we know today is the Lincoln of the whole civilized world.

Abraham Lincoln grew as his world widened. The world of his adolescence was the valley of the Ohio. The world of his maturity was the valley of the Mississippi proper, from the Sangamon to the Gulf. The world of his Presidency was the whole round world, as he found it, and the issues he faced and the manner in which he faced them gave him internationality.

Kentucky gave him to Illinois, by way of Indiana, as the forest ranger. Illinois gave him to the Republic as the arbiter of national destinies in the hour of crisis. The Republic gave him to the world as the morning star of humanity.

Stanton sensed the internationality of Lincoln when he exclaimed; "Now he belongs to the ages." Beecher sensed it when he said: "We return to you, Illinois, a mighty conqueror, not yours but the nation's, not ours but the world's."

The strength of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech is not so much in its purity of English as in its universality of application. It was a message to men everywhere. It bore the stamp of omnipresence. It was a call for a "new birth of freedom," in order that government of, by and for the people should not perish, not from the United States alone, but "from the earth."

The strength of Lincoln's second inaugural was in its internationality. It echoed an angelic anthem of "peace on earth." It opened with an orison that "the scourge of war may speedily pass." It tremoloed a strain of "malice toward none and charity for all." It finaled a crescendo that all should be done which would "achieve a just and lasting peace," not only "among ourselves," but "with all nations."

On an occasion of this kind what can anyone say of the character and achievements of this great soul that has not already been said. Thousands of histories and biographies of him have been written. Every complimentary adjective known to the mother tongue has been used at one time or another to describe his characteristics. To place his life and services in any new light would require the coining of new words and the inventions of new ideas. I am not equal to such a task.

But if you would ask me what, in my humble judgment, were the chief attributes which made Lincoln great, I would reply that primarily they were three in number, his honesty, his humility and his humanity. And as corollaries to these, I would add his persistent industry, his intellectual and moral worth, his power of self-control, his wonderful sense of justice, his devotion to the cause of the common people and his optimistic belief in the ultimate triumph of the eternal truth.

Abraham Lincoln was inherently and constitutionally honest. His honesty was not merely that legal honesty which insures one against involution in the meshes of the law, not merely that conventional honesty which is said to be the "best policy," with accent on the word "policy," but that

honesty which is absolute and fundamental, an honesty that is the best principle, a moral honesty, an honesty for honesty's sake, an honest-to-God honesty.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of supreme self-control. He never lost his temper or, if he did, he never evidenced it. He turned aside harsh criticism with a soft answer or an apt story. He always bided his time with patience. He considered the propitiousness of events. He held the border states in line, despite radical opposition, and by so doing won the war and saved the Union.

He had a great sense of justice. That sense of justice was so great that he would espouse the cause of his bitterest enemy if he thought his enemy was right. Like Henry Clay, his model, he would rather be right than be President and he was both. He carried no concealed daggers. No serpent's trail crossed his path. No cloud of dishonor shadows his grave.

Abraham Lincoln was humane. He always tempered justice with mercy. He was ever humble, whether in cabin or mansion. Recognition did not mar him. He loved the common people. Clothes were only clothes to him. It was the man underneath which counted and he differentiated men, not as great or small, but as right or wrong.

Of profound conviction, his opinions were formed among the cloud-capped regions of rarefied thought and lofty principle. His course was guided by the fixed star of truth and duty and his ultimate purpose was God and country and universal justice to all mankind.

When the tocsin of Civil War was sounded and soldiers were needed to fight for the flag, there was no dearth of volunteers. Into the arena, full-panoplied, there sprang leaders, tried and true, in the impending struggle. The prairies and valleys of the North shook with the tramp of marching millions and deeds of heroism emblazoned every star and stripe on the Nation's flag.

Yet all in vain would have been the loss of life and treasure if an executive had not been found in that fearful night

of war, courageous, able and self-controlled, not too radical nor yet too conservative, endowed with a wisdom comprehending every phase of human life, an ability to meet, without mistake, complications most intricate and a faith sufficiently sublime to remove mountains.

On the prairies of our own Illinois was such an executive found.

Untouched by dogma, a child of the elemental, a giant sprung from the loins of the common people and in touch with every gradation of their daily life, he saved the Nation, gave liberty to a people, and his name lives, and it will live eternal in every heart-beat of the human race, our Abraham Lincoln of central Illinois.



SPENCER GORE.

EARLY PHYSICIANS IN MY COUNTY.

By SPENCER GORE.

- I. The very earliest physicians were the "shamans."
 - A. "Shaman" is more commonly known as medicine man.
 - B. The methods used by the shaman were usually not scientific.
- II. The next doctor to come after the shaman had gone, was the early traveling doctor.
 - A. His methods were as obsolete and unscientific as those of the medicine man.
 - B. But even though he was very backward in methods of treating patients, he was leaning more toward what had been found out by scientific investigations.
- III. Only a very few of the earliest local doctors in Menard County were as backward as the traveling doctor.
 - A. Dr. Allen was probably the most important of the doctors in Menard County.
 - B. Drs. Bennet, Regnier, Stephenson, Cabanis, Witley, and Chandler were other fairly important doctors.

Chief Shambole¹ had been seriously ill with a strange malady. His shaman, more commonly known as "medicine man," had torn hair and uttered weird incantations, but all to no avail. He tried rattle-snake oil, but this did not help. Then the shaman used a more potent (and more scientific) remedy. He used his highly prized herb and root extract.² Slowly but surely Shambole recovered.

But he was not yet over the danger line. The distraught medicine man dug a hole in the center of the wigwam, about

¹ An Indian living in Menard County during pioneer times. (History of Menard and Mason Counties.)

² Early Pioneers and Pioneer Events of the State of Illinois.—Harvey Lee Ross.

a foot deep and about as long and wide. In this he heaped live coals. Then he wrapped Shambolee up in many blankets, and placed him over this hole.³

Despite some of the crude methods used by his shaman, Shambolee survived. These methods seem crude, but those of the early traveling doctors were no better.

The shaman had died. Shambolee became sick again and since there were no other medicine men near, he was forced to rely on the "pale-face" doctor. When the doctor came, he looked at his patient's tongue, and felt his pulse. Then, since he regarded the condition as serious, he put Shambolee in a chair, and took about one-half pint of blood from him. This did not help, so he gave his patient an emetic. After he had vomited, he was given a dose of calomel, one of jalop, and some castor oil. The less the doctor knew about the case the more medicine he thought should be given, and, accordingly, Shambolee was given a dose of quinine, the favorite remedy.⁴

After going through this treatment, Shambolee *was* sick, and so the doctor decided that he should give more treatment. He made a "blister" almost ten inches long, and about six inches wide for the chest of his patient, and smaller ones for the arms and legs. (If he had considered Shambolee nearly dead, he would have cut away part of his hair and applied a blister to his head.)⁵

These blisters were made out of pulverized Spanish flies, tallow, and canvas. These were left on for eight hours. By this time Shambolee's howls of agony had become so lusty, that the doctor decided that his victim was getting stronger.

If Shambolee had died, his doctor would have claimed that it was the will of providence, but since he didn't the doctor claimed much credit.

This same doctor also carried around a tooth-puller or a "pullikens"⁶ and would extract teeth for the small sum of

³ Early Pioneers and Pioneer Events of the State of Illinois.—Harvey Lee Ross.

⁴ Recollections of Mrs. Lucy Robertson.

⁵ Early Pioneers and Pioneer Events.

⁶ Ibid.

twenty-five cents. One of the first tooth pullers looked much like a modern pair of pliers.⁷

People could not afford to get sick, and fever and ague were looked upon as necessities.⁸ They fought malaria without help from doctors, and if they died, there would be no doctors' bills. A blacksmith was considered more important than a doctor because the "good wives" were considered able to do the necessary doctoring.⁹

Calomel, whiskey, quinine, Fowlers Solution, and herbs were the most common remedies even though the early papers were full of patent medicine advertisements. It even became fashionable to be sick.¹⁰

One of the most important doctors of Menard County was Dr. John Allen. He came to New Salem from Vermont sometime before August 28, 1831, because the records show a deed from James Pantier to him, conveying lots three and four south of main street in Salem, on that date.¹¹ He was one of Lincoln's best friends, and was a very strong force for righteousness. He was a strict Sabbatarian and his principles in this regard were strengthened by an incident that occurred on his journey to Illinois. Coming down the Ohio river, he stopped on Saturday night and waited for the next boat, because he did not believe in traveling on Sunday. The boat on which he had been traveling sank the next day with loss of life.¹²

By August of 1835, there had been an epidemic of the so-called bilious fever. Ann Rutledge took the fever, and although she took the prevalent remedy, Peruvian bark, she did not get better. She died after six weeks of illness, August 25, 1835. Dr. Allen, who had been Ann Rutledge's physician, took Abraham Lincoln into his home until the sharpest grief was over.¹³

Doctor Allen's residence and office was just across from

⁷ Mrs. Lucy Robertson.

⁸ History of Menard and Mason Counties.—Ruggles and Miller.

⁹ Past and Present of Menard County.—Rev. R. D. Miller.

¹⁰ Story of Illinois.—Theodore Calvin Pease.

¹¹ Lincoln and New Salem.—Old Salem Lincoln League.

¹² Life of Abraham Lincoln.—William E. Barton.

¹³ The Life Story of Abraham Lincoln.—John D. Long.

the Hill residence.¹⁴ He was a devout Christian and organized the first Sunday School and Temperance Society¹⁵ in Salem.

The Temperance Society was looked upon with disfavor by many people. The New Salem Baptist Church expelled Mentor Graham because he was a member of the society, and by way of even-handed justice, expelled three other members because of drunkenness.¹⁶

The meetings of this society were held in a house built of logs that stood on the bluff, south, and across the ravine from Salem.¹⁷

Doctor Allen compromised upon the question of practicing medicine on Sunday by relieving the patients, but giving the money earned, wholly to the Church.¹⁸

Dr. Allen was also a merchant, and continued his trade when he came to Petersburg, sometime before 1852, when Salem became extinct.¹⁹ He died in Petersburg about 1860.²⁰ One of the histories states that he came to Petersburg about 1840, although another says that it was a little later.²¹

Dr. Duncan came to Salem about 1836,²² built up a good practice, but left a few years later for Warsaw. Other early doctors at Salem were Dr. Reamer,²³ Dr. Charles Chandler, and a certain Dr. Able.²⁴

Dr. Richard E. Bennet came to Petersburg about 1835, and was the first practicing physician there.²⁵

Dr. Lee came to Petersburg about five or six years after the Big Snow, or about 1837. He came from Virginia. Although he came to Petersburg originally, he moved later to Athens.²⁶

¹⁴ In the Lincoln Country.—Rexford Newcomb.

¹⁵ Pioneers of Menard and Mason Counties.—T. G. Onstot.

¹⁶ Life of Abraham Lincoln.—William E. Barton.

¹⁷ Atlas Map of Menard County, Illinois.—W. R. Brink.

¹⁸ Lincoln and New Salem.

¹⁹ History of Menard and Mason Counties.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Lincoln and Salem.—T. G. Onstot.

²² Atlas Map of Menard County, Illinois.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Lincoln and New Salem.

²⁵ History of Menard and Mason Counties.

²⁶ Ibid.

Dr. Cabanis was another early physician at Petersburg. He was there about the time that Dr. Allen was,²⁷ and there is an interesting story told about him and Jonathan Colby.

In 1850, while harvesting, Jonathan Colby's fingers were caught in the blades of a threshing machine. The blades cut his fingers and it was necessary to amputate his hand. It was night before doctors could reach him, and the two doctors of Petersburg, Dr. Cabanis and Dr. Bennet had to cut off his hand by the light of a candle. They used no anesthetics in those days, so Mr. Colby had to sit and watch them cut off his hand. Evidently he was in great pain, though he did not show it.²⁸

Another doctor who lived in Petersburg about 1844, of whom very little is said in most histories of Menard County, was Dr. Benjamin Franklin Stephenson, perhaps better known as the founder of the Grand Army of the Republic. He came to Petersburg soon after graduation from Rush Medical College, and acquired a large practice. His first partner was Dr. Cabanis.²⁹ He also practiced with a Dr. Grey, and their office was on the south side of the square.³⁰

We are led to believe that the early doctors were not well paid because of an advertisement which reads:

B. F. Stephenson, M. D., will continue practice of medicine and surgery in Petersburg to all those who WILL PAY him.³¹

He located in Sangamon county soon after the Civil War, but later, when his health was declining, he moved to Rock Creek. There on the 30th day of August, 1871, he died.³²

Dr. Francis Regnier came to Illinois with his brother. He settled in Menard County in 1829, practicing in Clary's Grove and New Salem. He had an office next door to Samuel Hill's store in Salem.³³

²⁷ Mrs. Lucy Robertson.

²⁸ Mrs. Lucy Robertson.

²⁹ Menard, Salem, Lincoln Souvenir Album.

³⁰ Advertisement found in the Menard Index, Nov. 18, 1858.

³¹ Advertisement found in the Menard Index, March 15, 1860.

³² Menard, Salem, Lincoln Souvenir Album.

³³ Mrs. Ella Craig.

Dr. Regnier was a rather fleshy man. One time when his horse became frightened, and ran away with his sulky, he threw out his leg against a sapling, stopping the horse, but breaking the doctor's leg. He was very cheerful and kept the people laughing while his leg was being set.³⁴

He moved to Petersburg before 1852, continuing the friendship originated in Salem between Dr. John Allen and him.³⁵

Another early doctor in Clary's Grove, the early name of Tallula, was Dr. J. F. Wilson, who was the first practicing physician to reside in Clary's Grove.³⁶ He came there sometime between 1858 and 1860.³⁷

Dr. Colin M. Robertson, another early doctor in Tallula, was born in Kentucky in 1822. His father moved to Illinois in 1827. After Dr. Robertson had received his education, he came to Tallula and set up a very good practice. This was about 1859.³⁸ Dr. Robertson's office was at the corner of Greene and Yates streets, Tallula.³⁹

Dr. Abbot was the first physician to practice in Athens.⁴⁰ Dr. Lee and Dr. Eatay came later, about 1837 or 1838.⁴¹

A certain Dr. Walker was the first doctor at Indian Creek, but he left in 1830, and from where he came or where he went is not known. Dr. David Meeker was the next doctor at Indian Creek, and he combined school teaching with medical practice. He came there about 1832.⁴²

Dr. Morgan was the first doctor to practice in the vicinity of Irish Grove, while Drs. Davis and Calloway were the first physicians in Greenvew.⁴³

A Dr. Hughes was the second practicing physician in Sweetwater, coming there about 1855. Dr. Reuben D. Black was the first doctor in that vicinity, but he stayed there only

³⁴ Lincoln and Salem.—T. G. Onstot.

³⁵ Mrs. Ella Craig.

³⁶ Past and Present of Menard County.

³⁷ History of Menard and Mason Counties.

³⁸ Atlas Map of Menard County.

³⁹ Advertisement in Menard Index.

⁴⁰ Menard, Salem, Lincoln Souvenir Album.

⁴¹ History of Menard and Mason Counties.

⁴² Past and Present of Menard County.

⁴³ Past and Present of Menard County.

a short time, leaving about 1830.⁴⁴ Dr. J. D. Whitley was the first practicing physician in Oakford.⁴⁵

All of these men who have worked so earnestly have aided their country as much as any other group of men. They have given their best that their fellow-men could live longer and receive the full benefits of life. No man can do more.

⁴⁴ History of Menard and Mason Counties.

⁴⁵ Menard, Salem, Lincoln Souvenir Album.

PRESENTATION OF GOLD MEDAL.

By MRS. DAVID J. PEFFERS.

For a number of years the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution have been working jointly, with high school pupils, to inspire the youth of the State with its early history and to that end a silver medal has been given for the best essay on a given subject in each county, and then from the best of all the counties one essay has been chosen for the state prize. The subject this year was "Early Physicians in my County." These essays aside from their literary efforts have served a twofold purpose. The child through his research work is learning of the type of men and women, who by their sturdy character and high ideals, were paving the way for the civilization we are enjoying today; and he cannot but be inspired by the noble, courageous and helpful lives of the pioneers of Illinois.

May this delving into the past prove only a starter, and may an interest and inspiration to know more of the early settlers of Illinois be the result of the efforts of those in each county who entered into this contest. Nothing is more interesting nor inspiring than the study and reading of history. We all should be familiar with the history of our own localities, of our state and of our nation. Good citizenship and a familiarity with the history of our land go hand in hand, and because of the subtle forces of the communist which today are attacking our nation from both within and without, the high ideals and aims of our forefathers should be familiar to all, that we should all be in a position to do our part toward keeping America the country our forefathers intended it should be.

The first settlers came to the Atlantic coast, but their descendants came to these Illinois prairies with the same high ideals of home and country as their fathers. A very large part of our population is of foreign birth, or children of foreign born parents, who know little or nothing of the tradi-

tions dear to us. The majority of these foreign school children never reach the eighth grade. They have few books at home, and those not of a nature to incite or inspire them to a knowledge of the traditions of our land, and I feel personally that each and every one of us should do all in our power to popularize the reading and study of American History, and especially our own history of Illinois. And may I here say that through the courtesy of Dean James A. James of Northwestern University, Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution have an interesting outline of Illinois History which we shall be glad to pass on to any one desiring it.

I feel sure that the high school pupils who investigated the lives of the early physicians in their respective counties, could not fail to be inspired by these pioneers, and that their own lives will be on a higher plane by the realization of the lives of sacrifice and hardships these physicians willingly gave to help the people of their communities. Could the youth only be made to understand that the reading and study of history is not only worth while in that it leaves something permanent in one's memory:—not something to be forgotten tomorrow as the modern novel or the latest jazz tune—that the people and places as well as incidents they read about are real and lasting and inspire one to visit historic spots and read more and more of our state and nation's past, and honor and revere the ideals of our forefathers.

Spencer Gore of Petersburg is chosen this year to receive the gold medal for his essay on "Early Physicians in my County." It is an honor of which he may be justly proud. The essay will be printed in the Journal of this Society. That of itself is an added honor for this youth. I hope sincerely that this will be but a beginning of his interest in the reading of history, and that as the years go by he may from time to time contribute something of historic value to this Society, and that he will recall with just pride his winning of this gold medal which I am so happy to present him in the name of the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution.

FRED J. KERN

By A. L. BOWEN.

The 1912 Bull Moose split in the Republican party in Illinois had seated a Democrat, Edward F. Dunne, in the governor's chair in Springfield—a political revolution had occurred in Illinois. What would be the ideals and policies of the new administration toward the state's service?

Those of us who had started the rehabilitation movement in the state hospitals and state charitable institutions were concerned whether that work, already well on its way, was to go on or was to be scrapped for something else or were the institutions to be ignored, as they had been in so many years?

Governor Dunne was known as a socially minded citizen and public official. His humanitarianism was not questioned but his activities in public life had been conspicuously associated with other subjects than charities and welfare, as the terms are known in state government.

Among his first appointments was that of president of the State Board of Administration. This board of five members had been created during the preceding administration to manage the state charitable institutions. The prisons were not included in the group. The new board had succeeded the many local boards of trustees and had centralized in Springfield, in one small group, all their powers and duties.

The new plan had been in operation only a short time but had given promise of good results.

Governor Dunne's selection for its chairmanship was Fred J. Kern of Belleville. Mr. Kern was then known in his section of the State as a rather fiery and radical editor of a Democratic newspaper. He had served a term in congress and had been identified with the dominant faction in Illinois' Democratic party.

Some three years prior to this happening, I had entered the state institution service as Executive Secretary of the



FRED J. KERN.

State Charities commission, the successor to the old State Board of Charities, but we had no assurances of any sort that the commission would be continued as a functioning body. It might be discontinued by giving it no appropriations or it might be continued and made a factor in the charities field with new personnel.

Naturally, I was interested in what was going to happen. One morning very soon after Mr. Kern's appointment, I saw standing in the door of my office a good looking, honest faced figure, evidently German.

One hand was missing. My caller I knew was Fred J. Kern. His greeting was cordial. "I have heard about your work," he said to me, "and I thought I should come over and get acquainted." I apologized with the assurance that I regarded it as my duty first to call on the new head of the state charities service but I had not been successful in finding him in or at leisure.

Our conversation lasted for more than an hour. I found him exceedingly interesting, agreeable and concerned to know all that could be known about the work he was beginning. I was struck by his ability to go to the center of a subject with a very few short, trite questions. Immediately I became convinced of the sincerity of his purposes. He was imbued with a determination to give a service that would result in placing our institutions ahead of the best in the country. He was especially interested in the welfare of patients and inmates, and to know how they were cared for and treated.

That interview was the beginning of an era in the state welfare service.

The Board of Administration, during the next four years, welcomed the advice and service of the State Charities commission in the full spirit in which the law makers had intended. There was almost perfect cooperation between the two bodies. Mr. Kern's far-seeing and liberal viewpoint recognized the value of this advisory commission and made full use of its facilities.

He was always frank in his discussion of the business and

the professional duties of the institutions. There were no secrets in his administration. The mistakes he made he promptly acknowledged. The innovations and the reforms which he proposed he defended with courage that was admirable and with a logic that was irrefutable.

During his four years in this office the State of Illinois made long progress in management of its institutions. It adopted the one story cottage for wards of state hospitals and other classes of institutions. It located and erected the first buildings of the Alton State hospital and the Dixon State hospital. It abolished mechanical restraint in state hospitals and reduced medicinal restraint to a low minimum. It contributed to the cause of classification many valuable ideas, which resulted in a marked increase in the number of open or parole wards. It encouraged the employment of women on male wards, enlarged the facilities for hydrotherapy, made the beginning of recreational therapy, provided detached quarters for employes, thereby removing them from the wards where they had worked twelve and thirteen hours and placing them in comfortable quarters in buildings designed for their habitation.

Among the most notable achievements of this era was the installation of the eight hour day for all classes of employes in the state charitable institutions. This radical change was effected without jar or disorder and without the increase in costs which its opponents had for many years pictured as insurmountable obstacles.

It should be said in passing that all these policies became fixed in the Illinois plan and have not been departed from by succeeding administrations. The state today is expanding its institution service by one story cottages, now fireproof as better knowledge of building naturally would suggest. The eight hour day is accepted without discussion. Even greater freedom is allowed patients than was contemplated by the Kern regulations, while recreational and occupational therapy are firmly established as essentials in the treatment of mental patients.

The Kern administration also was characterized by economy in finances, by good planning of buildings and institutions and by a sincere purpose to enhance treatment within the institutions and to pass on to the public mind all the knowledge of prevention that medical science had to offer.

One of its most creditable acts was its attitude toward the Lowden civil administrative code which Mr. Lowden proposed in his campaign for governor in 1916. After his election, Mr. Lowden asked Mr. Kern to remain at the head of the board of administration, pending legislative action on the proposed reorganization of the executive department of the state government.

Though Mr. Kern was an ardent political partisan and knew that the Lowden proposals included revolutionary changes in the conduct of the state institutions, he had been open minded toward them and became convinced of their advisability and wisdom.

He assisted materially in working out the new laws and used his influence in the general assembly to see that they received support. It will be recalled that the Lowden civil code passed the general assembly without a dissenting vote. Mr. Kern was instrumental in a large degree in bringing about this improvement in the mechanics of administration of the charitable and penal institutions of the state. He believed the new code would give the state's patients, wards and prisoners better care and treatment and would redound to the public benefit. No consideration of partisanship could have moved him from what his judgment told him was right.

Monuments are not erected to those who make contributions to the public service, such as Mr. Kern's. It is appropriate that here in this permanent form this tribute to his services with the state and particularly for those who are known as wards of the state should be written. It is due a faithful, honest, sincere, generous, broadminded man who found pleasure and satisfaction in his work, because first of all it was designed to relieve human suffering.

Mr. Kern served his own local community in many capaci-

ties. For ten succeeding years he was mayor of Belleville. He found it in mud and financial distress. He left it paved, sound financially and improved in every particular. It is admitted in his own town that his decade as its mayor is the most conspicuous for constructive achievements in all its history.

His two years in congress were too short for him to get established but it is of record that he and President Roosevelt became warm personal friends. Roosevelt was attracted to the likeable, courageous and picturesque congressman from Illinois who could talk with him fluently in German and knew philosophy and literature so well they waited upon his convenience and command. Congressman Kern voted for many of the Roosevelt measures and to his last days spoke in high terms of Roosevelt in the columns of his newspaper.

Primarily, Mr. Kern was a newspaper publisher and editor. I know of no provincial newspaper in America like his *News-Democrat*. The plant is perfect, down to last minute dateness, clean and neat as a parlor.

In 1930 he issued a special edition in honor of its seventy-fifth anniversary. It contained one hundred and forty pages, as carefully prepared, as clean and clear typographically as though it had been an ordinary eight page issue. The beauty and completeness of this immense edition was possible only because the mechanical equipment of his office was equal to such an enterprise. There in a city of twenty-two thousand people was a newspaper with personnel and machinery to put out on time, a newspaper that would be creditable to a metropolis.

The *News-Democrat* was noted, under Mr. Kern's personal direction, for two things—its editorial page and its local news coverage.

The editorial page was the last page. There Mr. Kern cut loose in his own style—a style different from any that has characterized Illinois or middlewest journalism. He wrote in plain terms. If a vulgar word or a profane phrase suited his purpose he used it. He chose unusual topics. If his treatment of a subject required the whole page or a continuation

into the next day's, he didn't hesitate to take the space. His style was highly euphoric—often, it seemed stilted. One had to know him well to realize it was natural. Being richly versed in literature he adorned his writings with quotations and excerpts, often from authors known only to the scholar in literature.

He worked on the third floor of his printing office. A large table in the center of the big room was surrounded by book shelves filled with the cream of the world's literature. Many of his works were de luxe editions. Many more were old and famous copies, worth their weight in gold. Rare books and bindings were among his most cherished hobbies.

To this third floor sanctuary he climbed through a narrow stairway. When declining health made inroads, he refused to refrain from his old custom. Medical friends advised him against the strain but he persisted. His family finally secured his consent to the erection of a small electric automatic elevator to carry him to his den where his work and his pleasure always lay before him. The day the elevator was finished, his friends carried his body to its grave.

The news columnus reflected Fred Kern almost as vividly as his famous last page. He dominated the publication and imbued all his employes with his spirit of work and idealism. Many of the news stories that appeared in his paper were in fact editorials. He pointed the moral in the daily happenings among men and public affairs in his own community.

The most conspicuous feature of *The News-Democrat* was its fine tooth coverage of its territory. I have never known a newspaper that could gather together day after day so many interesting news stories, often using matter of fact and inconspicuous material as basis. This was all the more remarkable when it is recalled that Belleville is only a few miles from East St. Louis and St. Louis itself. Yet, every day somewhere in *The News-Democrat's* territory its news gatherers dug up one or more exclusive stories that added spice and human interest to the edition.

Any newspaper publisher and editor can learn from Fred

Kern's admirable News-Democrat what it means to scratch his territory for the comings, goings and happenings among its people and how to make these relatively important facts palatable to the home newspaper reader.

I often wondered how his paper escaped the bureaucratic hand of the postoffice department. Some of its paragraphs and stories were so decidedly off color, as color is known in conforming newspaper offices, and some of its criticism of public officials so sharp it was little short of miraculous that he was not molested in his capacity as a publisher and in his person as a citizen. So far as I know he was not molested, though I have an idea that many were they who would have inflicted injury, had they had the personal courage that Fred Kern exhibited all through his life. He was fearless as ever a man could be—personally brave, ready to meet his opponents face to face—to give and to take with a smile.

Through many stormy years he and his paper grew. It achieved a tremendous circulation, disposing of the familiar saying that you can build circulation on sugar faster than on vinegar.

Mr. Kern was exceedingly liberal in his views, whatever the question might be. He took up the liberalism of Bryan and of Wilson; he praised the policies of Roosevelt; he admired Cleveland. He opposed prohibition bitterly, almost insanely, and was more uncharitable with his opponents on this question than on any other current issue.

What his views were on religion few understood. At times I thought of him as an Atheist, yet I am sure he was not. He always showed profound respect for the religious feelings of his fellowmen. Few editors of his period knew the Bible as thoroughly as he. His spontaneous outbursts of vivid description and profound exposition of Biblical events were charming and refreshing. It was a joy to listen to them.

He possessed a sense of humor which he could not put across in writing or public speaking so effectively as in private conversation among his friends.

He hated affectation and hypocrisy. If he took after one

of his fellow-citizens he always sought out a vulnerable spot. If he could find affectation or hypocrisy in the poor fellow's career, it was all up with him. Kern never let up.

Yet he mellowed as the years grew and toward many of those he had fought he began to be more charitable. A certain chivalry that was only dimly discernible in his virile years began to show through the man's nature which was, in reality, generous at all times.

Mr. Kern was born at Millstadt in St. Clair county. In his seventy-fifth memorial edition of *The News-Democrat* he published an autobiography that is as interesting an account of a human life as I have ever read.

"I was the oldest son", he says, "of Henry Lorenz Kern and Katharina Engler Peter Kern, both having been married previously. My mother was a widow and my father a widower when they were united in wedlock. When the marriage was fully consummated my mother brought into my father's home two flocks of children bearing the family name of Peter, and my father introduced my mother to a group of his own growing boys and girls, all of whom signed themselves by the family name of Kern."

Then Mr. Kern goes on to say that in less than a year after this union he entered the scene and was registered in the family Bible as the oldest of a fourth group of children. His name was Johannes Frederick. When all of the brood had been brought together there were seventeen children in the family. With the parents the group made nineteen. Usually, he says, there were visitors and workmen and farm hands present and "by the time that each had asked a blessing, or returned thanks with his own individual prayer, there was quite an entertainment inaugurated and conducted."

Conversation, he says, was allowed during the meal times, "notwithstanding the fact that my parents were very strict, having been brought up in the fear and admonition of the Lord."

These preliminary recollections are followed by a detailed account of the seventeen children and the characteristics of

each group into which they were divided. It is a readable, sympathetic, semi-humorous description of the family life of this sturdy German couple and their many children. He refers to the church and school associations amidst which they were brought up. For a Lutheran minister he shows his affection, the Reverend Knauss, who "lived in advance of his day." His family consisted of only one son and one daughter which would indicate in Millstadt that he and his good wife judiciously regulated the numerical offspring of the family, which, Mr. Kern adds in a philosophical vein, indicated that they were "the way-blazing pioneers of birth controllers."

Among his first recollections was the death of an aunt who in her dire poverty had been brought from St. Louis and "permitted to die in peace in her sister's (my mother's) home. She worked as a rag-picker in St. Louis in those days. Times then were even worse than these Hoover days. My mind's eye can still picture her in her unadorned wooden coffin. Nickels had been laid on her eyelids to keep the eyes from staring." A barre granite monument now perpetuates the memory of the "holy spot in which she was buried."

His family was unique in that there were brothers and sisters, theoretically and figuratively speaking, who were not related to each other in the slightest degree. Most of them are living today and "I hold them in the highest regard and send them all my greetings and assure them of my superlative esteem."

Mr. Kern's school education was limited. He writes; "from the public schools I never graduated. I just quit and was put to work on the farm, in the fields and in the mines. I performed every conceivable kind of farm labor. I was apprenticed to learn the miller's trade and would have made a good flouring miller, but never finished on account of hard times and a financial flunk in the mill where I was employed."

At the age of eighteen, he went to work in the Belleville coal mines, being engaged in the various branches of that intricate trade. Then he went to St. Louis where he worked for a while as a grocery clerk and driver of a grocery wagon. He

says, "The grocery store at which I worked in St. Louis was located near Ellardsville," and he humorously adds, "If you don't know where Ellardsville was, it came next to Butcher-town, and you reached it by walking through Niggertown, this side of the Christian Brothers College."

His description of St. Louis at that time is characteristically comical. Among his other employments was that of hauling dirt to fill up the sink holes in the streets "and they paid me sixty cents a day for my work, and I was a pretty good shoveler and gave them a good day's work, and there were no hours. The time of the day was from sunrise in the morning until the lights were lit on the streets in the evening."

He treats his relationship with his father with a frankness that marked all his conduct. He tells of their traveling together to deliver garden truck into East St. Louis and St. Louis. They started about midnight and would get home on the evening of the same day. Pointing to the habits of the day, he says; "On the way home father and I used to stop to eat our lunch to the tune of a schooner of beer at Seppi Brothers', or Metzen's in East St. Louis, or at Farra's, or at Rayot's Grove, or at Touchette's, or at Kochmann's on the Ammelsburg, or at John Merod's where Ed Pfingsten is now located."

"Ammelsburg was usually the first and last call, but we always came home duly sober, my father being on principle and by habit, a very temperate man, but never a prohibitionist. He was always for personal liberty and freedom of action and choice.

"When we were driving during the night we used to listen to an occasional whippoorwill, the hooting of an owl, the bark of distant dogs, and during the silent intervals my father talked about astronomy, estimating the distance of the stars, the weight and climate of the moon, the heat left in the sun, and watching the floating of the meteors, or the noiseless descent of meteorites, or shooting stars, falling gracefully from the studded sky. Sometimes we sang together, my father leading.

"Soon the lights of St. Louis would loom ahead, eliciting many expressions of admiration and surprise.

"These trips were interesting and entertaining, as well as educational; cultivating companionship and camaraderie between father and son.

"When we reached home we were usually tired and worn out. Soon we hit the hay and fell asleep."

Before he reached the age of twenty he bid farewell to Illinois and emigrated into Arkansas, a decision which was brought about through the force of economic stress. His two brothers were working at a saw mill and he joined them. In Arkansas he had a job firing the boiler in a saw mill. The population was two-thirds colored, but he was satisfied and happy.

The spell was broken through an unfortunate tragedy. In a hunting accident he lost his left hand. His father came to the rescue and took him back to Millstadt where his friends had a variety of advice to give him. Some of them, he says, suggested that he become a barber, which aroused his sense of humor, since he had only one hand.

He told me often that this accident changed his whole outlook and placed him upon a new path in life. As he lay waiting for help, it shot into his consciousness that he no longer would be able to earn his own living by brawn. "Henceforth, I said to myself, you've got to make your way with your brains." So he started to acquire more education and become a teacher. He soon had a school which he taught for a salary of forty-five dollars a month.

Again economic distress forced him to change his profession. He thought he could earn more money doing something else, hence he started in the newspaper business in East St. Louis, as the editor of the Gazette "which was managed by my Friend, Fred W. Kraft." Some time after that, the two of them bought the News-Democrat at Belleville.

Shortly after the purchase of this paper, he was married on July 27, 1893, to Miss Alma F. Eidmann, who with two sons, Robert L. and Richard P., survives him. One son, Alfred

E. Kern, died in the prime of his life on February 4, 1926, after an eventful and honorable military career in the World War. Alfred, at the time of his death, was city editor of the News-Democrat and was an unusually brilliant man.

Mr. Kern's autobiography teems with interesting stories of the big men in both the Democrat and Republican parties, in Illinois and in the nation, and enumerates with more or less detail his intimacies with many of them.

He speaks at length of his relations with Theodore Roosevelt while he was president and subsequently.

While he was still in congress he was urged by the members of the Belleville commercial club to run for mayor and he was inaugurated on May 4, 1903. He was re-elected four times in succession, making him the longest termed mayor in the history of Belleville.

He led a movement to pave the streets and to sewer the town. He attacked smallpox, which had been a recurring epidemic in that community by adopting the modern means which were suggested by the medical profession. He says that he decided to "stamp the disease out for good and put an end to it in Belleville, if such a thing were possible." At the time there were a hundred and ten cases in the city with fatalities averaging three a day. One of his chief public improvements was an intercepting sewer in the interest of sanitation and a pure, wholesome water system.

He insists that he compelled a rigid compliance with the liquor license laws of the day and that the saloons in Belleville were conducted in a clean and decent manner.

The city was freed from debt, both current and bonded. As he wrote this article, he declares: "Belleville, today, is the only city of its size and class in the United States that has no interest-bearing debt, so far as the municipal administration is concerned."

NECROLOGY



HON. JAMES M. GARLAND.

HON. JAMES MAURICE GARLAND.

1835-1931.

By JOSEPHINE GARLAND MATLOCK.

In the passing of James Maurice Garland, on June 29, 1931, Springfield lost one who for many years had held the distinction of being her "oldest native-born citizen"; for having lived in that city for ninety-five years, eight months and five days, it is doubtful if any other has had that Patriarch's title.

Mr. Garland was born September 26, 1835, in a house located where is now the South side of court house square. He was the son of Nathaniel Austin Garland and Mary Charlotte Mitchell Phillips, who came to Illinois from Bedford County, Virginia, in the early 1830's; his father bringing four slaves with him; but at that early day, having conscientious scruples about buying and selling human flesh, hired them out in St. Louis, for wages. His mother was the granddaughter of Rev. Edward Mitchell who came to Illinois from Virginia, and settled in Belleville; his son James Mitchell became Belleville's first postmaster. Edward Mitchell was a physician, and a Methodist minister of prominence, and raised in such an atmosphere, Mr. Garland's parents' home on North Sixth and Mason streets, was the mecca of itinerant Methodist ministers or "exhorters" as they were sometimes called. Mr. Garland was baptized by Peter Cartwright in his home. He was educated in the private schools of Beaumont Park, on Fifth and Miller streets, and Rev. Francis Springer, on Adams near Third street, and finished in Mr. Estabrook's school, called the Springfield Academy, and located on ground that is now Fifth and Capitol Avenue; there were no public schools in Springfield at that time. Mr. Garland first engaged in the Dry Goods business and later, and up to within a few months of his death, in Insurance work. The Garland home built for him in 1858, the year of his marriage, still stands on the

southeast corner of Fifth and Miller streets, with but few modifications. He always took an active interest in the civic life of Springfield and served on the Board of Supervisors, 1874-80. He was elected to the Legislature on the Republican ticket in 1880, and served two terms. In 1885, he became Mayor of Springfield, and was the first mayor to abolish the old form of cedar block paving and substitute bricks, consequently was called, "the father of brick pavements."

Mr. Garland delighted to reminisce on the early days of Illinois, and Springfield, and often said that when he was born, Springfield was larger than Chicago, and the Indians were paddling their canoes around Ft. Dearborn. He could remember when what is now the site of our present State House was but a wild duck pond, and of seeing Abraham Lincoln, who was a friend of his father's and who served on the same Board of Supervisors with his father, stop in passing, pick up a ball and join him and other boys in play.

In 1858, Mr. Garland was married to Mary Elizabeth Hawley, daughter of Eliphalet B. Hawley, one of Springfield's first textile merchants. Of this union six children survive—Mrs. John H. Ruckel, Mrs. B. F. Hunt and Mrs. Josephine Garland Matlock of Springfield; Mrs. H. A. Johann of St. Louis, Missouri; Mr. Charles H. Garland of Mattoon, and Mr. Edward James Garland of Detroit, Michigan. He was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, of the Illinois State Historical Society and for over seventy years of the Westminster Presbyterian Church.

A fitting editorial in his memory in the Illinois State Register of July 1, 1931, had this to say, in part: "If James M. Garland had been gathered to his fathers three or four decades ago, he would have been spoken of and written of as a man of integrity and ability, of genial soul and friendly spirit, whose citizenship was of a quality to reflect honor upon the community as well as himself. Comment would have been forthcoming as to his successful career, to his excellent record in both public and private life, and the general regret at his passing. But in the light of his having attained to

the patriarchal age of ninety-five years and more, the oldest native-born citizen, his death calls attention not merely to the commendable character of his record in the community, paralleling nearly a century of its progress and prosperity, but to the very admirable quality of his life philosophy. To have maintained optimism and good cheer in his outlook upon life to the very end, reflects a positive genius for happiness, whose example could be held up to the emulation of all.

The year of his birth, 1835, reaches far back into the history of the city and of the state. As he related it in a recent interview—the seat of state government was still at Vandalia, and the cornerstone of the State Capitol at Springfield, now the County Court House, was not laid until two years later. On down through the years runs the record of this busy interesting life. Aside from public offices, his career in the insurance field brought him in contact with people in all walks of life, among whom he was universally respected. He was a familiar figure in this work, and his activity at such an advanced age, was a source of wonderment and admiration in the community.

To very few men is it given to live such a long life, so filled with interesting experiences and associations and so rich in friendships and affiliations which are productive of happiness. Those who knew him intimately as well as those who knew him only casually, will remember him for his courtesy and affability as well as for his substantial traits of integrity. And all will incline to the conviction that life had for him immeasurable charm."

HARRY TEMPLE WATTS.

1875-1932.

Harry Temple Watts, civil engineer, history research student, and active church and civic worker, died January 5, 1932, at 11:30 P. M., at the Good Samaritan hospital, Vincennes, Indiana. His last illness came at a time when he was most actively engaged in research work, and his death deprives the community and public in general of the results he had hoped to accomplish.

Among the most important research activities in which he was engaged was the routing of the George Rogers Clark Trail from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, the second most important link in the Clark trail from Cahokia to Vincennes. He had previously established the trail from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, and the routing was recently marked by the Old Post association, of which Mr. Watts was a member and director.

He had traveled over this route on numerous occasions, collecting important historical data which was used in definitely establishing the route Clark and his army traveled in their conquest of the Northwest Territory culminating with the capture of Fort Sackville.

Mr. Watts was also engaged, when his illness interrupted his activities, in tabulating data concerning early roads and drainage in the county. This tabulation was to have been given to the public library and would have been a valuable asset to the community.

As civil engineer, Mr. Watts has been prominently connected with big projects which required skilled engineering. He served as city engineer under the administration of James M. House from 1914 to 1918, during the term of years when street improvement projects were gaining great impetus. Numerous city streets were paved during his four year term in office.

Mr. Watts was born in Cedar Falls, Iowa, December 2,



HARRY TEMPLE WATTS.

1875. His parents were John C. and Ellen Ann Lewis Watts. He came to Vincennes when a boy and spent his entire life there. He was graduated from the Vincennes public schools and Vincennes University, and later was awarded a West Point scholarship, attending West Point Military Academy for a time. It was said of him that he was one of the best men, physically, in West Point and an outstanding athlete.

During the Spanish-American war he enlisted in the service, but did not get to see service in Cuba or the Philippines, being stationed in the East. He was a trustee of Vincennes University; senior warden of St. James Episcopal church, a director of the Old Post association, member of the County Historical Society, the Illinois State Historical Society, the Indiana Society of Pioneers, the Filson club of Louisville, Sons of the American Revolution, and the Masonic lodge. He was deeply interested in the erection of the Clark Memorial and new memorial bridge, and in the preparing of the grounds for the memorial construction.

Besides his wife, Mrs. Florence Everett Watts, he leaves one son, Harry Temple Watts, Jr., at home; two brothers, Edwin Earl Watts, of Princeton, Indiana, and John Carroll Watts, of New York.

Funeral services were conducted from St. James Episcopal church on January 8, at 2:30 P. M., the Rev. James Crosbie officiating. Burial was in Greenlawn cemetery.

(From *Vincennes Sun-Commercial*.)

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5.*Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-38. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1931. (Nos. 6-28 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, civ and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1772-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. cxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo.. Springfield, 1915.

* Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles. By Ellhu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Altou James, Ph. D., LL. D. lxx and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. 1, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XXI. Law Series, Vol. II. The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809. Edited with introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, Professor of Law, University of Illinois. cclxxxii and 734 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

* Out of print.

George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois. 1763-1787. A Sesquicentennial Memorial by Theodore Calvin Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease. 96 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1929.

General Index to Collections, Journals, Publications, 1899-1928. Compiled by Juliet G. Sager. 95 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXIV, No. 4, January, 1932.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to XIII, inclusive.

INDEX TO VOL. XXIV

Nos. 1-4

April, 1931,--January, 1932

-
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Abbot, Dr. | 696 | Allen, George Benson, brother of | |
| Abingdon, Ill. | 190, 352 | Winthrop Allen | 556n |
| Able, Dr. | 694 | Allen, George Washington | 553 |
| Abolition, | | Allen, Harriet | 553 |
| beginning | 464-66 | letters to | 554, 557 |
| mentioned | 476, 494, 522 | Allen, J. C. | 116 |
| Absentee Shawnees, Indians | 47 | Allen, John | 421, 434 |
| Accouncione, Father Mermet's | | associations with Lincoln..... | 467n |
| Mission | 66 | religious organizations | 468 |
| Adair, J. M., letter of..... | 358-59 | friendship with Lincoln | 693 |
| Adair, John M., Proprietor Carroll | | death of | 694 |
| County Mirror | 224 | friendship with Dr. Regnier.... | 696 |
| Adams, Charles Francis..... | 641 | Allen, Mrs. John (Barbara | |
| letter of | 642 | Thomas) | 468 |
| Adams, Henry | 377 | Allen, Mrs. John (Emily Chandler) | 467 |
| Adams, James Truslow, quoted... | 389 | Allen, Lawrence T. | 106-07, 109 |
| Adams, John | 261 | Allen, Robert H. | 651 |
| conducts Jacksonville Female | | Allen, Sarah Ann, sister of Win- | |
| Academy | 447 | throp Allen | 554n |
| Adams, John Quincy | 353, 432 | Allen, William | 455 |
| diary quoted | 388-89 | Allen, Winthrop Sargeant Gilman, | |
| quoted | 634 | Civil War letters of..... | 553-77 |
| letter of, quoted | 635 | ancestry and education..... | 553 |
| Adams, Katharine S. (Mrs. Fred- | | Letters: to Hattie | 554, 556 |
| erick Latimer Wells)..... | 353 | to Jane | 555-56, 560, 570 |
| Adams, Samuel | 447, 477 | to W. A. Tunnell 562, 566-68, 572-76 | |
| Adams Family, The | 377 | Allyn, Robert | 77 |
| Addis, W. H., Co-editor the Daily | | Altamont, Ill. | 346 |
| Magnet | 207 | Alton, Ill. | 191, 312-16 |
| Adjutant General's Report, Illi- | | early newspaper in..... | 6 |
| nois, 1861-65 | 125, 126n | early school | 10 |
| Adler, Stuart W. | 607 | Alton and St. Louis railroad..... | 127n |
| Akansea, Indians | 41, 51 | Alton State Hospital..... | 702 |
| Albany, N. Y..... | 189 | Alvord, Clarence Walworth..... | |
| Albion, Ill. | 190 | ..... | 171-72, 365-67, 720-21 |
| Aledo, Ill. | 190 | Amboy, Ill. | 191 |
| Alexander, W. A. | 275 | America | 90, 94 |
| Alexander County, Ill..... | 35, 37, 49 | American Anti-Slavery Society... | 464 |
| Algonquin, Ill. | 191 | American Antiquarian Society... | 391 |
| Algonquin, Indians | 34, 46-47, 50 | American army | 80, 90 |
| Allard, Luther S. | 529 | American Bayou | 48, 51 |
| Alleghany Mountains | 100, 244 | American Historical Review | 125 |
| Allen, Caroline Henderson..... | 553 | American Home Missionary So- | |
| Allen, Caroline Melissa | 566 | ciety | 446 |
| Allen, Elsie | 553 | American Legion | 91, 100, 167 |

American Notes and Queries, letter in	101	Armstrong, Maurice	345
American Philosophical Society ..	422	Armstrong, Nancy	345
American Revolution	344, 352	Armstrong, Robert	345
American settlements	299	Armstrong, Thomas	345
American settlers	76	Armstrong, William	638, 651
American soldiers	98	Armstrong, William, son of Sarah and Joshua	345
Americans	18, 27, 57, 75	Armstrong Cemetery, Jerseyville, Ill.	344-45
Ames, Edward R.	259	Armstrong Family	346
Andel, Elsie	278	Arnold, Benedict	98
Anderson, C. H.	608	Art Club, Springfield	356
Anderson, C. H. C.	261-62, 269	Art Institute of Chicago	353
Anderson, Mrs. C. H. C.	273, 276	Asiatic Cholera	426-27, 429-31
Anderson, John; Johnson, John A.; Lawson, Victor F., Editors Skandinaven og Amerika	204	Aspinwall, S. F., Co-editor Freeport News	212
Anderson, Mrs. Mary J.	267, 291	Assumption, Ill.	192
Anderson, Robert	619	Athens, Ill.	696
Anderson and Chaiser, Andrew, Publishers of Nya Verlden.	203	Atkins, S. D., and McCall, J. S., Freeport Northwest published by	212
Anderson Bank, Carlinville, Ill.	257	Atkinson, Henry	679
Anderson Female Seminary, Carlinville, Ill.	261	expedition of	606
Andersonville Prison	27	duties of	620
Andover, Mass.	435	Atlanta, Ga.	364
William Chandler in	37	Atlanta, Ill.	192
Andrews, Charles	166	Atlantic Ocean	140
Andrews, Edward G.	265	Atwater, Caleb, quoted	612
Andrews, John	255	Augusta Constitutionalist, newspaper	120
Andrews, Mrs. Josie C.	165	Aurora, Ill.	192, 361-62
Andros, Edmund	380	Aurora College, Aurora, Ill.	361
Angel, George	651	Aurora Daily Beacon-News, newspaper	362
Angle, Paul M., One Hundred Years of Law	132	Aurora Exemption Board	361
Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.	390	Au Vase river	26, 34-35, 41, 56, 62, 64-65, 104
Anti-Nebraska Movement	522	Avery family	68
Anti-Nebraska State Convention, Bloomington	523	Ayomorts, Indians	581
Antioch Cemetery, near Jacksonville	363	Ayres, Samuel Gardiner.	654
Archer, William R.	10		
Arcola, Ill.	70, 191	Babb, George	24
Arenz, Francis, Editor, Beardstown Chronicle and Illinois Bounty Lands Advocate.	434	Bacon, Roger	142
Arickaras, Indians	621	Bailey, John W.	7
Armstrong, Albert	346	Baird, Father S. J.	48
Armstrong, Andrew	345	Baker, Alfred G.	296
Armstrong, Byron	345-46	Baker, David J., short biography of	174n
Armstrong, C. Solon	315, 319	mentioned	174, 185
Armstrong, Duff	523	Baker, Mrs. David J.	185
Armstrong, Hugh	345-46	Baker, Edward D.	10, 134
Armstrong, Jack	524	Baker, Henrietta R. F.	296
Armstrong, James	344	Baker, Isaac	160
Armstrong, Joshua	344-46	Baldwin, Theron, abolitionist ..	466
Armstrong, Mrs. Joshua	344	first principal Monticello Seminary	486-88
Armstrong, Margaret	345		
Armstrong, Mary	345		

- interest in Panther Creek
 Church 489
 mentioned 312, 446
 Baldwin, Mrs. Theron (Caroline
 Wilder) 490
 Bale, Florence Gratiot, article
 by 671-82
 Ball, John S. 652
 Ballis, E. A. 340-41
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad..... 562
 Bancroft, Aaron 391n
 Bancroft, George, historian 391n
 Bancroft, Horace H. 640
 Bancroft, Richard 651
 Baugs, Charles L., and Emma T.,
 Publishers Hillsboro News Let-
 ter 215
 Banks, Nathaniel P. 571
 Baptist Church 9, 10
 Baptist Church, Carlinville,
 Ill. 256, 295
 Barbera, massacre of 42
 Barck, Miss Dorothy 189, 173n
 Barger, James H. 293
 Barker, Lewis 302
 Barker, Philip 272
 Barkley, D. W. 7
 Barnard and Hanna, Editors Olney
 Weekly Times 226
 Barnes, Ellza 341
 Barr, Ebenezer 651
 Barr, J. S. Editor of the Benton
 Standard 194
 Barr, Mrs. Jennie Keeler..... 298n
 Barry, Ill. 192
 Bartholomew, William 380
 Bartleson, James 72
 Barton, William Eleazar, "The
 Women Lincoln Loved," 326
 quoted 327-29
 Bassett, Chauncey, Publisher Ke-
 wanee Independent 218
 Bassett and Karnes, Proprietors
 of Quincy Argus 230
 Batavia, Ill. 169, 193
 Batchelder, Mark D. v
 Bateman, Newton, friendship with
 Charles Lippencott 495, 540
 Bates College, Lewiston, Maine... 361
 Bay Creek 39, 69
 Bayle's History of Windham Coun-
 ty, quoted 392
 Beach, Henry Harrison..... 349
 Beach, Mrs. Henry Harrison.... 349
 Beam, Hugh A. 607
 Beaman, Charles C. 24
 Beane, Ellen 537-39
 Beane, Phineas Adams..... 537-38
 Beane, Sarah L. 537-39
 Beard, Thomas, friend of Chas.
 Chandler 410-11
 Beardstown, Ill., shipping point..
 401, 483
 Chandler's arrival 405
 mentioned 193, 354, 434
 Beardstown-Saugamon Canal Co.. 482
 Beatrice, Nebr. 272, 275
 Beauman, Guy 104
 Beauregard, Gustave T. 110
 Beck, Theodore Roemeyn 394
 Beck's Gazetteer, 1823..... 95
 Beckwith, Hiram W. 171, 365, 720
 Bedell, Amanda 324
 Bedell, Eunice 324
 Bedell, Frank 324
 Bedell, George 324
 Bedell, Grace 321-32
 letter to Lincoln 323
 letter from Lincoln 325-26
 Bedell, Levant 324
 Bedell, Norman 321, 324
 Bedell, Stephen 324
 Beecher, Edward, president Illi-
 nois College 447
 abolitionist 465
 mentioned 10, 313
 Beecher, Henry Ward 10
 Beecher, Lyman 9
 Beecher, Ill. 193
 Behring Straits 45
 Bell, John 133
 Belle Garde, on Massac Creek,
 depot 64-65
 mentioned 67, 73
 Belleflower, Ill. 13, 16
 Bellefontaine, St. Clair County, Ill. 2
 Belleville, Ill. 193, 704
 Beloit College 446
 Belvidere, Ill. 194
 Bennet, Richard E. 694-95
 Benton, Ill. 194
 Benton Harbor, Mich. 272
 Berry, Elijah C. 174
 letter to 184-85
 Berry, John 468
 Berry, William 468
 Best, W. D. 264, 293
 Best, Mrs. W. D. 276
 Betcher, J. A. 170
 Bethel, Ill., Bond county..... 312
 Beveridge, Albert J., quoted..... 523
 Beveridge, Helen Judson (Mrs.
 John L.) 657
 short sketch about 666
 Beveridge, John L. 654
 military career 655-56

Beverly, J. A.	349	Boring, Ezra M.	654, 657, 663
Bibb, George Mortimer, short bi- ography of	182n	quoted	661
mentioned	182, 184	slogan of	665
Bickford, Isaac B., Editor Creston Times	206	Borling, Willie	272
Big Creek, Hardin County, Ill.	307	Boston, Mass.	10
Big Muddy river, Indians locate. .	39-40	Boston Conservatory	289
Indian pottery	75	Boston News, quoted	386
mentioned	26, 50, 52	Botsford, Amos	390
Billings, George N.	331	Botkins, O. T.	651
Billings, Grace Bedell	323, 331	Boulandra, M.	74
Bissel, William H., letter to.	175	Boulton, T. F., Editor Jonesboro Gazette	217
Bissel, D.	101	Boulware, Phillip	651
Black, J. C.	258	Bowen, A. L., Executive secretary State Charities Commission.	701
Black, Reuben D.	696	article on Fred J. Kern.	700-11
Black Bottoms, near Brookport, Ill.	34, 41, 66	Bowen, Clarence Winthrop, "His- tory of Woodstock"	373n
Black Hawk	48, 679	quoted	379, 385
breaks treaty	399, 620	Bowen, Henry Chandler, an- cestry	526-27
capture	616	friendship with Charles Chand- ler	527
hostility and signing of treaty	617-18	Bowers, Claude, "The Tragic Era"	429n
Black Hawk War.	133, 345-46, 400	Bowman, George Washington.	638
Black Hawk Watch Tower.	616	Boyce, Marla Bird	363
Blackburn, Gideon	313	Boyce, Noah W.	363
Blackburn College, Carlinville, Ill.	262, 265	Boyd, G. D. R., and Perrigo, C. H., Publishers DeKalb Weekly Times	207
Blackfeet, Indians	32	Boyd, Josiah and Hill, George W., Publishers Real Estate Record.	204
Blackwell, David	293	Boyle, Arthur	268
Blackstock, Emily (Meharry).	364	Brackett, Mrs. Addie O.	165
Blackstock, Ira B.	364	Bradbury, John	3
Blackstock, Miss Mae	364	Braddock, Edward, defeat of.	595
Blackstock, Mrs. Mary Hardtner.	364	Bradford, William	352
Blackstock, Robert	364	Bradsby, H. C.	96
Blair, Francis G.	169	Bradshaw, A.	293
Blasdel, Henry	72	Bradshaw, John	653
Blennerhassett, Harman	83	Brady School, Aurora, Ill.	361
Bliss, John, short biography of. .	616-17	Bragg, Braxton	110, 570n
Blooming Grove, Ill.	12, 13	Braldwood, Ill.	195
Bloomington, Ill., early schools in	16-17	Brainard, Daniel	479
location	407	Brainard, G. R.	488
mentioned	v, 194	Braley, George E.	264
Bloomington, Ind.	246	Bray, H. Clay, Editor Freeport Bulletin	211
Bloomington Pantagraph, news- paper	138	Brayman, Mason	126n
Bloomington township, Ill.	13	Brewer, Frank	168
Blue Mound, Ill.	13	Brewster, William	352
Boaz, Ill.	84	Briggs, F. J., Editor Bloomington Pantagraph	194
Bogue, William, sponsors bringing steamship up Sangamon	415-16	Brighton, Ill.	165, 195
Boies, Henry L., Publisher True Republican	237	British, The	98, 100, 345
Bollaert, F. E.	608	British Army	80, 90, 91
Bond County, Ill.	312	British Museum	189
Boone, Daniel	78		
Boone, Joel T.	333		
Bordeaux, France	56		

Brittenham, J. A.	293	Burns, Josephine (Mrs. R. D. Glas-	
Broadwell, Baxtor	652	gow)	351
Brock, Isaac	631-32	Burns, Ruth (Mrs. A. R. Lord)...	351
Broderick, David C.	502	Burnside, Ambrose Everett.120-21,	574
duel	505	Burr, Aaron	83, 93-94, 101-03
Brodley, J. J., and Norris, J. N.,		Burr, Louis L., Editor Blooming-	
Edited the Quincy Argus	230	ton Weekly Democrat	194
Brookport, Ill.	34, 39	Burrell, Theophilus	386
Brooks, John F.	446	Burroughs, J. W., Proprietor Wen-	
Bronwell, Henry P. H.	132	ona Tribune	241
Brown, Arza	663	Burton, Albert and Carrier, Irving,	
Brown, Frances Evaline (Mrs.		Editors Seneca Weekly Journal	234
Frances E. Otwell)	165	Burton, Mrs. Anna R.	277
Brown, Gilson, Centennial address		Burton, C. R.	107, 109
First Presbyterian Church, Al-		Burtou, Regan W.	107, 109
ton	311-20	Busch, Francis X., "The French in	
Brown, James R., Editor Edwards-		Illinois"	402n
ville Intelligencer	209	Bush, D. B.	10
Brown, Nancy Reader (Mrs. Wil-		Bushnell, Ill.	195
liam Brown)	254	Butler, John K.	318
Brown, T. C., Publisher Waterloo		Butler, Pierce	179n
Times	240	Butler, Sidney P.	394n
Brown, William	254	"Butte-Petite," description	61
Brown University	469n	mentioned	70-72
Browning, Orville Hickman, suc-		Butz, Casper	132
ceeds Douglas	116	Byron, George Gordon Byron....	25
quoted	119, 121, 140		
diary of	125, 128n		
mentioned	10, 133		
Brownlow, Parson	138	Cabanis, Dr.	695
Brownville, Ill.	81	Cabot, John	299
Bruce, Capt., with George Rogers		Cache river, naming of.....	59-60
Clark Expedition	345	mentioned	39, 44, 79
Brucker, Wilbur M.	641-42	Cahokia, Ill.	55, 288, 718
Bryant, Arthur	409	Cahos, Indians	581
Bryant, F. E.	686	Cairo, Ill.	85, 195
Bryant, John H.	409	Cairo Gazette, newspaper	137n
Bryant, William Cullen, quoted.	408-09	Cairo Library	104
Bryce, James	111	Calhouu, John C.	25, 432
Buck, Solon Justus	171, 366, 720	Calloway, Dr.	696
Buckmaster, Samuel A., quoted...	117	Calumet and Chicago Canal and	
Buffalo Gap	51	Dock Co.	235
Buford, John	575	Calvin, John	142
Bullington, Irma O.	165	Cambridge, Ill.	196
Bunker Hill, Ill.	195, 268	Camp Butler	553-55, 557
Burch, Benjamin	638, 651	Camp Defiance	196
Bureau of American Ethnology,		Camp Douglas	123
Bulletins of	48	Camp meeting, Des Plaines, Ill.	654-70
Burgoyne disaster	99	Camp Point, Ill.	197
Burke, Edmund	143	Canada, archives of	578
Burnham's Island (Island No.		invasion of	631-32, 643
Twenty-two)	59	mentioned	57-58, 69
Burns, Mrs. Anna	278	Cannady, T. A.	294
Burns, Clinton	351	Canton, Ill.	197
Burns, Deane	351	Cantonment Wilkinson-Ville	
Burns, Harold	351	.....	60, 72, 77-104
Burns, James C.	350-51	Cape Charles, post at	578
Burns, Mrs. James C.	350	Capps, Mrs. Herbert	651
		Carbondale, Ill.	v

- Cardwell, William L. 255
 Carey, Ida Jane (Mrs. James C. Burns) 351
 Carlin, William P. 126n
 Carlinville, Ill. 197, 245-313
 Carlinville Circuit 245, 252, 256
 Carlinville Free Democrat, quoted 259-61, 271
 mentioned 262, 287
 Carlisle College 173n
 Carmi, Ill. 197
 Carpenter, E. S., Editor of Bloomington Pantagraph 194
 Carpenter, Francis Bicknell, painter of "Lincoln and his Cabinet" 469n
 Carr, Clark E. 10
 Carr, Miss Clyde 513n
 Carr, Mrs. Frank W. 499
 Carrier, Irving and Burton, Albert, Editors Seneca Weekly Journal 234
 Carrington, H. B. 128n
 Carroll County, Ill., court house.. 360
 mentioned 357-58
 Carrollton, Ill. 198, 346
 Carson, John M. 384n
 Carter, Clarence Edwin.....
 171-72, 366, 720-21
 Carthage, Ill. 198
 Cartwright, Peter, quoted.... 245, 274
 sermons 288
 mentioned ..8, 253, 260, 363, 511, 715
 Case, Lewis 15
 Casey, Ill. 198
 Casey's Fork 39
 Cass County, Ill., division of..... 462
 mentioned 354, 427, 482, 551
 Cassiday, David 293
 Castleton, Vermont, Medical School 394
 Castor River 62
 Catalogue of Illinois Newspapers in the New York Historical Society 190-242
 Cavannaugh's Cavalry Regiment.. 554
 Cave, James 253
 Cave-in-Rock, Ill..... 300, 302, 307
 origin of name 57
 Cedar Bluffs 95
 Cedar Falls, Iowa 718
 Cedar Rapids, Ia. 125
 Centennial address, First Presbyterian Church, Alton, delivered by Gilson Brown 311-20
 Centennial of the First Presbyterian Church, Galena, Ill. 340-41
 Central Advocate 259
 Central Illinois Gazette, Urbana, newspaper 7
 Centralia, Ill. 198
 Century of Methodism in Carlinville, Ill., by Everett R. Turnbull 243-98
 Chaiser, Andrew and Anderson, Publishers Nya Verlden 203
 Chambers, William 293
 Champaign, Ill. 198
 Champaign County, Ill. 356
 Chandler, Albert Henry 388
 Chandler, Alice Child, daughter of Clarissa and Charles 480
 Chandler, Annis, mother of Charles 376-77, 435
 Chandler, Carl B. 370, 453n
 Chandler, Caroline, daughter of Marcus 488, 497n
 Chandler, Charles 694
 Chandler, Charles, son of Mary and Charles 467, 469, 521, 548
 marriage 537
 Chandler, Dr. Charles, account book, quoted 475-76
 ancestry 376-94
 builds new home 441-44
 business enterprises 485-86
 celebrates 72nd birthday 548-50
 Chandlerville named after.... 498
 death 546, 550-51
 domestic interests 467-91
 education 394
 family of 537-45
 friendship for Lincoln..... 526
 historical sketch 373n
 introduces quinine in Ill. 430
 life in Sangamon Valley..... 419-44
 marries Clarissa Child 470
 merchandising activities 469-70
 migration to, and establishment in Ill. 398-418
 misfortunes 484
 religious views 490-91
 seeks permanent location.... 407-11
 serves on medical board 478
 Chandler, Mrs. Charles (Mary), death of 469
 valiance of 419-21
 mentioned 441, 445
 Chandler, Mrs. Charles (Clarissa Child) 470
 death 546
 Chandler, Mrs. Charles (Cordelia Beard) 537
 Chandler, Charles Church 393
 Chandler, Charles F., called "Father of American Chemists" 391n
 Chandler, Edward Barron, Lieut. Gov. of New Brunswick..... 391

Chandler, Elizabeth, daughter of
 Joshua 390
 Chandler, Emily, daughter of
 Charles E. and Cordelia Beard
 (Mrs. Emily Dyer) 507n, 510n
 Chandler, Emily, daughter of Mary
 and Charles 434, 469, 485
 marriage 497
 Chandler, Emily, sister of Dr.
 Charles 463, 467
 enters Monticello 488
 Chandler, Ero 421
 Chandler, Gardiner, carries mes-
 sage to Gen. Gage 391-92
 friendship with John Adams... 389
 Chandler, George, The Chandler
 Family 373n
 Chandler, Harrison Tyler, son of
 Mary and Charles... 468, 471, 530, 548
 military service 532-33
 marriage 537
 Chandler, Mrs. Harrison Tyler
 (Ellen Foster) 537
 Chandler, Jemima (Bradbury),
 property and death 392
 Chandler, John, brother of Charles 479
 Chandler, John, son of Col. John... 386
 Chandler, John, son of Joshua... 391
 Chandler, Captain John 436
 Chandler, Col. John,
 becomes member General Court 384
 contributions and death 386
 devise land to Joshua..... 387, 389
 petitions General Court 385
 Chandler, Col. John, Jr.,
 settle in Maunchaug 378
 son of John 381
 Chandler, Deacon John,
 committee on roads 379
 death 383
 elected selectman 381
 occupation of 380
 settle in Maunchaug 378
 Chandler, John, 4th,
 enforcement and death 391
 positions of 387
 Chandler, Mrs. John (Hulda How-
 ard) 393
 Chandler, Mrs. John Jr. (Mary
 Raymond) 381
 Chandler, John T., son of Clarissa
 and Charles 480, 537, 548
 marriage 548n
 death 550
 Chandler, Joseph, son of Deacon
 John 381-384

Chandler, Josephine Craven, "Dr.
 Charles Chandler his place in
 the American Scene"..... 373-552
 Chandler, Josephine Craven, "New
 Salem: Early Chapter in Lin-
 coln's Life" 435
 Chandler, Joshua, son of Col. John 387
 Chandler, Joshua, son of Joshua 388-89
 position and experiences 390
 death and burial 391
 Chandler, Knowlton, son of Mar-
 cus 433, 441, 498-99
 diary, quoted 499-500
 business enterprises 510
 death 529
 Chandler, Linus, son of Clarissa
 and Charles 480, 537, 548
 marriage 539
 Chandler, Mrs. Linus (Sarah L.
 Beane) 537-39
 Chandler, Lois (Mrs. Dwight
 Marcy) 464
 Chandler, Louisa (Louise), daugh-
 ter of Mary and Charles... 441,
 469, 485, 548
 marriage 510-11
 Chandler, Lucretia, daughter of
 John, 4th 291n
 Chandler, Lucy Manning (Mrs.
 David Prince) 479
 attends Monticello 488
 Chandler, Marcus, settles in Pan-
 ther Creek 433
 farm 463
 builds church 473n
 contributions and death..... 484-85
 mentioned 436, 455, 469
 Chandler, Mrs. Marcus..... 436, 441
 Chandler, Marcus P., brother of
 Knowlton 530
 Chandler, Mary Jane... 419, 426, 469, 548
 attends school 441
 marriage 480
 enters Monticello 488
 Chandler, Miriam 527
 Chandler, Moses, son of Joshua 388-89
 Chandler, Persis (Mrs. Daniel
 Wilder) 490
 Chandler, Rufus, enforced from
 Worcester 391
 Chandler, Mrs. S. L. B..... 436n
 Chandler, Samuel, brother of
 Thomas Bradbury 393
 Chandler, Sarah, daughter of John 381
 Chandler, Thomas 473
 Chandler, Thomas, son of Col.
 John 388
 Chandler, Thomas, son of Joshua. 390

Chandler, Thomas, son of Col. Thomas, position of	393
Chaudier, Thomas B., son of Marcus	533
Chandler, Thomas Bradbury, son of William and Jemima	392
years spent in England.....	392-93
Chandler, Thomas K., brother of Charles	463
Chandler, William	435
characterization and death.....	377
Chandler, William, enforced from Worcester	391
Chandler, William, father of Charles	376
Chandler, William, son of Joshua	390
Chandler, Captain William, property and death of	392
Chandler, Winthrop, son of William and Jemima	392
Chandlerville, Ill., Chandler's settle	411
early schools	512-13
during Civil War	529-36
mentioned	497-98, 546
see also Panther Creek	
Chandlerville Times	513n
Chapman, Mrs. P. T.	104
Chapman, Richard	245
Charleston, Ill.	132, 199
Charleston Courier, newspaper... ..	120
Charlotte Democrat, newspaper.. ..	120
Charlton, N. Y.	174
Chatsworth, Ill.	199
Chautauqua County, N. Y.	321, 323
Chebanse, Ill.	199
Chenery, William Dodd	339
Chenoa, Ill.	13, 167, 199
"Cherokee Fort"	81
Cherokee, Indians	32, 35, 47, 67, 81
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.....	562
Chester, Ill.	199, 312
Chesterfield, Ill.	253, 288
Chestnut Hill, battle of	345
Chestnut, John A.	258, 290, 295-96
Cheyenne, Indians	621
Chicago, Republican convention.. ..	135
capture of	175
growth of	457
mentioned	121, 200
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad	628
Chicago and Alton Railroad.....	317
Chicago and Alton Railroad Company	514
Chicago and Galena Railroad....	120
Chicago Bar Association	135
Chicago Historical Society	189
Chicago Stock Yards Company, establishment of	547
Chicago Times, suppression of... ..	120-21
criticizes Lincoln	686
mentioned	125, 259
Chicago Tribune	118-21, 129
Chicago Yacht Club	353
Chickasaw, Indians	67
Child, Asa, positions	471
Child, Calvin Goddard	472
Child, Elisha	393
Child, George W.	548
Child, Linus	471
Child, Nathaniel	393
Child, Rensselaer	500
Chinn, Lucy Jane Hardin	465
Chinn, Marcus	466
Chippewa, Indians	399
Choctaw, Indians	67
Chouagen, English post	581-84
Christian Examiner, quoted	389
Church, Leroy and Goodman, Edmund, Proprietors The Standard ..	205
Cincinnati Gazette	466
Cincinnati Zoo	37
Circuit Rider, The	243-47, 285
Civil War, peace movement.....	110-24
Lincoln photographs during ...	329
mentioned	479, 529-36
Claiborne, Ferdinand L.	91
letter of	84
Claiborne, William C. C.	93, 101
Clancey, T., Editor West End Kerkana, Kethsburg, Ill.	218
Clark, C. W.	270
Clark, Daniel	100
Clark, Francis	3
Clark, George Rogers	31-32, 81, 102-03, 299, 344, 396, 631
expedition	345
Clark, William	396
Clark, William	615, 621
Clark trail	52
Clarke, J. Ed, Editor Albion Independent	190
Clarke, J. Ed, Editor Grayville Independent	213
Clarkson, Mrs.	318
Clary's Grove, Ill.	696
Clay, Henry	103, 133, 138, 183, 433
Claysville, Pa.	350-51
Clendenin, Henry W.	7
Cleveland, Ohio	329
Clinton, John W.	7
Clinton, Ill.	134, 139, 206
Douglas speaks in.....	686
Cloud, Newton	253

Cobb, Henry C., Publisher The Barry Adage	192	Coopre, Norrod	69, 71
Coddington, Benjamin	105-09	Coopre family	69
"Coffman Landing"	60, 70	Copeland, John	70
Coker, Dennis	651	Copeland, Joshua	70-71
Colby, Jonathan	440, 695	Copperhead Party	110, 118-19, 132
Cole, Arthur Charles, Centennial History of Illinois	126, 127-28n	Corbin, Jabez	381
mentioned	172, 366, 721	Corbin, James	381
Coleman, Richard M., memorial to	606	Corbin, William Beston	537
connection with Gen. Atkinson	620	Corinth, battle of	357
signs treaty	621	Corinth, Miss.	119
short biography of	627-29	Cornish, New Hampshire	20
Coles, Edward	6	Corrington, James B.	293
Collar, Mrs. Helen H.	169	Corydon Circuit	246
College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.	654	Cotton, Helen (Mrs. John Good-ell)	512
Collet, Victor	72, 79, 95	Coulter, A. and Marshall, S. D., Publishers Illinois Republican ..	234
Collinsville, Ill.	206, 312, 346	Courtney, Dr.	71
Colorado State	281	Cousley, John A.	317
Columbus, Christopher	27, 299	Covenant Church	142
Columbus, Ohio	329	Cox, Ancil	651
"Company K," organization	530	Cox, Benjamin	653
military record	533-35	Cox, David	12
Compendium of the ninth census of the United States.	125, 127n	Cox, Isaac Joslin	103
Conference Missionary Society ...	247	Cox, Samuel S.	128n
Congdon, Harriet Rice, quoted.	446, 487	Craigie, father of Mrs. James Wil-kinson	99
Early History of Monticello.	514n	Craigie, Anne (Mrs. James Wil-kinson)	85, 87, 89
Congregational Church, Chandler-ville	509, 511	Crandall, D. S.	238
Congregational Church, Jackson-ville	476	Crawford, William H., positions ..	177n
Congressional Globe, 1860-65.	125	mentioned	173n, 177, 179, 183
Conklin, J. M. and Miller, Charles R., Publishers Danville Weekly Argus	207	Crawfordsville, Ind.	169
Conley, Mrs. J. D.	277, 290	Creal Springs, origin of name.	57, 39, 75
Connecticut, disappearance and finding of charter	380	Creek, Indians	35, 47, 67, 87, 93
mentioned	9, 183, 352	Creston, Ill.	206
Connecticut Missionary Society.	312	Crew, Mrs. Laura (McDaniel)	298n
Connecticut river	23	Crews, Hooper	658, 668
Conover, R.	16	Crippen, Edward W.	119
Constitutional Convention of 1862	111, 146	Crissman, Ralph M.	340
Continental Congress	26, 99	Crocker, Sarah C.	448
Conway, Thomas	99	Crockett, Joseph	345
Conway, Cabal	99	Cromwell, Oliver	111
Cook, Daniel Pope	178	Cropsey, Ill.	13
Cook, Ezra, Publisher Christian Cynosure	201	Crosbie, James	719
Cook County, Ill.	128n	Crosley, Walter S.	641-42
Cooper Creek	38, 41	Crow, Ann	341
Cooper family	69	Crows, Indians	621
Cooperstown, New York	349	Crunelle, Leonard	24
Coopre, Jean	69	Cuba	178n
		Cullom, Shelby M.	183n
		Cumberland, Maryland, beginning of National road	397
		mentioned	560
		Cumberland County Militia	344
		Cumberland Gap	78, 80

Cumberland Presbyterian Church	14, 15
Cumberland River	62, 91
Cunningham, Peyton	651
Cushing, T. H.	92
Custis, Martha (Mrs. George Washington)	597
Cutter, Irving S.	607-09
Cypress, Ill.	51
Cyrille, Mascotin Indian Chief.	40, 66
Dabney, I. R. Peel, quoted in Christian Examiner	391
Daily Mirror-Democrat, newspaper	359
Daily Statesman, newspaper.	137
Dallas City, Ill.	206
Dalton, Fred D., Editor Streator Monitor and Vermillion News.	236
Danvers township, Ill.	13, 14
Danville, Ill.	105-07, 109, 207
Danville Public Library.	106
Dartmouth College	446
Daughters of the American Revolution	106, 170, 363
of Illinois	19
Geneseo Chapter	168
Ninian Edwards Chapter.	345-46
National Society of.	346
buys Gov. Duncan's home.	449n
Davenport, George	621
short biography of	613-14
Davenport, Ia., origin of name.	614
David Prince Sanitarium, Jacksonville, Ill.	163
moved to Springfield	164
Davidson, Alexander. and Stuvé, Bernard, History of Ill.	126, 127-28n
Davidson, J. M., Editor Carthage Republican	198
Davis, Dr.	696
Davis, early Illinois school teacher	3
Davis, David	134
quoted on suppression of Chicago Times	121
letters; to William W. Orme, quoted	130, 136, 138
Davis, Hasbrouck	555
Davis, Jefferson	24-25, 110, 119, 620
Davis, Mrs. Jefferson	25
Davis, John Chandler Bancroft.	391n
Davis, William Osborne	7
Davis Manuscripts	136n, 138n
Davis picture	24-25
Davison, Alpheus and Davison, Joseph Kennard, Editors Elmwood Chronicle	210
Dawes, Charles Gates	333
Dawes, Mrs. Charles Gates.	333
Dawson, Ann	12
Dawson, Bernard	638, 651
Dawsou, John Wells	12
Day, Miss Mary B. (Mrs. Stith M. Otwell)	246
Dearborn, Henry	92, 94, 634
De Bougainville	579
quoted	584
Decatur, Stephen	634
Decatur, Ill.	207, 315
Lincolns settle near	1
convention	135
Decatur Herald, newspaper	163
Decker Spring, Hardin County, Ill.	307
"Declaration of Rights"	100
"Deep snow"	423-25
Deere, John	518
De Kalb, Ill.	207
Delavan, Ill.	208
Delaware, Indians	47
Delaware State	47
De Leon, Ponce	299
Delphos, Kansas	331
De Mare, Madam, great-grand-daughter of Healy	375n
De Mary, Mrs. C. A.	363
Democratic party, peace movement	110-24
conventions	121-22, 127-28n
in Illinois	700
mentioned	138, 140, 324, 496
De Montigny, quoted on	583
Denby, Edward W.	289
Deneen, Charles Samuel.	641
Denison, Mr.	80
Denlinger, William, Editor Belleville Democrat	193
Denning family	68
Denny, Joseph C.	638, 651
Denver, Col.	361
DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.	364
De Silva, Joseph	608
De Soto, Ferdinand	31, 45, 299
De Soto, Mo.	346
Detroit, Mich.	1
Detroit Seminary, Detroit, Mich.	538
De Velling, J. D., Publisher Independent, Chebanse	199
De Vienne, M.	579
Devoll, Parker	95
Devoll, Robert	95
Dewey, Rising	651
De Witt Circuit Court, Lincoln present	685

- De Witt County, Ill., origin..... 684
part of eighth judicial circuit... 685
mentioned130-31, 139
- Dexter, Samuel 82
- Dexter, Wirt135n
- Dial, Isaac 653
- Dickens, Charles72, 81
- Dinwiddie, Robert 594
- Dixon, George C. v
- Dixon, Mrs. Mary F. Colby, daughter of Lydia Ingalls 436
- Dixon, Ill.v, 208
- Dixon State hospital 702
- Dixson, Mrs. Eli, Presentation of Medal18-19
- Dodd, William E., "The Fight for the Northwest in 1860"..... 125
- Dodge, Henry, letter to..... 616
- Dondero, George A., Why Lincoln Wore a Beard.....321-32
- Dongola, Ill.49, 52
- Dorr, Mrs. Otto.....452, 475n, 540n
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold, arrival in Ill. 4
loyalty and speech for the Union113-14
fight with Stuart 133
member tenth Assembly 460
quoted on education..... 474
friendship with Charles Lippencott 495
campaigns for U. S. Senator.... 524, 685-86
mentioned6, 10, 268, 315, 324, 432, 447
- Douglas-Lincoln debates 354
- Downieville, Calif., Lippencott settles in501, 505
- Dow, Ill. 346
- Doyle, Cornelius J. v
- Doyle, John 3
- Doyle, Thomas, rebuilds Fort Massac 81
- Draper Bluff 30
- Dred Scott Decision 624
- Drennan, J. 573
- Drennon, Jack 554
- Dresser, D. W. 287
- Dromore, County Down, Ireland.. 511
- Dry Grove Ill. 14
- Dubois, Jesse K., quoted 525
- Dubrowski, Pierre 582
- Ducoigne, Ellen 48
- Dudley, Gottfried 404
- Dudley, Thomas 392
- Duff, John 81
- Dugger, Ferguson 270
- Dugger, Jarrot, establishes Sunday School 270
mentioned255-56, 290-91
- Dugger, Joseph 270
- Dugger, W. B. 261
- Dumas, Alexandre, quoted..... 407
- Dumfries, Va.571-72
- Dumville, Mrs. Ann283-85
- Duncan, Dr. 694
- Duncan, Joseph 651
positions 432
educational interest 433
home of449-50
negotiates loan 457
Whig leader 496
Free School Law 547
- Duncan, Mrs. Joseph, diary, quoted 449
- Duncan, Matthew 5, 7
- Dunlap, Alex 651
- Dunlap, Jane Fillmore..... 639
- Dunlap, Ralph I. 639
- Dunlap, Mrs. Ralph I. 639
- Dunlap, Ralph Jr. 639
- Dunne, Edward F. 700
- Du Page County, Ill..... 353
- Dupee, David 255
- Du Quoin, John43, 48
- Du Quoin, Lewis 43
- Du Quoin, Ill. 208
- Du Quoin, Indians 40
- Dwight, Benjamin W., Editor The Interior, Chicago 202
- Dwight, Josiah381, 385
- Dwight, Ill. 208
- Earlie, George E., Editor The Herald, Palatine, Ill. 227
- Earlie, George E., Publisher The Citizen, Algonquin, Ill. 191
- Earlville, Ill. 208
- East Cape Girardeau, Mo..... 51
- East St. Louis, Ill.55, 209, 288
- Eastman, Otis S., Editor Fairbury Journal 210
- Eatey, Dr. 696
- Eddy, Henry 6, 7
- Eddy, Thomas M., Editor Northwestern Christian Advocate.... 658
quoted661-62
short biography of666-68
- Edinburg, Ill. 164
- Edwards, Arthur 668
- Edwards, Benjamin F....255-56, 294-95
- Edwards, Eliza (Mrs. B. F. Edwards)294-95
- Edwards, Henry Waggaman 183

Edwards, Mrs. James	448	speech of	639
Edwards, Ninian	173-86, 342, 488	letter to	642
letters: to John W. Taylor.....	176-77	English, migration to Illinois.....	404
to Rufus King	177-84	Enos, Zimri	541n
to William H. Harrison.....	175-76	Ensch, H. R., Editor Rockford	
to Elijah C. Berry.....	184-85	Journal	232
to Charles Scott	186	Episcopal Church	353
Edwards, Owenetta, Early schools		Epler, David	405
and teachers in my county..	12-17, 19	Equality, origin of name.....	57
Edwards County, Ill.	3, 112, 190	mentioned	38, 42, 69, 74
Edwardsville, Ill., gains perma-		Erie Canal	112
nence	401	Ernst, Ferdinand	404
mentioned	209, 312	Eureka, Ill.	210
Eells, Richard	465	Evans, William H., Editor Mt. Car-	
Effingham, Ill.	207	mel Democrat	224
Elchorn, Ill.	302	Evans Bluff, Ill.	28
Eldmann, Alma F. (Mrs. Fred J.		Evanston, Ill.	v, 210, 333
Kern)	710	Evarts, William M.	24
Eighth Judicial Circuit.....	129, 134	Everett, Edward	133
Elighth New York Heavy Artillery	331	Everett, Josiah, army surgeon....	626
Eighty-sixth Illinois Regiment,		Everhart, M. W.	294
Company C.	167	Evers, James R.	97
Elderman & Reynolds, Harry,		Ewing, Robert	452n
Publishers the Peoria Adver-			
tiser	229	Fairbury, Ill.	210
Eldred, Moses	291	Fairfax, George William	592
Eldred, Mrs. Moses	291	Fairfield, Ill.	169, 211
Elgin, Ill.	209	Falconer, E. G.	293
Eliot, John	376, 378-79	Fales, Ann R.	296
Elizabethtown, Ill., settled.....	302	Fales, George	296
discovery of Iron	305-06	Falls of the Ohio, battle of.....	345
mentioned	210, 307	Fanning, George, Sr.	651
Elliott, Eugene C.	105-109	Fansler, Thomas	319
Ellis, C. C.	608	Farmer City, Ill.....	211
Ellis, John M., purpose.....	445	Farnham, Russel, short biography	
selects site for Illinois College.	494	of	613
mentioned	10, 426	Farnhamsburg, Ill., origin of	
Ellis, Mrs. John, conducts school.	448	name	614
Elliswood, John	632	see also Rock Island	
Elmwood, Ill.	210	Fayville, Ill.	59
El Paso, Ill.	210	Feezer, Cal M.	359-60
Elyria, Ohio	351	Feingold, Joseph	173n
Emancipation Proclamation.....		Fell, Jesse W.	16-17, 138
.....111, 117, 122, 129, 131, 133, 136		Felt, Miss Anna E.	341
Emerson, Dr., short biography		Fermanaugh, Ireland	344
of	623-25	Fieldon, Ill.	345
Emmerson, Louis L.....	335, 338	Fifth Regiment Indiana Volun-	
telegram of	641-42	teers	134
address of	646-50	Fillmore, Millard	133
Emmerson, Mrs. Louis L.....	333, 338	Fillmore, Ill.	346
England	299	Finley, Clement A.	624-25
relation with U. S.....	630	First Methodist Episcopal Church,	
Naval defeat of	632	Springfield, Ill.	364
England, Bird	253	First Presbyterian Church, Alton.	
English, Lewis	252	.....	311-20
English, Mrs. Lewis	252	First Presbyterian Church, Aurora	362
English, Sara John, Morgan Coun-			
ty Soldiers of 1812.....	630-53		

First Prebysterian Church, Galena Centennial of	340-41	Fort Wilkinson	61, 77-104
First Presbyterian Church, Springfield	356	Fort Wilkinson, Ga.	87
Flisk, John, quoted	396	Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, Company E.	357-59
Fitch, James	383, 385	Foster, John O., Des Plaines camp meeting	654-70
Fitzwater, Burr	105	Foster, Lemuel	16
Flagler, Daniel W., quoted	611	Fourth United States Cavalry....	119
Fletcher, Cy D., Editor Centralia Sentinel	198	Fouts, conducts funeral	351
Flora, Ill.	211	Fox, Indians	40, 399, 427, 614
Flynn, Amella	345	removal of	429
Flynn, Thomas H., Editor Winchester Independent.	242	Frackelton, C. C.	490n
Foley, Florence	170	Frackelton, Charles	452n
Foley, Stephen A.	170	Frackelton, David, marries Louisa Chandler	510
Foley, Mrs. Stephen A.	170	Frackelton, Louisa (Louise) (Mrs. David)	510-11, 548
Foot, Henry S.	502	Frackelton, Robert	511
Foote, Henry Stuart	120	France	102, 299
Forbes, Gen. John	595	Francis, Simeon	7
names Pittsburgh	596	Francis Scott Key Chapter United States Daughters of 1812....	630, 646
Ford, Thomas, quoted	611-12	Frankfort, origin of name.....	57
Forks of the Ohio, importance of.	594	mentioned...39, 41, 48, 64, 67, 69, 74	
French abandon	596	Frankfort Heights, Ill.	43, 64, 104
Forreston, Ill.	211	Frankfort Hill	55
Forsythe, Thomas, Indian agent..	615	Franklin, Benjamin, quoted	633
Fort Armstrong, location	610-11	Franklin Grove, Ill.	211
people connected with	612	Franklin Medical School at Charlestown	477
Fort Armstrong Hotel, banquet.	606-08.	Franquelin, J. B., map of Louisiana	55
Fort Charlotte	86	mentioned	48, 65
Fort Chartres	80	Fredericksburg, Va.	571, 574
Fort Clark	405	Free School Act	13
location of	400	Freeman, Edward and Freeman, W. H., Editors the Kinmundy Independent	218
Fort Crawford	622	Freeman, J. H.	361-62
Fort Cumberland	59	Freeman, James F., Proprietor Lincoln Tri-Weekly Times	220
Fort Dearborn	1	Freeman, Thomas	85
Fort Defiance	80	Freeport, Ill.	211
Fort Detroit	80	French, The, in Illinois.....	32-76
Fort Donelson	357	victory over Washington	594
Fort Duquesne	581	victory over Braddock.....	595
Fort Greeneville	80	French and Indian War.....	32, 76
Fort Hamilton	80	French Posts	578-84
Fort Henry	357	value of	579
Fort Jefferson	80	French writers	34, 79
Fort Laramies	80	Fricke, Augusta (Mrs. Henry Fricke)	298
Fort Le Boeuf	594	Fricke, Henry	298
Fort Madison	175	Fricke property	260
Fort Massac	32, 80-81, 101	Frontenac, French Post	582
Fort Meigs	632	Fryman, Jessie	278
Fort Miami	80	Fugitive Slave Law	526
Fort Necessity, surrender of....	594		
Fort Russell	342		
Fort Sackville	718		
Fort Snelling	624		
Fort Stephenson	632		
Fort Vincennes	92		
Fort Washington	80, 82, 92		
Fort Wayne	80		

Fulks, John B., Publisher Beards-	
town Chronicle and Illinois	
Bounty Lands Advocate	434
Fuller, Perry	427
Fuller, Perry	439
son of Perry, adopted by Charles	
Chandler	427
career	428-29
Fuller, Mrs. Perry (Miss Sarah	
Keithly)	427, 429
Fulton, Ill.	212
Funk, Casander	15
Funk, Isaac	15
Funk, Nimrod	651
Funk, Samuel	638
Funks Grove, Ill.	15
Furber, Caroline	278
Furber, Ella	279
Gage, J. Howard	292
Gage, Mrs. J. Howard	292
Gage, Mrs. Margaret	282
Gage, Thomas, message to	392
Gaillard, John	179
Gaines, Edmund Pendleton, short	
biography of	617
difficulty with Black Hawk.....	618
Gale, John, tablet inscription....	606
connection with Gen. Atkinson.	620
signs treaty	621
burial place	628
Galena, Ill., importance of.....	656
location	671
growth	678
military rule	679
mentioned	212, 340-41, 401, 405, 655
Galena river	671
Galesburg, Ill.	v. 212
Gallagher, H. M., Proprietor Peru	
Herald	229
Gallatin County, Ill.	300, 306
Galva, Ill.	213
Gardiner, John	381
Gardiner, John, nephew of Col.	
John Chandler	385
Garland, Charles H.	716
Garland, Edward James	716
Garland, James Maurice, biog-	
raphy of	715-17
Garland, Nathaniel Austin.....	715
Garlick, Joshua Platt	354-55
Garner, Editor Murphysboro Ar-	
gus	224
Garrett Biblical Institute...654-55,	660
Garrison, Henry Lloyd	464
Garrity, John J.	641
Garten, James	14

Gates, see Yates	
Gates, Horatio	99
Gavit, Joseph	189
General Assembly, recommenda-	
tions submitted to	460
bills before	462
mentioned	483
General Court, petition to....378,	384
appoints committee	386
Geneseo, Ill.	168, 213
Geneva, Ill.	213
Geneva Medical College, New	
York	430
George Rogers Clark Trail.....	718
Georgetown, Ky.	182n
Georgia, becomes state	590
Germans, migration to Ill.....	404
mentioned	105, 112
Gerry, Elbridge	179n
Gest, Nathaniel	653
Gibson, Edward L.	316
Giddings, Samuel	312
Gilman, Arthur, founder Radcliff	
College	494n
Gilman, Benjamin Ives, son of W.	
S. and Abia	494n
Gilman, Theodore	494n
Gilman, W. S.	494, 496
Gilman, Mrs. W. S. (Abia Lippen-	
cott)	494n
Gilman, Winthrop S., positions of	
.....	316-17
mentioned	312-13
Gilman, Ill.	213
Gilmore, Ephriam M.	555
resignation	509
Girard, Ill.	253
Girl Scouts	335
Glasgow, Mrs. R. D. (Josephine	
Burns)	351
Glenn, Mrs. Otis F.	332
Glessner, William L., and Stone,	
C. C., Editors Clinton Register.	206
Glottelty, John F.	166
Godfrey, Benjamin, builds church.	314
positions of	317
career and founding of Monti-	
cello Seminary	486-88
connection with Chicago and Al-	
ton	514
mentioned	312-13, 318
Goebel, Dorothy B.	174n
Golconda, Ill.	213
Goddard, Calvin, positions.....	471
Goode, Alice	298n
Goode, Ezekiel	246, 249, 251-52
Goode, Mrs. Ezekiel	252

Goodell, John, Editor diary of William Sowall	373n, 380n
marriage	512n
quoted	541n
Goodhue, J. C.	479
Goodman, Edmund and Church, Leroy, Proprietors The Standard	205
Goodman, Mose	75
Goodspeed, James and Wharton, O. T., Editors of The Joliet Republican	217
Gordon, Thomas	314-15
Gordon, William, quoted	605
Gore, Spencer, "Early Physicians in my County"	691-97
awarded medal	699
Gore, Victor	272
Goshen road	51
Gotshall, J. F., Editor Waterloo Advocate	240
Goudy, Robert	466
Gould, Daniel	312
Graham, Mentor	3, 4, 694
Graham, Milo	256, 262, 294-95
Graham, Otis	272
Grand Army of the Republic Illinois posts	359, 362, 544
Grand Chain, Ill., tornado	84-85
mentioned	77-78, 85, 96
Grand Chain of Rocks, post at	55
tannery established	59-62
location	78-79
military camp	82, 87-88, 92-96, 100
Grand Tower, origin of name	57
Grand Trace Trail	39
Granite States, steamer	79
Grant, Ulysses S., letter to Washburne, quoted	111
mentioned	331, 335, 655
Gratiot, Adele (Mrs. Elihu B. Washburne), quoted	676-78
Gratiot, Charles, ancestry	672
Gratiot, Charles, son of Charles and Victorle	672
Gratiot, Charles, brother of Henry	681
Gratiot, Charles, son of Susan and Charles	681
Gratiot, Mrs. Charles (Victorie Laclede)	672
Gratiot, David	672
Gratiot, Edward	681
Gratiot, Henry, migrates to Ill.	672
appointed Indian agent	673
builds cabin	674
conference with Black Hawk ..	679
captured by Indians	680
death	681
Gratiot, Jean Pierre Bunyon, migrates to Ill.	672
builds home	680
Gratiot, Mrs. Jean Pierre (Marie Antoinette Adele de Perdeauville), quoted	675
Gratiot, Paul Benjamin	680
migrates to Ill.	672-73
establishes store	678
Gratiot, Mrs. Paul Benjamin (Virginia Bellin)	678
Gratiot, Susan (Mrs. Henry Gratiot)	341, 678
ancestry	674
friendship with Adele Gratiot ..	675-76
death	681
Gratiot Family, ancestry	672
Gratiot's Grove growth of	678
becomes Fort Gratiot	679
Graves, Frederick W.	312-13
Graves, Judson and Prior, J. M., Publishers of The Republic	213
Graves, Mrs. Virginia Hayden ..	13
Gravier, Father	37, 40, 65
Gray, T. Howard	568
Grayville, Ill.	213
Great Lakes	112-13
Greeley, Horace	331
Greeley, Colo.	169, 331
Green, J.	621
Green, John	653
Green County, Pa.	350
Greencastle, Ind.	364
Greene, Evarts Boutell .. v, 171, 365, 720	
Greene, William G.	432
Greene County, Ill.	245, 252
Greenfield, Ill.	214, 553
Greenup, Ill.	214
Greenville, Ill.	214, 312
Gregg, Thomas and Skinner, P. W. Printers the Warsaw Signal.	240
Grey, Dr.	695
Grigg, John, builds chapel	458
colonizer	459
Grigg, Mrs. John (Nancy McClellan)	458
Griggsville, Ill.	214
Grosvenor, Mason	446
Grubbs, Higgason B.	257, 295
Grubbs, William M.	293
Gruelle, J. M., Editor The Arcola Record	191-92
Gulfport, Miss.	170
Gurley, William F. E., poem by ..	640-41
Gwinn, John	638

Haire, Mrs. D. L.	346	Harvard, Ill.	215
Halderman, John A.		Harvey, James	107, 109
.....256, 269, 274, 285-87		Hash, Phillip	417
Halderman, Mrs. John A.		Hash, Zachariah, son of Phillip... 417	
.....284-85, 287, 297		Hastings, Mrs. Ira	104
Hale, Albert	312, 455, 550-51	Hathaway, Abraham	341
Hall, James, quoted	410	Hauberg, John H.	▼
Halleck, Henry W.	557	address of	609-29
Halsey, A. R. H., quoted.....	452	Havana, Ill.	215
Hamill, Joseph	317-18	location	408
Hamilton, Mrs. Alexander....	449, 680	Havighurst, Freeman A.	294, 363
Hamilton, William	680	Hawes, M. D.	293
Hamilton, Mrs. William	449	Hawk, George	49
Hamilton Club Chorus.....	338-39	Hawk, Spar	49
Hamlin, Hannibal	321, 323	Hawley, Mary Elizabeth (Mrs. James Maurice Garland)	716
Hampton, B. E., Editor Macomb Journal	220	Hay, John	7, 325
Haney, Alden	651	Hay, John and Nicolay, John G., Abraham Lincoln	125, 126n
Hankins, Charles	272	Hay, Logan	▼
Hanna and Barnard, E. B., Editors Olney Weekly Times	226	Haynes, Sarah M. (Mrs. E. C. Sil- lman)	167
Harcourt, Gambler, Ohio	170	Haynie, Isham	126n
Hardin, John J.	465	Hayward, E. B.	217
lawyer	447	Healy, George P. A., portrait by	373-74, 375n
member tenth assembly	460	Heath, N. P.	293
Whig leader	496	Helm, Mrs. Margaret McKillip... 68	
Hardin, Ill.	214	Hemphill, Ruth	278
Harding, Albert, Austin	338	Hemphill, Victor	292
Harkney, S. W., Editor the Olive Branch	235	Hemphill, Mrs. Victor	292
Harman, Josiah	87, 100	Hempstead, Charles	681
Harper, C. A.	141-160	Hempstead, Lisa	681
Harper, C. A., The Railroad and the Prairie	515n, 517	Hempstead, Mary Lewis	674
Harper, J. & P., Publishers Dan- ville Commercial	207	Hempstead, Sara Beebe	681
Harper's Ferry, description of bat- tle	562-65	Hempstead, Stephen	674
army located	569	Hempstead, William	681
mentioned	553, 558	Henderson, D. C. and Thompson, Publishers of the Joliet Record. 217	
Harrisburg, Ill.	214	Hendrix, Henry	85
Harrison, William Henry, biog- raphy of	174n	Hendrix, Jane	12
letter to	175-76	Hendrix, John	12
commands troops	631, 644	Hennepin, Louis	8, 54
fight with Indians	632	Hennepin, Ill.	215
victory of the Thames.....	633	Henry, M. L., Editor Kankakee Herald	217
Hart, B. K.	317	Henry, Patrick, stamp act.....	599
Hart, David	651	Henry, Robert Pryor	182
Hart, Solomon	651	Henry, Ill.	215
Hartford, Conn., general court held	385, 487	Hering, Henry	23
Hartman, Mrs. Ethel B.....	104	Herndon, Rowan	416
Hartman, Jacob	657	Herndon, William H.	331
short biography of.....	669-70	Herrick, Robert J.	268
Harvard Collegiate Institute, Fair- field, Ill.	169	Hicks, John, blacksmith	434
		Hicks, Ill.	302
		High Knob, Hardin county, Ill....	306
		Hill, Frederick Trevor, "Lincoln the Lawyer"	526

Mill, George W. and Boyd, Josiah, Publishers of Real Estate Rec- ord	204	Hoover, Herbert, speech to Illi- nois Legislature	333-34
Mills, G. Leonard	651	speech at Lincoln Tomb.....	335-38
Millsboro, Ill.	165, 215	Hoover, Mrs. Herbert.....	333, 335, 338
Millsborough Park, San Mateo, Calif	354	Hoover, Miss Mary P.....	16
Mines, Gail W.	166	House, James M.	718
Minschaw, Jacob	14	Hovoy, Charles E.	530
Hitchcock, Miss Charlotte (Mrs. Arthur E. Princo)	164	Howard, Beall	314
Hitchcock, Sarah Jane	357	Howell, Joseph C., manuscript his- tory	298n
Hitchcock, William E.	357	mentioned	273
Hitt, Isaac R., Army and Navy Ga- zette issued by	200	Howland, L.	127n
Hobbes, George A., Editor Gen- esco Republic	213	Hoy, Jeffrey D.	168
Hobbs, W. C.	14	Huddleson, William	253
Hodge, W. H.	14	Hudson, Ill.	14
Hodges, Campbell B.	333	Hughes, Dr.	696
Hodgson, William Robert	606-07	Hughes, Daniel	101
Hodjo, Hillis	46	Hughes, Frank	74
Hofer, J. M. "Development of the peace movement in Illinois dur- ing the Civil War"	110-28	Hulbert, Archer Butler	595
Hoffman, Mrs. Ella W.	169	Hulbert, R. W., and Ingersoll, O., Publishers of Widewake, Free- port, Ill.	212
Hoffman, Margaret	169	Hull, William, surrender of....	631, 644
Hoffman, Uriah J.	169	Hunt, Mrs. Benjamin F.....	716
Hohlsouser, John	52	Hunter, Charles W.	312, 315
Holiday, George	261	Hunter, James	567
Holliday, Charles	293	Hunter, Mrs. Susan S....	265, 276, 278
Holliday, Mrs. Elizabeth	276	Hunter College, New York City...	189
Hollister, Edgar	318	Hunterstown Mission, Alton, Ill...	318
Hollister, Edward	312	Huntoon, John, quoted	628-29
Holmes, Abiel	379	Hurd, E. L.,	262, 265
Holmes, James M., Editor and pro- prietor the Piatt Independent..	223	Hyde, A., Editor Lewistown Union	219
Holmes, John	379	Hyde Park, Ill.	216
Holmes, Oliver Wendell	5, 379	Ibbetson, Mrs. E. A.	270
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Supreme Court Justice	379	Ibbetson, Mrs. M. A.	280
Holt, Henry Chandler	527	Ibbetson, Mabel	278
Holt, Mich.	165-66	Ibbetson, Mrs. Ruth	268
Holton, Frank E., Editor the Her- ald	227	Illini, Indians	299
Homan-Danville of Nuremberg, map	583	Illinois, The, French post.....	580
Home and Foreign Missionary So- cieties, Methodist Church, Car- linville, Ill.	265	division of	581
Home Missionary Society	486-87	Illinois and Michigan Canal	460
Homer, Ill.	356	beginning of	457
Hooker, Joseph	575	Illinois and Midland Railroad, de- pot	470
Hooker, Thomas	376	Illinois Anti-Slavery Society	313
Hoopeston, Ill.	216	Illinois Central Railroad, motive.	517
Hoover, Allan	333	mentioned	52, 514, 547
		Illinois College, site and establish- ment of	445-46
		first faculty	447
		medical department	477-79
		mentioned	
		.....10, 313, 354, 413, 426, 433, 494	
		Illinois Country, early newspapers	5
		early ministers	8, 311
		mentioned	35, 58, 345

Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution	19	Indian agents, duties of.....	614-15
awards medal	698-99	Indiana, Lincolns from.....	1
Illinois Furnace	305	Indians in	47, 50
Illinois Herald, The, newspaper..	5	Knights of the Golden Circle.....	111, 123
Illinois Indians	34, 93	Presbyterian Church in	311
Illinois Intelligencer, newspaper..	5	mentioned	140, 245, 310
Illinois newspapers in the New York Historical Society.....	190-242	Indianapolis, Knights of the Golden Circle in	123, 128n
Illinois Patriot, newspaper	434	Methodist conference in	245
Illinois river, first steamboat on..	413	Indians	27-104, 186, 299, 302n
mentioned.....	134, 342, 408, 482-83	early history of	27-53
Illinois River Railroad, Charles Chandler organizes	519-21	arrow makers	37-38
officers	520n	noted chiefs	40
location	521	massacres	42
mentioned	539	wars	42-44, 342-43
Illinois Staats-Zeitung, newspaper	125, 128n	amusements	44
Illinois, State, general assembly..	118, 333-35	religion	45
.....	118, 333-35	family	46
Illinois State, House of Representatives	114, 118	language	50
Illinois State Gazette	466	capture of Chicago	175
Illinois State Historical Library..	104	relinquishment of lands	399
Illinois State Historical Library, collections	173n	victory over Braddock	595
Illinois State Historical Society, essay contest	19	control of	603
members of	164-65, 167-70, 350, 353, 356, 363-64	hostilities of	630
purchase letter	186	see also individual tribes	
Journal	189, 436	Ingalls, Charles F.	440
Publications	125-26	diary, quoted	436-37
Illinois State Historical Survey..	138	Ingalls, Clarissa	439
Illinois State Legislature, special session called	116	Ingalls, Deborah	436, 440
condemns suppression of Chicago Times	121	Ingalls, E. Fletcher, career	440
created Hardin county.....	300	Ingalls, Edmund	435-36
speech to	333-34	death	440
Illinois State Medical Society....	286	Ingalls, Ephraim	435, 480
Illinois State Normal University..	17, 530	Ingalls, Ephraim, son of Ephraim	436
.....	17, 530	career	440
Illinois State Register, quoted, on James M. Garland	716	Ingalls, Francis	435
Illinois State Senate	118	Ingalls, George Addison	436
Illinois State Teachers' Association	350	Ingalls, Henry, son of Ephraim... ..	435
Illinois Statesman, abolition paper	474	story about	437-39
Illinois Territorial Laws	5	Ingalls, Mrs. Henry (Lavinia)	436, 439-40
Illinois Territory, first governor..	173, 183	establishes school	441
mentioned	175, 186, 342	Ingalls, Henry H.	417
Illinois Valley Railroad, organization and location	519-21	Ingalls, James	435
Illinois Wesleyan University.....	16	Ingalls, Lucy Goodell	435
Illinois Woman's College	285	Ingalls, Lydia	436
		marriage	440
		Ingalls family, arrival in Ill.....	434
		ancestry and journey to Ill.....	436-37
		Ingersoll, Ebon C.	132
		Ingersoll, O. and Hulbert, R. W., Publishers of Widewake, Freeport, Ill.	212
		Ingersoll, Robert G.	133n
		Internal Improvement Act, passing of	461
		Iroquois, Indians	47, 50
		Iroquois County, Ill.	106

- Irving, Washington, "A Tour of the Prairies" 515
 Itinerant merchant 55, 58, 65, 73
 Ives, B. C. 264
- Jackson, Andrew
 101-02, 115, 183, 634, 637
 Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) 119
 Jackson County, Ga. 246
 Jackson County, Ill. 31, 49, 64
 Jacksonville, Ill., sanitarium in... 163
 description of 408
 deaths from cholera 429
 social development 445-56
 memorial 639
 mentioned 216, 363
 Jacksonville Female Academy 426, 433
 Jacksonville Historical Society... 450
 James, Edmund J.
 171, 187, 365, 585, 720
 James, James Alton
 171-72, 366, 586, 699, 720-21
 James River 577
 Jarrot, Vital 209
 Jay, John, procures treaty from
 England 605
 Jayne, Bishop 258, 285
 Jayne, William 114, 540
 Jefferson, Thomas 5
 quoted 233
 message to Congress 396
 Jefferson Barracks 134, 357
 Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia 458
 Jeffersonville, Ill. 216
 Jenney, Elisha 312, 446
 Jersey County, Ill. 245, 252
 Jerseyville, Ill. 216, 344-45
 Jerseyville Democratic Union,
 newspaper 128n
 Jesuit and Recollect Orders, members of 8
 Jesuit College, Paris 72
 Jesuit Fathers 45, 58, 63
 Jesuits 38, 45, 48
 Jetton, Benedict 652
 Jo Daviess County, Ill. 671
 Johann, Mrs. H. A. 716
 Johnson, Dr. 13
 Johnson, Allen 125, 127n
 Johnson, Andrew 429
 Johnson, Archibald 14
 Johnson, E. M., Editor Pontiac
 Free Trader 230
 Johnson, John A., Anderson, John,
 Lawson, Victor F., Editors Skandinaven og Amerika 204
- Johnson, Mrs. M. J. 641
 Johnson, Mrs. N. E. 298n
 Johnson, Miss Nellie 282
 Johnson, Richard 635, 652
 Johnson, Robert W. 387
 Johnson County, Ill. 31, 49
 Johnson-Massac Ilne 28
 Johnston, Albert Sydney 620
 Johnston, Joseph E. 620
 Joliet, Ill. 163, 217
 Joliet Signal, newspaper 115
 Jones, Ben O., Publisher Massac
 Journal 222
 Jones, Edgar DeWitt, address of... 1-11
 Jones, Henry 477
 Jones, Hiram K. 447
 Jonesboro, Ill. 75, 217
 Joppa, Ill. 85
 Jordan, John 652
 Jordan, Philip D., article by... 173-86
 Jordan, Philip D., and Mabbot,
 Thomas O., catalogue of Illinois
 newspapers in the New York
 Historical Society 187-242
 Jordans Fort, near Frankfort, Ill. 42, 51
 Joseph, Indian Chief, quoted..... 44
 Josetta, wife of Dr. Van Meter. 674, 677
 Joslin, Theodore G. 333
 Juchereau (Sieur Charles Juchereau de St. Denis), Indian mas-
 sacre 42, 68
 establishes tannery 58, 65
 death 69
 mentioned 70-74, 78-80
 Juchereau, Mother 68
 Judd, Miss Mattie 278
 Judd, Norman D. 528
 Judson, C. C. and McCluer, C. W.,
 Publishers Freeport Daily Fair
 Journal 211
 Judson, Philo 654
- Kahokia, Indians 34-35
 Kankakee, Ill. 217
 Kansas State Historical Society.. 427
 Kaoockia, Post at Cahokia..... 55
 Karnes, Mrs. Kate 165
 Karnes and Bassett, Proprietors
 the Quincy Argus 230
 Kaskaskia, Ill., first newspaper in. 5
 Goshen Road 51
 land office 301
 seat of Territorial government. 401
 mentioned
 ... 40, 59, 61, 67, 69, 81, 218, 312, 718
 Kaskaskia, Indians, location of... 41
 wars 42-43
 mentioned 34, 40, 48

Kaws, Indians	581	Kingston, Ontario, see Frontenac	
Keeler, J. B.	256, 261	Kinmundy, Ill.	218
Keithsburg, Ill.	218	Kinzie, John H.	615
Kellar, Jerome	272	Kinzie, John J.	423, 547
Kellar, Samuel	253, 256	Kiowa, Hardtner and Pacific Rail-	
Keller, Samuel	295	road Company	364
Kelley, I. A.	104	Kirby, William	446
Kendall, Thomas C.	254	Kirkland, Mrs. C. S.	238
Kendall, William M.	23	Kirksey, Jeff	49
Kenney, William	81	Kitchigamis, Indians, location....	48
Kent, Aratus	340-41, 678	see also Nataogami	
Kent, Mrs. Aratus	341	Kitty, river craft	82
Kent, George V., Editor Pekin		Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.....	105
Register	228	Kloss, Charles L., article by....	354-55
Kentucky, massacre at Va Bache. 68		Knapp, L. E., Publisher Tamaroa	
Indian menace	78, 87, 95	Watchman	237
slave territory	112	Knights of the Golden Circle, work	
Ninian Edwards in	180-84	of	123
mentioned..32, 50, 52, 61, 65, 82,		mentioned	111, 119, 132
99, 100, 133, 173, 175-76, 302, 310		Knowlton, G. E.	21, 22
Keokuk, departure from Fort Arm-		Knox, John	142
strong	618	Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.	
Keplinger, Martin Luther	273	.....10, 226, 413	
Keplinger, Mary A.....	277-78, 280	Knox County, Ill.	352
Kern, Alfred E.	710	Knoxville, Ill.	218
Kern, Fred J.,		Koerner, Gustave, memoirs of....	125
administration	701-03	Koester, Julia C. (Mrs. Purviance)	275
appointed chairman State Board		Kohlmeir, A. L.	125
of Administration	700	Kortkamp, Alfred W.	166
autobiography of	707-11	Kortkamp, Mrs. Eva M.	165
Editor News-Democrat	705-07	Kraft, Fred W.	710
Editor The Gazette, East St.			
Louis	710	Laclede, Marquis Pierre Linguette	
education	708	de, founder St. Louis	672
mayor of Belleville	704, 710	Lacon, Ill.	167, 218
quoted on Belleville	711	Ladies' Association for educating	
Kern, Henry Lorenz	707	Females, beginning of	448
Kern, Katharine Engler Peter....	707	Le Fevre river, see Galena river	
Kern, Richard P.	710	Lake Michigan	1, 50
Kern, Robert L.	710	Lakeville, Conn.	352
Kerner, Robert J., "Diary of Rob-		Lamb, James L.	488
ert J. Kerner"	125, 128n	Lambtown, Ill.	302
Kewanee, Ill.	218	LaMoille, Ill.	218
Key, Francis Scott	650	Lamon, Ward Hill	139
Kickapoo, Indians, location 34-35, 41, 47		Lamont, Robert P.	333
massacre	67-68	Lanark, Ill.	219
wars	342-43	Lancaster County, Pa.	344
mentioned	48, 52, 399, 579	Lane, A. G.	316
Kimball, Miss Bertha	278	Lane, Joseph	293
King, Charles R.	174n	Langholtz, Andrew H.	567
King, David M.	606-07	Langley, Professor	105
King, Genevieve	360	Lansden, Miss	104
King, Rufus, letters to.....	177-84	Larcom, Lucy	488
King, Mrs. Walter	360	Larned, Ellen D., History of Wind-	
King, William Henry.....	468n	ham Co.	388
Kingkaid Hill, Indian massacre..	42, 68	Larson, Laurence M.	v
French depot	64-67		
Kingsford, William, quoted	584		

La Salle, Rone Robert Cavellier, Sieur do, builds fort 400 mentioned 54, 299	Lewman, John H. 107, 109
La Salle, Ill. 219	Lewman, William 107, 109
La Salle County, Ill. 169	Lexington, Ill. 16, 219
Latimer, Alexander 352	Lexington, N. J. 266
Latimer, Clara 352	Lexow, R., Editor Deutsch-Ameri- kanische Monatshefte 201
Latimer, Jonathan 352	Liberator, abolition paper 474
Latimer, Mrs. Jonathan 352	Liggett, Jesse 105-09
Latimer Family 352	Lillienthal, Gustav 105
Laveran, Charles Louis Alphonse. 430	Lillienthal, Otto 105
Lawrence, George A. v	Lincoln, Abraham 6-7, 109, 142, 283, 287, 345, 350, 352, 354, 417, 435, 458, 619-20, 716 advice of Grace Bedell to ... 321-32 arrival in Ill. 432 assassination 535 attributes of 638-90 belief in utility of Sangamon. 415-16 boulder in Carlinville, inscrip- tion 267-68 Brady photograph 328 campaign for U. S. Senator.... 524-25, 685-86 candidate for Legislature..... 684 captain in Black Hawk War.... 409 Cooper Union Speech.... 328, 526-27 dedication of statue to at Clin- ton 683-90 difficulty with peace party.... 110-24 early education 3-4 friendship with Charles Chand- ler 439-40 Gettysburg address, quoted ... 337 home of 335 lawyer for Bowen and McNamee 527 letters: from Grace Bedell.... 323 to Grace Bedell 325-26 "Lost Speech" 134 McNulty photograph 329 member tenth assembly 460 plats Huron 482 protest 465 quoted 233, 686 rededication of monument.... 333-39 repudiation of war policy.... 129-40 reviews troops 573 statue in Lincoln Park Chicago 20-25 speech 523 surveyor 438 surveys Petersburg 467
Lawson, Victor F., Johnson, John A., Anderson, John, Editors Skan- dinaven og Amerika 204	Lincoln, Mrs. Abraham 6, 328
Lawson, Victor Fremont 7	Lincoln, Edward Baker 327
Layton, Malinda E. 363	Lincoln, James H. 15
Layton, William T. 363	Lincoln, Mary Harlan 327
Leach, Robert 651	Lincoln, Mary Todd, see Mrs. Abraham Lincoln
Leaton, Clara 275	
Leaton, James 259, 265, 293	
Lebanon, Ill. 10, 165-66, 219	
Le Claire, Antoine 621	
Indian interpreter 612-13	
Lee, Dr. 694	
Lee, John 696	
Lee, Robert E. 98, 110, 620	
Lee and Lusk, Carrolton Patriot published by 198	
Lee County, Ill. 208	
Leeper, John 653	
Le Espion, first Frenchman in southern Ill. 54-56	
Leggett, Abraham 493	
Leggett, Catherine Wyly (Mrs. Thomas Lippencott), ancestry 492-93	
Leggett, William, Editor New York Evening Post 492	
Leipold, A. T. 608	
Leland, A. O. M., Editor Harvard Independent 215	
Leland, Ill. 361	
Lemos, Don Manuel Gayoso de... 81	
Lena, Ill. 219	
Leni-Lenape, Indians 47	
Leonard 333	
Leonard, Abraham 652	
Leroy, Ill. 15	
Leroy Seminary 15	
Lester, P. B., Editor Tuscola Ga- zette 239	
Levell, A. C., Editor Kneip Zange. 202	
Levings, Ill. 60	
Lewis Meriwether 32, 396	
Lewistown, Ill. 219	

- Lincoln, Robert Todd 327
 Lincoln, Ill. 136, 170, 219
 Lincoln Anniversary Chorus 339
 Lincoln Family 1, 321, 326
 Lincoln Liberty Chorus 338
 Lincoln Library Board 170
 Lincoln Memorial Highway Association, Lincoln marker.... 525, 551
 marker, Walnut Hill Grove.... 524
 Lincoln Monument, rededication of 333-39
 Lincoln Park, Chicago 20, 22
 Lincoln picture 24-25
 Lincoln Statue, Lincoln Park, Chicago 20-25
 Lincoln Tomb 335-39
 Lincolnshire, England 435
 Linder, John 554
 Linder, Usher F. 124n, 313
 Lindquist, G. E. E. 47, 77
 Link, Theodore 314
 Lippencott, Catherine Leggett, wife of Thomas 493
 Lippencott, Charles,
 ancestry 492-93
 changes politics 529
 death and funeral 544-45
 duel 503-06
 education 493-97
 friendship with Knowlton Chandler 510
 goes to California 499-501
 life in California 501-06
 military record 533-35
 organizes Co. K. 530
 political career after Civil War 540-45
 political career in California. 502-06
 politics 496
 quoted 549-50
 relates story of duel 508
 returns to Chandlerville 506
 settles in Panther Creek 497
 stock farm of 541-44
 Lippencott, Mrs. Charles (Emily Chandler) 531
 hospitality of 541
 death 545
 Lippencott, Henrietta Marion Slater (Mrs. Thomas)..... 493
 Lippencott, Linus, son of Emily and Charles 531
 Lippencott, Patsy Swift, wife of Thomas 493
 Lippencott, Thomas career 493
 selects site for Illinois College. 494
 mentioned 6, 312, 316, 445
 Lippencott, Mrs. Thomas (Mrs. Lydia Barnes) 509
 Lippencott, William A., nephew of Charles 501n
 Lippencott, Winthrop, son of Emily and Charles 534
 death 550
 Lippencott Memorial Hall, Quincy 505, 545
 Lischer, Anna 97
 Litchfield, E. B. 349
 Litchfield, Ill. 215, 349
 Little Muddy 35, 40, 43
 Livingston, Robert 395
 Livingston County, Ill. 130-31
 Livingston, David 9
 Lloyd, W. G. 294
 Lobdaw, William 339
 Locke, John 142
 Lockwood, Samuel D. 447, 465
 Logan, George W., career.... 428-29
 Logan, Mrs. George (Ann Kelthly) 428
 Logan, John 264-65, 291
 Logan, John A. 126n, 554
 Logan, Stephen T., member tenth assembly 460
 mentioned 134
 Logan County, Ill., origin 684-85
 mentioned 130-31
 Lombard University 167
 London, England 24-25
 London, Jack 355
 Long, Enoch 312-13, 316, 318
 Long, Owen 421
 Long, Stephen Harriman, opens road from Chicago to Prairie du Chien 422
 Long Island University 189
 Longfellow, Alice 494n
 Longfellow, Henry W. 5
 Longstreet, James 565
 Loper, William H. 167
 Lord, Mrs. A. R. (Ruth Burns).... 351
 Loring, W. B., Editor Dallas City Democrat 206
 Los Angeles, Calif 165
 Louisiana, map of 55
 mentioned 67, 93, 103
 Louisiana Purchase 395
 Louisiana Territory 73
 Louisville, Ill. 220
 Louisville, Ky. 117, 119
 Louisville Convention 116
 Louisville Journal 466
 Lovejoy, Elijah P., edits "Observer" 6-7
 abolitionist 465
 mentioned 313-14, 316, 494

Lovejoy, Owen, abolitionist	465	McDonald, Stacey	51
mentioned	134-35	McDougall, James A.	10
Loveland, W. A. H.	258	McElfresh, G. R. S.	293
Loveless, Milo J.	171, 365, 720	McElroy, W. N.	265
Lowden, Frank Orren	703	McElwain, E. F., Publisher Peters-	
Lowell, Ill.	220	burg Democrat	229
Lowry, E., Editor Woodford Jour-		McFarland, Elizabeth	302
nal	210	McFarland, James	302
Loyalist Party	389-91	McGee, quoted, on Indians	47
Lucas, J. A.	294	McGeoch, James	141-60
Lucas, Scott W., address of. .	643-45	list of property	143-60
Lufkin, Stephen	319	McGhee, Mrs. N. H.	363
Lumpkin, Mrs. C. J.	282	McGregor and Johnson, Publishers	
Lusk, H. H., Editor Olney Ledger. .	226	of Pontiac Free Trader	230
Lutheran Church, Carlinville	269	McHenry County, Ill.	231
Luttrell, Thomas	653	McIntire, W. A.	97
Lyle, Mr.	116	McKee, Henry	499
Lynchburg Republican, newspaper	120	McKee, Levi	480-81
Lyon, Mary	448, 487	McKendree College, Lebanon,	
Lyon, Mathew	94-95	Ill.	10, 247, 493
letter from James Wilkinson,		McKenny, S. D.	346
quoted	101	McKenny, Mrs. S. D.	345-46
Lyon, Nathaniel	94	McKibbins, Isabella	341
McBane, Will A., Proprietor Me-		McLean, John	1, 174n
tropolis Weekly Times	222	McLean County, Ill., establishing	
McCage, Thomas	429	of	1
McCall, J. S. and Atkins, S. D.,		early schools and teachers in. .	12-17
Publishers Freeport Northwest. .	212	court house, probate records. .	141n
McCall, Mrs. Will	360	mentioned	130-31, 135
McCartney, John F.	72	McLeansboro, Ill.	220
McClellan, George B., letter of. .	122	McLellan, Benjamin	168
appointed by Lincoln	458	McLellan, Emeline	168
mentioned	130, 565, 571, 575	McNeil, Mrs. Mary	268, 280
McClellan, James, father of James	458	McPherson, Harry W.	364
McClellan, James, founder Jeffer-		McVicker, George G., article by	342-343
son Medical College	458	McWain, John	298n
McClellan, Samuel	393, 458	Mabbott, Thomas O. and Jordan,	
McClellan, Samuel, founder Jeffer-		Philip D., Catalogue of Illinois	
son Medical College	458	newspapers in the New York	
McClelland, John A., member		Historical Society	187-242
tenth assembly	460	Macarty, Captain, in command at	
mentioned	115, 119, 539	Fort Chartres	80
McCluer, C. W. and Judson, C. K.,		Macedonia, Ill.	65
Publishers of Freeport Daily		Indian massacre	42, 51, 75
Fair Journal	211	Macomb, Ill.	220, 350-51
McClure, J. C.	270	Macon County, Ill.	1, 207, 684
McClure, James E.	268	Macoupin County, Ill., first sermon	
McClure, Samuel R.	318-19	in	245
McConnell, John	652	mentioned	253, 261, 264
McCormick, Cyrus Hall	518	Macoupin Creek	246, 288-89
McCormick, Walter	653	Macoupin Mission	245-46
McCoy, Asa S.	293	Madden, F. B.	294
McDaniel, Ida	289	Madison, Dolly	681
McDaniel, Miss Laura	289	Madison, James	102, 173n
McDonald, Ballard	78	Madison, Wis.	189
McDonald, Richard	417		

Madison County, Ill.	117, 312	Martinsville, Ill.	221
first school in	2	Mascoutin, Indians	34, 40, 579
Mississippi Circuit	245	religion of	66
Carlinville Circuit	252	Mashamoquet Purchase	382
Magnolia, Ill.	221	see also Pomfret	
Maine State Seminary	361	Mason City, Ill.	222
Maine Volunteer Infantry, Four-		Massac, Chevalier	80-81
teenth Regiment, Co. H.	361	Massac, Ill., Belle Garde becomes.	73
Twenty-third Regiment	361	military post established.....	78
Majority Point, Ill.	221	mentioned	
Makah, Indians	621	.....39, 66-68, 81-82, 86-89, 93-95	
Makanda, Ill.	30, 104	Massac County, Ill.	49, 70
Manchester, David	652	Massac Creek	64
Manchester, Vt.	327	Massachusetts Bay Colony	134
Mandans, Indians	621	Massachusetts Colony	299
Manitou, The, Indian God.....		Massey, Silas	652
.....37-40, 44-45, 66, 78		Mathews, Isaac	652
Manitou, Indians	38	Mathews, Mrs. Lucinda	318
Maps, Franquelin map of Louisi-		Matlock, James M.	557, 565
ana	55	Matlock, Josephine Garland....	715-17
Maps, Illinois, John Messenger..	3	Mattoon, Ill.	222
March, Enoch C.	406	Maunchaug, see Oxford	
Marcy, Benjamin	500	Maxfield, Ben	575
Marcy, Charles	500	Mayfield, Mrs. Alfred	290
Marcy, Dwight	464	Mayfield, Clara	278
Marcy, Mrs. Dwight (Lois Chand-		Mayfield, Nellie	289
ler)	469	Mayfield, W. D.	258, 294
Marcy, Henry	500	Mayfield, Mrs. W. D.....	258
Marcy, John	469	Mayo, Miss Jenny (Mrs. Conley)	
Marcy, William Larned, positions	469n	.....	275, 277
Marengo, Ill.	221	Mayo, Samuel T....	260-61, 269, 290, 297
Marest, Father Pierre Gabriel....		Mayo, Mrs. Samuel T.	
.....40, 59, 67		.....	276-77, 280, 282, 297
Marest, Joseph	67	Mead, Cows	101
Marion, Ill.	51	Meade, George G.	575
Markham, Edwin	354	Medill, Joseph	7, 132
Marnel, John P., Editor Assump-		quoted	129
tion Press	192	Meeker, David	696
Maroa, Ill.	221	Meigs, Charles Jr., Editor Dixon	
Maroa-Post, near E. St. Louis....	55	Monitor	208
Marquette, Father James....	8, 65, 299	Meldrum, W.	293
Marseilles, Ill.	169, 221	Mémoire du Canada, quoted from	
Marshall, Colonel	345	.....	582-83
Marshall, Humphrey	81, 103	Memphis, Tenn.	306
Marshall, S. D. and Coulter A.,		Menard County, Ill., origin of....	685
Publishers Illinois Republican..	234	Mendota, Ill.	222
Marshall, Ill.	221	Mermet, Father Jean	69
Marshuz, W. B. and Trower, W. A.,		accompanies Juchereau..	59-60, 65-67
Publishers Shelby County Lead-		Merrill, Aaron	652
er	234	Messenger, John	3
Martha Furnace	305	Messick, Mrs. J. F.	282
Martin, Gershom, Editor Illinois		Messick, Nellie	278, 280
Sentinel	216	Metchi, Indians	581
Martin, W. T. and Moore, W. S.,		Methodism in Carlinville, Ill....	243-92
Edited Christian County Demo-		Methodist Church	9-10
crat	237		
Martin, William	75		
Martinsburg, Va.	553, 560		

Methodist Church, Carlinville, Ill.,		"Million Dollar Contract," contents	
first church	254-56	of	107-08
second church	256-57	Mills, Frank B., Co-editor The At-	
third church	258-61	lanta Argus	192
fourth church	262-68	Milton, George Fort	429n
contents of corner stone	263	Milton, John	142
parsonages	269-70	Milton, W. E., Editor Winchester	
Sunday School	270-74	Times	242
music	274-76	Milton, W. E., Publisher The Lo-	
Woman's Foreign Missionary		comotive, Greenfield	214
Society	276-78	Minateree, Indians	621
Young Women's Foreign Mis-		Miner, G. W.	16
sionary Society	278-80	Minneapolis, Minn.	272
Women's Home Missionary So-		Minnigerode, Meade	103
ciety	280-81	Minonk, Ill.	222
Ladies' Aid Society	282	Mississaguas, Indians	582
incidents in the life of the		Mississippi Circuit, counties in-	
church	283-98	cluded in	245
list of ministers	293-94	Mississippi river, map.....	55
abstract of title to church		free navigation of.....	100
property	294-98	Quincy located on	407
Methodist Church, Illinois confer-		mentioned	
ences	245-47, 259, 265, 284	..9, 39, 41, 45, 54, 59, 64, 73, 78,	
Methodist Church, Plainview, Ill. 166		113, 140, 186, 306, 395, 401, 404, 671	
Methodist Church, Western Con-		Missouri, Indians	581
ference, 1803	244	Missouri, slave territory.....	112
Methodist Episcopal Church...255, 263		mentioned	50-52, 64-65
Methodists, Chandlerville, Ill.... 511		Missouri Democrat, newspaper... 259	
Metropolis, Ill.	85	Missouri River	32
Metropolis City, Ill.	222	Mitchell, Edward	715
Metropolitan Museum	450	Mitchell, Isaac	14
Metzker, James	523	Mitchell, James	715
Mexico	47, 102	Mobile, Louisiana Territory....73, 86	
Meyer, Franklin	269	Moccasin Gap, origin of name... 57	
Meyer, H., Publisher Alton Ban-		mentioned	39, 73
ner	191	Mohegan river	378
Miami, Indians	25, 67, 580	see also Quinabaug	
wars against	342-43	Moline, Ill.	165, 166, 222
Michigamie, Indians	34	Momence, Ill.	223
Michigan City, Mich.	220	Monmouth, Ill.	223, 350
Michigan State Normal School... 168		Monroe, James	173n, 395
Michigan Territory, seizure of ... 631		Monroe County, Ill., early school	
Miles, Arthur A., article by....299-310		in	2-3
Miles, O. P.	360	Montgomery, John	635
Mill Creek	37-38	Montgomery, John J.....	105
Miller, Abraham	341	Montgomery, John W.	166
Miller, Miss Addie	276	Monticello, Ill.	223
Miller, Catherine (Mrs. William		Monticello Seminary, founding of	
Miller)	294-95	.....	486-88
Miller, Charles and Conklin, J. M.,		mentioned	165, 312, 314, 317, 446
Publishers of Danville Weekly		Montreal, Canada	56, 68, 76
Argus	207	Moore, Andrew	42, 51, 75
Miller, Jacob	652	Moore, Clifton H.....	138-40
Miller, James	635	Moore, Frank	126
Miller, William	255-56, 294-95	Moore, Jesse H.	293
Miller's Ferry	482-83	Moore, W. S., and Martin, W. T.,	
Millington, Ill.	222	Edited Christian County Dem-	
		ocrat	237

Moore and Holmes, A. B., Publishers Bloomington Republican	195	Nantz, John	272
Moorman, Mrs. Irene M.	165	Naperville, Ill.	225
Moravians, settlement in Ill.	405	Napoleon Bonaparte, military operations of	395
Morgan, Dr.	696	Nashville, Ill.	225
Morgan, John	119	Nashville, Tenn.	47-48, 101
Morgan, Moses	274	Nataogami, Ill., (Frank Fort)	42, 55, 61, 69
Morgan, William	417	Nataogami, Indians	38-39
Morgan, Willoughby	621	location	34, 41
Morgan County, Ill., division of ..	462	National Road, beginning of	397
mentioned	245, 363	National Society Daughters of the American Revolution	346
Morgan County, Ill., soldiers of 1812 buried in	630-53	National Soldiers' Home, Danville, Ill.	105
Morgan County Court House, "Bronze Tablet" erected on ..	638	Nauvoo, Ill.	14, 225
Morgan Journal	522	Needmore, Ky.	62
Morrell Act, origin of	474	Nettleton, Helen	339
Morris, Edward	380	New Albany, Ind.	246, 266
Morris, Isaac N.	115	New Athens, Ill.	225
Morris, Morris	345	Newberry, C. E.	461
Morris, Miss Sarah (Mrs. Joshua Armstrong)	345	Newberry Library, Chicago	125-26, 127n
Morris, Ill.	223	Newbury Academy, Vt.	538
Morrison, D. S., Publisher Western Patriot	231	New Columbia, Ill.	35
Morrison, Ill.	223	Newell, Hugh, builds airship ..	105-09
Morse, Jedediah	393	New England	23, 112, 120
Morse, Langdon	21-24	Newman, Benjamin	256, 293
Moscow	74	New Orleans, La., first excursion to	95
origin of name	57	mentioned	93, 100, 102, 397
Moses, John	126	New Roxbury, naming of	379
Moss, William	652	New Salem, Ill., Lincoln postmaster in	6
Moulton, Samuel W.	132	location	408
Mound builders	27, 29-30	Lincoln association	467
Mound City, Ill.	104	mentioned ..	3-4, 352, 438, 524, 684-85
Indian massacre	42, 51, 71	News-Democrat, newspaper ..	704-07
Mt. Carmel, Ill.	224	Newspapers, see individual titles	
Mt. Carroll, Ill.	224, 357-58	Newspapers, (Illinois) in New York Historical Society ..	190-242
Mount Holyoke Seminary	487	Newton, Ill.	225
Mt. Hope, Ill.	14	Newtown, Ill. (near Danville) ..	106-07, 109
Mt. Sterling, Ill.	224	New Windsor, Ill.	225
Mt. Vernon, Ill.	224	New York City ..	v, 22, 125-26, 328, 340
Mounts, Effie	289	New York College of Physicians and Surgeons	163
Moyers, William Nelson, article by	26-104	New York Evening Post	492
Muck, Theodore H., Editor Sterling Standard	236	New York Genealogical and Biological Society	375n
Muir, Samuel C., army surgeon ..	626-27	New York Herald	575
Mulcaster, John G.	104	New York Historical Society ..	174, 187-89, 200, 203, 220
Mullins, Delilah	12	New York Historical Society, Illinois newspapers in ..	190-242
Mundy, James A.	338	New York Independent	526
Murphy family	68	New York Public Library	189
Murphysboro, Ill.	224		
Muskogee, Indians	48, 50		
Myers, William H.	607-08		

New York State Library	189	Ohio river, tannery established on	58
New York Times, newspaper..	140, 472	mentioned	
New York Tribune	472	65, 78-80, 82-83, 88-89, 91, 93-96,	
Nez Perce, Indians	44	104, 112-13, 253, 300-02, 306-07,	401
Niagara, French post	581-83	Ohio Society of Colonial Wars,	
Niagara, vessel	635	year book	81
Niagara river	632	Ohio State	12, 47, 107, 111-
Nichols, Agrippa	652	12, 122-23, 131, 139-40, 266, 312, 329	
Nicolay, John G.	325	Okaw river, origin of name.....	56
Nicolay, John S.	7	mentioned	34, 52, 65
Ninian Edwards Chapter, Daugh-		Oicott, Elisha	470, 511
ters of the American Revolution		Old First Church, St. Louis.....	312
.....	345-46	Old Ironsides	635
Noble, James	177	Old Soldiers' Reservation	33ff
Noftsker, Mrs. Caroline Allen, sis-		Old-Town, Ill., first school	15
ter of Winthrop S. G. Allen....	553	Olney, Ill.	226
Nokomis, Ill.	225	Onarga, Ill.	226
Nonpareil, excursion boat	95	O'Neal, Thomas	652
Normal, Ill.	16-17	O'Neill, Mrs. Arthur J.	639
Normal University, Bloomington,		Onstot, T. G., quoted	482
Ill.	17	Onstot Cooper Shop	482n
Norris, I. N. and Brodley, J. J.,		Onyatanon, Indians	579
Editors Quincy Argus.....	230	Oquawka, Ill.	226
North, The	110, 120, 123	Oregon, Ill.	226
Northern Cross Railway begin-		Orme, William Ward, letters:	
ning of	461	from John M. Scott, quoted....	129
completed	483	from David Davis, quoted....	130
mentioned	407, 465, 514	from Leonard Swett	133
Northerner, The, steamer	79	quoted	135
Northside Mission, Alton, Ill....	318-19	from David Davis,.....	136
Northwest, The	110, 345	quoted	138
Northwest Territory, Indian trou-		from Clifton H. Moore, quoted..	139
bles	78	from Lawrence Weldon, quoted	
progress and sale of lands....	401-03	.....	139-40
mentioned ..	26, 85, 95, 299-300, 630-31	Osage, Indians	35
Northwestern Christian Advocate		Osborne, Miss Georgia L.....	
.....	658, 668	.....	104, 172, 173n, 189, 367, 721
Northwestern University, Evans-		Osborne, Georgia L., Pioneer Wo-	
ton, Ill.	103	men of Morgan County.....	447n
Norton, Augustus T.	312-19	Osias, Camilo	350
History of Presbyterianism in		Ossawattami, Indians	399
Ill.	313	Otacks, Indians	581
Norton, Wilbur T.	318	Ottawa, Canada	578
Notze, Eugen, Publisher Die Illi-		Ottawa, Ill.	226
nois Freie Presse	235	Otoes, Indians	621
Numms, Annie A.	189	Otwell, Allen M.	165
Nutting, Wallace, quoted.....	383	Otwell, Amy	165
Oakes, Colonel, quoted.....	119	Otwell, Carl	291
Oakland, Calif.	354	Otwell, Mrs. Carl	291
Oak Ridge Cemetery	338, 364	Otwell, Charles	272
O'Banion, Carl	651	Otwell, Eugene C.	165
Observer, The, newspaper.....	6	Otwell, Mrs. Frances E.....	165-66
Odell, Mrs. Sarah E.	291	Otwell, J. S.	252, 283
O'Fallon, Benjamin	621	Otwell, Justinian	266
Oglesby, Richard	539	Otwell, Mary B.	254, 266
		Otwell, P. C.	165
		Otwell, Robert L.	165
		Otwell, Stith M.	245-49, 252-55, 290

- Otwell, Mrs. Stith M.
 ...246, 248, 250-52, 266, 283, 291, 293
 Otwell, William B. 268
 Otwell, William H. 165
 Otwell, Winthrop C. 165
 Otwell, Miss Zayda 289
 Otwell Family249-50, 289
 Oumiaml, Indians37, 41
 Ousacqs, Indians 581
 Owl, George 49
 Oxford, Chandlers settle in.... 378
 Oxley, Lawrence T..... 642
 Ozark Range43, 84, 308
- Paine, Mrs. Timothy, conversa-
 tion of 389
 Paine, William, enforced from
 Worcester 391
 Palatine, Ill. 227
 Palestine, Ill. 166
 Palmer, C. L., Editor Dwight Star 208
 Palmer, Mrs. Clara 282
 Palmer, John McAuley v
 Palmer, Mrs. John M. (Hannah
 Lamb) 488
 Palmyra, Ill. 253
 Pana, Ill. 227
 Panther Creek, Charles Chandler
 locates411, 417
 platted458, 480-81
 post office461, 466
 becomes Chandlerville497-98
 mentioned433, 450
 Paoria, Indians 581
 Paradice, John C., Proprietor Ill-
 inois Sentinel 216
 Paris, Ill. 227
 Paris Democratic Standard, news-
 paper128n
 Parke, S. S., Editor of Bloom-
 ington Weekly Democrat 194
 Parkinson, H. H., Publisher of the
 Braidwood Monthly 195
 Parkman, Francis 54
 Parks, Lawson A.....312, 317
 Parks, Samuel 138
 Parlin, William 518
 Patten, H. J. v
 Patterson, George W. 329
 Pawnee, Indians 621
 Paxson, Frederic Logan, History
 of the American Frontier..... 141
 article by589-605
 Paxton, Ill.227, 364
 Payne, Edward W. v
 Payne, J. F., Publisher of Satur-
 day Transcript 209
 Pearsons, Hannah (Mrs. John A.) 66
- Pearsons, Henry, son of John A.. 665
 Pearsons, John A.656-57
 short biography of..... 665
 Pease, Marguerite Jenison....367, 722
 Pease, Theodore Calvin
 v, 172, 366, 721-22
 Pease, Theodore Calvin and Ran-
 dall, James G., Diary of Orville
 Hickman Browning, quoted.... 140
 Pecatonica, Ill. 228
 Peck, A. B. 294
 Peck, John Mason, publisher first
 Illinois religious weekly 6-7
 short biography of 9
 Peebles, Jesse253, 268, 288
 Peebles, Mrs. Jesse 270
 Peffers, Mrs. David J., speech of
 698-99
 Pekin, China 277
 Pekin, Ill. 228
 Pellet, Miss Sarah 503
 Pemelevi, French post 581
 Pendleton, George H. 122
 Penick, N. S. 164
 People's Gazette Association, E.
 St. Louis 209
 Peoria, Ill., peace meeting..... 122
 location 400
 mentionedv, 134, 228, 343
 Peoria, Indians, location 400
 mentioned34, 40
 Peoria, Pekin and Jacksonville
 Railway 539
 Peoria Democrat128n
 Peoria Lake 342
 Peoria river 34
 Pequot, Indians 34
 Perrigo, C. H. and Boyd, G. D. R.,
 Publishers DeKalb Weekly
 Times 207
 Perrin, William Henry, History of
 Cass County, quoted 525
 mentioned373n, 418n
 Perrine, Nimrod 75
 Perry, Oliver Hazard, victory of..
 633, 644
 mentioned 634
 Peru, origin of name..... 57
 mentioned75, 229
 Petefish, George638, 652
 Peter, George 101
 Peters, Aaron 652
 Peters, Matthew A., Editor Iro-
 quois Times 241
 Petersburg, location 467
 mentioned229, 482, 685
 Phelps, Harvey 264
 Phelps, William257, 262
 Philadelphia, Pa. 311

- Philbrick, Francis S.172, 367, 721
 Phillips, Lyman 492
 Phillips, Mary Charlotte Mitchell. 715
 Phillips, W. S. 294
 Phillip's Academy at Andover.448, 537
 Piankishaw, Indians 399
 Plasa, Ill. 288
 Platt, Bill 70
 Pickett, T. J., Editor Nokomis Gazette 225
 Pierce, early school teacher.... 14
 Pike, Zebulon 634
 Pike County Free Press, newspaper 7
 Pilcher, Percy 105
 Pillsbury, William L., quoted.... 9
 Pinckney, Thomas 605
 Plquot, Indians 34
 Pitner, L. C..257, 259, 261, 268, 285, 293
 Platts, Samuel 318
 Pittsburgh, Ill. 82
 Pittsburgh, Pa. 232
 Pittsfield, Ill. 229
 circuit court 10
 Place names, from French....56-57
 Plainfield, N. J. 340
 Plainview, Ill.165-66
 Plano, Ill. 230
 Pleasant Hill, Ill. 16
 Pleasant Plains, Ill.267, 346
 Plymouth Colony299, 352
 Pocahontas 46
 Poe, Edgar Allen 5
 Polo, Ill.230, 361
 Pomfret382, 385, 435
 Poncas, Indians 621
 Pond, Martin J. 652
 Pontiac, Ill. 230
 Pontius, Myron Lee 640
 Pope County, Ill.84, 300
 Pope's Medical College492, 496
 see also University of St. Louis
 Porter, Lyman 14
 Portland, Maine 134
 Portland, Ore. 354
 Post, Truman M.447, 465
 Potomac Company, promoted by
 George Washington598, 601
 Potomac river130, 562, 565, 591
 Potter, Mrs. B. G. 280
 Pottawattami, Indians ...343, 399, 580
 Powell, John Wesley 46
 Powers, Tom, Spanish spy....81-83, 94
 Prairie City, Ill. 230
 Prairie du Chien 397
 origin of name 56
 Prairie du Rochier, origin of
 name 56
 Pratt, Harry E., articles by.....
 129-40, 553-77
 Prentice, William S.....
 257-58, 265, 285, 293
 Presbyterian Church9-10, 142
 Aiton311-20
 Carlinville 290
 Galena340-41
 general assembly311, 316-17
 Highland Park, Detroit 340
 Kaskaskia Presbytery 312
 organization near Panther
 Creek 454
 completed472-73, 476
 Plainfield, N. J. 340
 Presbyterian Reporter 313
 Prince, Arthur E.479n
 biography of163-64
 Prince, David, friendship with
 Chas. Chandler 479
 mentioned163, 430, 477, 496
 Prince, David Chandler 164
 Prince, John A.163-64
 Prince, Lucy Manning Chandler. 164
 Prince, Virginia 164
 Princeton, Ill. 230
 Princeton University 142
 Prior, J. M. and Graves, Judson,
 Publishers of Republic 213
 Probasco, The, steamer 79
 Proctor, defeat of 632
 Prophet, treachery of 631
 friendship for Henry Gratiot... 680
 Prophetstown, Ill. 230
 Pulaski County, Ill.35, 81, 96-97
 Purviance, Robert O. 277
 Purviance, Mrs. Robert O. (Julia
 C. Koester)275, 280
 Putnam, James 391
 Quebec, Canada 72
 fur merchants55, 76
 Queen Ann's War 73
 Queenstown 632
 Quinabaug378, 384, 436
 Quincy, location 407
 mentioned73, 230
 Quincy, Toledo and Quincy Rail-
 road127n
 Quincy Herald128n
 Quincy Whig 140
 Radcliff College494n
 Rainey, Henry R. 346
 Ramey, Michael D.257, 295
 Rammelkamp, Charles H. v
 quoted478-79
 Randall James G.172, 366, 721
 Randall, Parham 245

Randolph, John	102	Roanoke, Va.	102
Randolph County, Ill.	5	Robbe, Charles W., article by..	357-60
Rankin, Henry B.	526-27n	Robbe, James Weddel	357
Rankin, James	638, 652	Robbe, Willam P.	357, 360
Raymond, D. B., Associate editor		letter from J. M. Adair	358-59
Rock River Farmer	208	Robbe Family	358
Read, Newton L.	509	Roberts, C. R.	340
Reamer, Dr.	694	Roberts, Clare	302
Rearick, George	652	Roberts, Rose	302
Reasoner, J. R.	262	Roberts Family	302
Record Book, quoted...454-55, 472, 497		Robert's Camp Grounds	246
mentioned	474	Robertson, Colin M.	696
Rector, John	95	Robertson, Mrs. Nancy H.	276-77
Red Cross	319	contributes to Methodist Church	
Reece, John	16	..... 262, 291	
Reed, Mrs. Nellie P. Mayfield....	278	Robinson, David	78
Rees, Thomas	v	Robinson, Joel	652
Reevesville, Ill.	39, 57	Robinson, John M.	174n
Regnier, Francis	695-96	Robinson, Ill.	232
Republican Party, formed.....	522-28	Rochelle, Ill.	232
mentioned		Rochester, Vt.	23
.....111-40, 321, 324, 359-60, 700		Rochow, C. J. F.	608
Revolutionary War	299, 133	Rock City, Ill.	232
Reynolds, E. P., quoted	629	Rock Creek	307
Reynolds, John	95	Rock Falls, Ill.	232
quoted	627	Rock Island, Ill.	v, 232
Reynolds, Harry and Elderman,		historic markers in	609
Publishers Peoria Advertiser..	229	Rock Island County Medical	
Rhodes, J. F.	126	Society	609
Richardson, Mrs. Amos	164	dedicates memorial tablet ..	606
Richardson, William A.	10, 128n	officers of	608
Richardson & Sapp, Publishers		Rock river	133
of Palatine Advertiser.....	227	Rock River Conference, Sterling.	
Richeson, John D.	70	Ill.	668
Richmond, The, steamer	79	Rock Run, see Rock City	
Richmond, Chloe, (Mrs. David		Rock Springs Pioneer, first relig-	
Strong)	85, 87, 89, 91, 98	ious weekly in Ill.	6, 9
Richmond, Mrs. Clara	168	Rockford, Ill.	232
Richmond, Joseph Warren	168	Rockingham County, Va.	345
Richmond, Miss Mildred Ella....	168	Roddey, Thomas H.	166
Richmond, Warren McLellan	168	Rodgers, Mrs. Millie	268
Richmond, Ill.	231	Rogers, Mary (Mrs. John T.)..	272, 278
Richmond, Va.	102	Roenza, Kaskaskia Indian Chief..	
Richmond Dispatch, newspaper ..	120	.....40, 59, 67	
Richmond Rock	62	Roosevelt, Theodore	94, 360
Richmond Whig, newspaper	120	quoted	298, 506
Richview, Ill.	231	friendship with Fred J. Kern...	
Rickey, Lawrence	333	..... 704, 711	
Riddell, William Renwick, article		Rosclaire, Ill., origin of name....	302
by	578-84	fluorspar deposits	305-06
Rinaker, Mrs. Clarissa	276, 282	Ross, Erastus H.	291
Rinaker, John I.	262	Ross, Wendell	291
Rinaker, Samuel	272	Ross, Mrs. Wendell	291
Rinaker, Mrs. Samuel	275, 278	Ross family	292
Rinaker Reservoir	289	Rounds and James, Printers of	
Ringland, William D., Editor New		Voice of the Fair	205
Era	242	Rowell, George, newspaper annual	187
Richie, Ed T., Editor Rochelle		Roxbury Church Records, quoted.	377
Independent	232	Royal Oak, Mich.	321

Royallist Party	389	Sallne, Ill.	31
Ruark, A. S.	261	Sallne, Indians	39, 42
Ruark, Alice	289	Sallne County, Ill.	64, 300
Ruark, Lillian	289	Sallne river	64, 306-07
Ruckel, Mrs. John H.	716	Sallne Springs	38
Runyan, E. S.	652	Salt Creek Valley	685
Rupert, Idaho	363	location	683
Rush Medical College, beginning		Salt Lake City, Utah	14
of	477, 479-80	Salt War,	39, 43, 48
mentioned	430, 440, 695	Saltonstall, Gurdon	385
Rushville, Ill.	233	Sampson, Indian	378-79
Russell, A. B., Editor Belleville		Sanborne, Henry Kendall	316
Democrat	193	San Diego, Calif.	165, 341
Russel, Andrew	v	Sandburg, Carl	4
Russell, G. M., Editor Brown		Sands, Samuel	174n
County Democrat	224	Sandwich, Ill.	233
Russel, J. S.	125, 128n	Sanford, Mrs. Edna	170
Russell, William	342	Sangamo Journal, Lincoln quoted	415
Rutledge, Ann, death	693	mentioned	252, 466
mentioned	3, 352, 467n	Sangamon County, Ill.	130-31, 139, 684
Rutledge, George	293	Sangamon river, navigability ..	416, 483
		valley, cultivation of	434
		canal	482
		mentioned	342, 415
Sabin, Benjamin, sent to general		Sangamon Valley Times	495
court	380	San Mateo, Calif.	354
chosen deacon	381	Sapp & Richardson, Publishers	
Sabin, O. C. and Van Varis, Edi-		Palatine Advertiser	227
tors Saybrook Banner	234	Sarasota, Fla.	353
Sabine river	101	Sauk, Indians	614
Sac, Indians	399	removal	429
Sager, Juliet G.	172, 367, 722	Saulteux, Indians	582
Saginaw, Mich.	168	Saunders, paints miniature of J.	
Sallors' and Soldiers' Home at		Davis	24-25
Quincy	544	Savanna, Ill.	359-60
St. Agatha's School	170	Saville, William	651
St. Charles, Ill.	233	Sawyer, Thomas S., Editor Cheb-	
St. Clair, Arthur	87, 100	anse Herald	199
St. Clair, Ill.	363	Saybrook, Ill.	16, 234
St. Clair County, first school....	2	Scarritt, Isaac	312, 317
mentioned	112, 312, 343, 345	Schenectady, N. Y.	164
St. Denis, Sieur Charles Juch-		Schmidt, Otto L.	v
ereau de	58	Schoen, Adam	297
see Juchereau		Schooley, M. H. L.	492, 520
Saint-Gaudens, Augustus, Lincoln		Schroeder, W. F.	608
statue, story of	20-25	Scituate, R. I., Charles Chandler	
statue of Sherman	24	begins medical practice in....	394
St. John, L. M.	209	Scott, Charles, letter to	186
St. John's Hospital, Springfield ..	364	'Scott, Franklin William	
St. Joseph river	580	.....	171, 187-89, 365, 720
St. Lawrence river	578	Scott, John M.	138
St. Louis, Mo.	101, 134, 203, 340, 345	letter of, quoted	129
St. Louis Medical School	430	Scott, Samuel	653
St. Louis Republican	466	Scott, William	653
St. Louis University	477, 537	Scott, Winfield, achievement of..	619
St. Paul's College, Palmyra, Mo. .	537	quoted	625
St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Al-		taken prisoner	632
ton, Ill.	314	mentioned	134, 618
St. Vrain, Felix, Indian agent....	615	Scott County, Ill.	4, 245
Salem, Ill.	233		

Scott County, Ky.	178n	Showalter, J. H., Publisher La-	
Scripps, Edward W.	7	Moille Gazette	218
Seaton, B. W., Editor Prairie		Shurtleff College	9-10, 494
Chief	197	Shute, Samuel	386
Seavery, G. W., (Seavy) Editor		Shutt, P. L. & Tower, Editors Sul-	
North Vermillion Chronicle....	216	Ivan Progress	236
Seavy, G. W., see Seavery		Siedenburg, Frederic	v
Seeley, first Illinois school teacher	3	Siege of Boston	88, 96, 98
Selby, Paul, Editor Morgan Jour-		Sierra Citizen	503
nal	522	Sigel, Franz	570
Semple, Ewing	460	Signor, Charles B., Editor Earl-	
Seneca, Ill.	234	ville Gazette	209
Sewall, Catherine, daughter of		Sillman, E. C.	167
William	488	Sillman, H. H.	167
Sewall, Samuel, names Woodstock	380	Sillman, L. L.	167
oath administered to	386	Simpson, Joseph W., Proprietor	
Sewall, William	454-56, 473	Liberal Reformer	223
Sewall Diary	474	Simpson, Matthew	658-59
quoted	473, 489	Simpson, Ill.	73
Sewall Papers	384-85	Singleton, James A., short bio-	
Seymour, Mrs. Luda Wells	353	graphy of	127n
Shackford, John	340	mentioned	115-16, 122, 128n
Shambole, Indian chief, story of		Sloux, Indians	50-51, 621
.....	691-92	Sisler, Ben	357
Shannon, Mary	16	Skinner, P. W. and Gregg, Theo-	
Shannon, Ill.	234	dore, Printers Warsaw Signal..	240
Shaven, Conn.	97-98	Slatten, James	652
Shaw, Harold	452n	Slavery	6, 112, 121, 131
Shaw, John Bird, marries Mary		Slocum, Henry W.	553, 570-71
Jane Chandler	480	Smiley, George H.	318
mentioned	453n, 538	Smith, Allen Thomas	356
Shawnee, Indians	49, 69	Smith, Mrs. Allen T., (Mary Ward	
location	35, 39, 41, 47	Whitlock)	356
wars	42-43, 67	Smith, Ashford	652
origin of name	45	Smith, C. L. and Winship, P. D.,	
Shawnee, Okla.	47	Publishers Bureau County Tri-	
Shawneetown, Ill., early news-		bune	230
paper in	6	Smith, George W.	v
mentioned	51, 69-70, 234	Smith, Dr. George W.	316
Shelby, Isaac	634	Smith, John	46
Shelby County, Ill.	105, 132	Smith, Samuel B., letter of, quot-	
Shelbyville, Ill.	234, 344-46	ed	625-26
Shelly, Eddy Bateman	125	Smith, Socrates	476
Shelton, T. J., Publisher Shelton's		Smith, W. A.	265, 293
Weekly	192	Smith, Mrs. W. A.	265
Shenandoah river	562	Smith, Ward Whitlock	356
Shepherdstown, Va.	176	Snell, Hosea	253
Sheridan, Ill.	235	Snyder, A. C.	262, 264, 275
Sherman, L. Y.	v	Snyder, John Francis.	
Sherman, William Tecumseh ..	123, 167	comment of	411-12
Shetlerville, Ill.	302, 307	on Indian archaeology	398-99
Shiloh, battle of	357	quoted	373n
Shiloh, Ill.	3	quoted, on Dr. Chandler's pub-	
Shipman, Ill.	166	lic life	463
Shoaff, James & Son, Published		quoted, on Illinois River Rail-	
Shoaff's Gazette	227	road	519-20
Short, Mrs. Sarah A.	96-97		
Short, W. F. S.	264, 287, 293		

quoted, on Lippencott	496	Stevenson, Adlai, quoted	461-62
refers to Dr. Chandler's prac-		Stevenson, William	293
tice	430-31	Steward, Mrs. Addle M.	276
relates story	405-06	Steward, Mrs. Martha A.	278
Solomons, Lewis	555	Stewart, William F.	660
Soule, J. B. L.	287	Stice, Earl F.	346
South, The	110-24	Stice, J. A.	344-45
South Chicago, Ill.	235	Stice, James Arnold	346
Southern Confederacy ..	114, 118, 128n	Stice, J. Maurice	346
Southern Illinois, story of	26-104	Stifler, Mrs. Sarah B., article by	
Spain	81, 100, 299	.....	344-46
Spaniards, inhabit Louisiana ..	101, 103	Stilley, first minlster in Rosiclare	302
mentioned	67, 73, 86, 141	Stoddard, William O.	7
Sparks, David R.	349	Stokes, Edmond	653
Sparks, Edwin Erle	171, 365, 720	Stone, C. C. and Glessner, William	
Sparta, Ill.	235	L., Editors Clinton Register...	206
Spear, Mr., short biography of ..	504n	Stone, Melville E.	7
Spectator, The	493	Stone Fort, Ill.	30, 104
Spencer, Thomas	430	Stoneman, George	573
Spickler, D. H., Editor Franklin ..		Stoughton, Jonathan H.	658
Reporter	211	Stout, Hosea	14
Spofford, A. R.	80	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	522
Spofford, Miss Florence P. ..	80, 94, 104	Stowell, Oliver S.	318-19
Spore, C. R., Editor Chenoa Times	199	Streator, Ill.	236
Springer, Elihu	252, 256, 293	Street, Joseph M., letter of	616
Springer, Francis	715	Stringer, Lawrence B., article by	
Springer, Levi	293	.....	683-90
Springfield, Ill., speech of Douglas		Strong, David	82-98
.....	113-14	Strong, Mrs. David (Chloe Rich-	
democratic convention		mond)	85, 87, 89, 91, 98
.....	115, 121-22, 127n	Strong, Joseph	95-98
Union convention	132-33	Strongman, Bernard	651
mentioned	235, 327-29	Strother, F. K. and B. L., Proprie-	
Springfield, Mo.	140	tors Griggsville Reflector	214
Springfield Art Association	364	Stuart, John T.	131-39
Springfield-Beardstown road ..	481	Stuart, Jonathan, Editor Grayville	
Springfield Republican, (Mass.) ..	23	Weekly Republican	214
Springfield Union, (Mass.)	23	Stubblefield, Dorothy	15
Springfield Woman's Club	356	Stubblefield, Robert	15
Sproul, Miss Etha F. (Mrs. Joshua		Sturges, Jonathan	652
Platt Garlick)	354	Sturtevant, Julian M.	446-48, 465-66
Spurgeon, Charles H.	7	Suane, The, steamer	79
Squire & Bros., Published Illinois		Sullivan, Ill.	236
Republican	237	Sumerlin, Adolph, Editor Mattoon	
Stahl, Daniel	478	Commercial	222
Stanton, Callista	15	Sumner, Charles	110, 136
Stanton, Edwin M.	110, 137	Sun Printing Company, Joliet, Ill.	217
State Street Mission, Alton	318	Sunday School Advocate	271
Staunton, Ill.	253	Surman, Theodore J.	268
Stearns, James N.	105, 109	Swartz, Oliver	357
Steele, C. L., Editor Bloomington		Sweeney, Edward	568
Pantagraph	194	Swett, Leonard	132, 140
Stephens, Alexander H.	110, 126	Swett Manuscripts	133n, 135n
Stephenson, Benjamin Franklin ..		Sycamore, Ill.	21, 237
.....	541, 695	Syracuse, N. Y.	264
Stephenson, Robert	541		
Sterling, Ill.	236		
Stevens, Frank E., article by	20-25		
Stevens, George	294		

Taarsile, post at mouth of Wabash	55	Thomas, R. H.	520
Tacaogane, post head of Graud		Thomas, William	447, 465
Chain of Rocks	55, 59, 60, 74	Thompson, Bernard	652
Tacaogane, Indians	34, 39, 41	Thompson, Charles Manfred	171, 365, 720
Taggart, Ferdinand	256-57, 262	Thompson, R. S., Publisher Al-	
Talisman, steamer, journey of	415-16	bion Pioneer	190
Tallula, Ill.	696	Thompson and Henderson, D. C.	
Tamaroa, Ill.	237	Publishers Joliet Record	217
Tamaroa, Indians	299	Thomson, Ill.	237
Tamms, Ill.	59	Thwaites, Reuben Gold	63, 72
Tandy, Willis	652	Tiffany, Otis H.	658
Taney, Roger B.	624	Tillson, Mrs. John	448
Tanner, John R., quoted,	505	Tilton, Clint Ciay	109
mentioned	545	Tilton, Ill.	238
Tappen, Mrs., member Methodist		Tippecanoe, battle of	631
Church, Carlinville	276	Tompkins, Miss Martha	14
Tarbell, Ida	6	Tonca, Ill.	238
Tarrant, Reverend Monsignor	339	Tonica and Petersburg Railroad	519
Tau-mar-waus, Indians	34	Tories	391
Taylor, Cornelius H.	315	Toronto, French post	581-84
Taylor, Elizabeth, (Mrs. John		Toulou, Ill.	238
Bliss)	617	Tower & Shutt, P. L., Editors	
Taylor, Frank L.	641	Sullivan Progress	236
Taylor, John W.	174	Trabue, teacher in Blooming	
letter to	176-77	Grove, Ill.	13
Taylor, Zachary, service in Black		Trabue, Haskin	295
Hawk War	619	Tralls, early ones in Illinois	422-23
mentioned	617, 622	Train, Charles R.	333
Taylorville, Ill.	237	Trapp, Mrs. Albert R.	363
Tazewell County, Ill.	130-31	Treadway, Sarah	319
Tecumseh	630	Treaties, with Indians	621
defeat of	632	Trowbridge, James H., Editor of	
death of	633, 644	Interior	202
Teed, David, short biography of	668-69	Trower, W. A. & Marshuz, W. B.	
Telegraph, newspaper	317, 319	Publishers Shelby County Lead-	
Tennessee river, buffalo herds		er	234
along	62, 65	Troy, Ill.	239
fort built	80	True, Levi	652
mentioned	55, 67, 78, 86, 90	Trumbull, Lyman, letter to	129, 132
Tennessee, Indian locality		Tryon, William	390
	32, 39, 47, 52	Tuonel Hill, Ill.	104
southern mountains of	311	Tunnell, Effie	561n
mentioned	112, 138, 310	Tunnell, Emma	566
Tennis, Mother	254	Tunnell, Jane Allen, sister of	
Territory of the United States		Winthrop S. G. Allen	553
northwest of the Ohio, opening		letters to	555-56, 560, 570
of	396	Tunnell, Morse	566
Tevis, Robert, duel	503-06	Tunnell, W. A.	553
Thames, battle of	633	letters to	562, 566-67, 572-76
Thirty-third regiment Illinois in-		Turley, John	652
fantry	530	Turnbull, Everett R., article by	243-98
military record	533-35	Turnbull, Mrs. Everett R.	290-91
Thomas, Alden Kent	341	Turnbul, Ida	278
Thomas, Edward P.	341	Turner, Asa, Jr.	446-47
Thomas, John T.	338	Turner, George	49
Thomas, Mary (Mrs. Edward P.)	341	Turner, John	652

- Turner, Jonathan Baldwin, quoted 446
 minister Mary Chandler funeral 469
 career473-75
 "Land Act" 548
 mentioned465-66,497
 Turner Junction, Ill. 239
 Tuscola, Ill. 239
 Twelfth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, Co. F.553, 577n
 Tyner Spring, Ill. 307

 Uches, Indians 48
 Underground Railway 166
 Union, The, during Peace Movement110-24
 mentioned127n, 130-32, 334
 Union Army 331
 Union College 142
 Union Convention, Springfield.132, 135
 Union County, Ill.47, 49
 Unionist Party110, 123
 Uniontown, Pa. 342
 United States, buys Louisiana ... 93
 mentioned114-15, 299
 United States, Congress .118, 127n, 129
 United States, relations with
 Great Britain 630
 declares war631, 643
 United States, Sanitary Commission 238
 United States, Senate179-83
 United States Daughters of 1812,
 Sangamo Chapter 651
 Union Station, St. Louis 314
 Universal Gazetteer, The 83
 University of Edinburgh 142
 University of Illinois.....7, 193, 351
 University of Illinois Concert
 Band338-39
 University of St. Louis.....492, 496
 Upp, Caroline 356
 Upp, Otha 356
 Urbana, Ill.v, 7, 11, 239
 Usher, Madam, widow of Hezekiah Usher, Jr. 385

 Va Bache, Indian massacre42, 68
 naming of 59
 location 60
 mentioned41, 61-63, 66, 70, 72-73
 Valentine, George264, 289
 Valentine, J. M. 262
 Vollandigham, Clement L. .122-23, 131
 Vance, Edgar J. 316
 Vandalia, Ill.184, 239, 460
 Vandever, H. M. 118
 Van Horn, V. H. 294

 Van Meter, Dr.674, 677
 Vannier, Frank L. 651
 Van Varis and Sabin, O. C., Editors Saybrook Banner 234
 Vera Cruz, Mexico 134
 Verlie, Emil Joseph.....172, 366, 721
 Vermilion County, Ill.105, 107-08
 Vicksburg, Miss. 306, 357-58
 Vienna, Ill.30, 75, 104
 Vincennes, Ind.42, 80, 342, 718
 Vincennes, post of 580
 Vincennes Sun-Commercial 719
 Vincennes University 719
 Vincent, B. T. 661
 Virginia, Ill. 239
 Virginia Colony 299
 Virginia State299, 310-11
 Vise, Elder Hosea 75
 Voss, Arno 555

 Wabash, Indians 47
 Wabash College 446
 Wabash river, boundaries 26
 Indians located on.....26, 41
 mentioned55, 62, 67, 78, 100, 401, 631
 Wabbaquasset, Indian village ... 378
 Wade, Mrs. Edward 318
 Wade, Samuel317, 319
 Wade, Mrs. Samuel 318
 Waggoner, Fieldon R., Editor Pulaski Patriot 224
 Walker, Dr. 696
 Walker, Abram S.256-57
 Wall, Alexander J.173n, 189
 Walsh, Harry 338
 Walsh, J. C. 651
 Wandell, Samuel Henry 103
 War of 1812, beginning 631
 effects 634
 mentioned ...80, 96, 142, 274, 313, 345
 War of the Rebellion, see Civil War
 War of the Revolution....26, 91, 96-98
 War office90-91, 94
 Ward, William J., Editor Galva Journal 213
 Warren, Hooper 6, 7
 Warren, LeRoy Wells 340
 Warren, Ill. 239
 Warren County, Ky. 345
 Warsaw, Ill. 239
 Washburn, A. C. 14
 Washburn, Charles 189
 Washburn, Ill. 240
 Washburne, Elihu B., letter to... 111
 political career676n
 mentioned172, 173-74n, 366, 721

Washburne, Mrs. Elihu B., (Adele Gratiot)	681	Weer, James	276
Washburne, Marie, (Mrs. Marie Washburne Fowler)	676	Weldon, Lawrence	138
Washington, D. C.		letter of	139-40
.....117, 130, 138, 167, 326-27		Weldon, Lincoln	v
Washington, George	78, 99, 100-02	Weller, Stuart	29
ancestry	589	Wellesley College	168, 170
becomes politician	599	Wells, Arthur B.	353
buys land	596	Wells, Frederick Latimer	352-53
campaigns on Western Front..	593	Wells, Mrs. Frederick Latimer,	
early life	592-93	(Katharine S. Adams)	353
enforces federal law	604	Wells, Thomas	352
inherits Mt. Vernon	596-97	Wells, Frederick Chapin	352
journeys of	600	Wells, Walter A.	353
problems of	602-05	Wenger, Elias	118
quoted	598	Wenona, Ill.	241
Washington, Lawrence, brother of		Wesley, John	9, 263
George	592	West, A. S.	417
death of	596	West Chicago, Ill.	241
Washington, Ill.	240	West Farmington Seminary,	
Washington City	177, 185	Farmington, Ohio	538
Washington County, N. Y.	142	West Frankfort, Ill.	64
Wassell, C. D., Co-publisher		West Point Military Academy..	86, 719
Chester Tribune	199	Western Fronts, location and	
Waterhouse, Benjamin, letter to,		boundaries	590-92
quoted	635	campaigns on	593
Waterloo, Ill.	240, 357	problems of	602-05
Waterville College, (Colby Col-		mentioned	601
lege)	134	Western Observer	434, 448
Watkins, Samuel	482	Western Reserve University....	446
Watseka, Ill.	106, 240	Westfield, N. Y.	321, 323, 326
Watson, Henry	314	Weston, Ill.	167
Watson, Mrs. Henry	318	Wetaug, Ill.	40-41, 49, 81
Watson, Sarah E.	359	Wetaug, Indian Chief	40-41
Watts, Edwin Earl	719	Wharton, O. T. and Goodspeed,	
Watts, Ellen Ann Lewis	719	James, Editors Joliet Republi-	
Watts, Mrs. Florence Everett....	719	can	217
Watts, Harry Temple, biography		Wheaton, Ill.	241, 353
of	718-19	Wheeler, David	160
Watts, Harry Temple, Jr.	719	Whig Party	131, 133-34, 389, 496, 522
Watts, John C.	719	Whipple, Perley B.	312, 317
Watts, John Carroll	719	Whipple, Mrs. Perley B.	318
Waukegan, Ill.	241	Whitaker, Charles H., Editor Ma-	
Waukegan, Ill.	241	comb Eagle	220
Wautauga, Indians	51, 81	White, J. J., Editor Central Illi-	
Way, William	484-85	nois Wochenblatt	226
Wayne, Anthony, peace of Green-		White, John Chanler	170
ville	603	White, R. Carl	333
mentioned	78, 98, 100	Whitehead, William	661
Waynesburg College, in Pa.	350	Whitley, J. D.	697
Weadon, Selah, Editor Democratic		Whitlock, Mrs. Brand	486
Clarion	215	Whitlock, Mrs. Kate	356
Weber, Jessie Palmer.....		Whitlock, Mary Ward (Mrs. Allen	
.....171-72, 365, 367, 720-21		T. Smith)	356
Webster, Daniel	5, 143, 432, 449	Whitlock, Ward B.	356
Weed, Thurlow, quoted	135	Whitney, H. C., letter to.....	135
Weeks, C. H.	217	Whittaker, Cad	289
Weer, C. W.	261	Wichita, Kans.	278
Weer, Eddie	272	Wider, E. W.	209
		Widford, in Hertfordshire	376

Wilder, John, son of Persis Chandler	490	Wood, George W., Publisher Quincy Whig	231
Wilder, Persis, daughter of Persis Chandler	490	Wood, Preston E.	293
Wilkin, E. D.	293	Wood, Richard	653
Wilkin, Mrs. E. D.	280	Wood River, Ill.	238
Wilkins, D. W.	16	Woodburn, Ill.	165, 288
Wilkinson, James, establishes military posts	78-80	Woodbury, Charles J. & Co., Edited Rockford Register	232
military order books	91-94	Woodford County, Ill.	130-31
general of the Armies	100	Woods, Eddle	272
Governor of Upper Louisiana	101-02	Woods, G. W.	271
description of	103-04	Woods, James	272
mentioned	85-89, 95-99	Woods, Kenneth	651
letters: from Ferdinand L. Claiborne	54	Woods, Paul	268
from Samuel Dexter	82-83	Woods, William	652
Wilkinson, James B.	85, 87	Woodstock, naming, development and location of	380, 383
Wilkinson, Mrs. James (Anne Craigle)	85, 87, 89	becomes part of Connecticut	388
Wilkinson-Ville, (Fort Wilkinson)	77-104	mentioned	433, 435
Willcox, L. G., Editor Centralia Sentinel	198	Woodstock, Ill.	227, 242
William, Wilton	14	Woodstock Academy	469n
Williams, Edward	652	Woodward, Annie	275
Williams, L. O.	687	Woolard, J. B.	264, 293
Williams, R. Y.	294	Worcester, creates new county	385-87
Williamson County, Ill.	52, 75	Worcester Historical Museum	391n
Williamsport, Md.	564-65, 566-67	Worcester Spy, quoted	392
Wills Creek	595	World War	309, 319, 361
Wilmington, Ill.	241	Worth, Joseph	275
Wilson, Captain, letter to, quoted	625-26	Worthington, G. G.	293
Wilson, Bluford	126	Wright, Abner	652
Wilson, J. F.	696	Wright, Emma Day	266
Wilson, James	652	Wright, James Jr.	653
Wilson, John	142	Wright, Mary B., (Otwell)	266, 283
Wilson, Walter C.	14	Wright, Reuben	652
Winchester, Ill.	4, 242	Wright, Ruel	256, 266
Windsor, Ill.	105	Wright Brothers	105
Windsor, Vt.	21, 23-24	Wuensch, Albert, Editor Decatur Local Review	207
Winnebagoe, Indians	399, 673, 679	Wyoming, Ill.	242
Winship, P. D. and Smith, C. L., Publishers Bureau County Tribune	230	Xavier, St. Francis	40, 68
Winthrop, John	134, 392	Yale Band, members	446-47
Wisconsin, Indians in	47	mentioned	454, 510
Wisconsin State Historical Society	189	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.	5, 389
Witherspoon, John	311	Yates, Henry	432
Wolcott, Elihu	447, 465, 522	Yates, Richard	v, 109
Wolfe, J. B.	294	Yates, (War Governor) Richard, speech of	114-15, 118
Wolfe, Thomas, Editor Ford County Journal	227	Tonica and Petersburg Railroad	519
Wolff, A. T.	315	Senator	539
Wood, Fernando	128n	mentioned .....	.....
		.....	10, 110, 116, 122, 138, 432, 542

Yates, Ill.	13	Ypsilanti, Mich.	168
Yeaworth, Irvin S.	362		
York, Nebraska	275		
Yorkville, Ill.	242	Zearing, James R., letter of,	119
Young Men's Christian Assoc-		Civil War letters of	126
ation	319	Zimmerman, Amella	169



